INTERNATIONAL LABOUR
CONFERENCE

FORTY-NINTH SESSION
GENEVA, 1965

RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
GENEVA, 1965
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INTRODUCTION

The Forty-ninth Session of the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation was held at Geneva from 2 to 23 June 1965.

The following letter and memorandum concerning the session and communicating the agenda were sent by the Director-General of the International Labour Office to the governments of the Members on 8 September 1964.

Geneva, 8 September 1964.

Sir,

I have the honour to communicate to you the agenda of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference, together with information concerning the date, place and organisation of the session.

1. Agenda of the Conference.

The agenda of the Conference, as determined by the Governing Body at its 157th and 159th Sessions (Geneva, November 1963 and June-July 1964) and by the International Labour Conference at its 48th Session (Geneva, June-July 1964) is as follows:

I. Report of the Director-General.

II. Financial and budgetary questions.

III. Information and reports on the application of Conventions and Recommendations.

IV. The employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds (second discussion).

V. The employment of women with family responsibilities (second discussion).

VI. Agrarian reform with particular reference to employment and social aspects (general discussion).

VII. The role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries (first discussion).

In addition, the Conference will have before it a special report concerning the application of the Declaration concerning the policy of apartheid of the Republic of South Africa, submitted by the Director-General in pursuance of the request contained in paragraph 6 of the operative part of the above-mentioned Declaration.

I enclose, for your information, a memorandum prepared in the light of the discussions in the Governing Body and at the International Labour Conference, which explains the scope of the items on the agenda and the procedure which the Conference will follow in dealing with them.

Every effort will be made to ensure that the documents submitted to the Conference are communicated to you well in advance of the opening of the session. In this connection, I venture to remind you that the timely preparation by the Office of the final reports for submission to the Conference depends essentially on the punctual communication by governments, by the dates stipulated, of their replies to and observations on the questionnaires and preliminary reports which are addressed to them.

It will be appreciated that the smooth working of the Conference depends on the delegates having an opportunity to study beforehand the documents prepared by the International Labour Office on which the discussions are based. The attention of your Government is therefore drawn to the importance of ensuring that the reports sent to it on the various items on the agenda are in the hands of delegates well in advance of the session.

2. Place and Date of the Session.

At its 157th Session (Geneva, November 1963) the Governing Body decided that the 49th Session of the Conference should be held in Geneva, at the Palais des Nations, and should open on Wednesday, 2 June 1965, the dates of 31 May and 1 June being left free for such meetings of the Government, Employers' and Workers' groups as may be necessary. The
opening sitting of the Conference will be held at the Palais des Nations on Wednesday, 2 June 1965, at 10 a.m. and the Conference may be expected to continue until about 24 June.

3. Composition and Attendance of Delegations.\(^1\)

In addition to notes on the items on the agenda, the enclosed memorandum contains in its section D information relating to the composition of delegations. Your attention is drawn particularly to the importance of constituting delegations on a tripartite basis, appointed in consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers, and, in such a manner as appeared to them appropriate, methods of developing in practice the powers already existing under article 3 (3) of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. Certain important considerations which the Credentials Committee of the 46th Session of the Conference desired should be brought to the attention of governments in this regard are set out in the memorandum.

For the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference, each delegate to the Conference may, in accordance with article 3, paragraph 2, of the Constitution, be accompanied by two advisers for each of the following five items: III, IV, V, VI and VII. In order to ensure equal representation of Employers and Workers on the Committees set up by the Conference, it is desirable that, so far as possible, equal numbers of Employers’ and Workers’ advisers should be appointed in each delegation.

In the memorandum, the regular application of the principle that as a general rule the sittings of the Committees shall not take place at the same time as the plenary sittings of the Conference has proved impracticable in recent years as the result of the growth in the volume of business coming before the Conference. The Governing Body recognised this with regret at its 148th Session (Geneva, March 1961) and stressed the importance of delegations being so equipped as to enable plenary sittings and sittings of committees to be held without interference with each other’s work when such simultaneity could not be avoided. Your Government is therefore requested to give consideration when composing its delegation to the importance of making arrangements for representation at the plenary sittings when such sittings are held simultaneously with the sittings of committees.

At its 123rd Session (Geneva, November 1953) the Governing Body of the International Labour Office instructed me to invite the governments concerned to explore, in consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workpeople, and in such a manner as appeared to them appropriate, methods of developing in practice the powers already existing under article 3 (3) of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation enabling member States to appoint, in appropriate circumstances, additional advisers from non-metropolitan territories to each of their delegations. Article 3 (3) of the Constitution provides as follows:

Each Member which is responsible for the international relations of non-metropolitan territories may appoint as additional advisers to each of its delegates:

(a) persons nominated by it as representatives of any such territory in regard to matters within the self-governing powers of that territory; and

(b) persons nominated by it to advise its delegates in regard to matters concerning non-self-governing territories.

I may also remind you that, at its 124th Session (Geneva, March 1954), the Governing Body agreed that, on the recommendation of the responsible member State, where the latter considered that this would be appropriate having regard to the constitutional, political, economic and social development of any non-metropolitan territory for which that member State is responsible, such non-metropolitan territory may be invited, through the member State concerned, to participate by means of a tripartite observer delegation in sessions of the General Conference, with the rights and status accorded to observers under the present Standing Orders of the Conference.

I venture to express the hope that you will arrange to appoint your delegation sufficiently in advance so as to enable the delegates and advisers to prepare themselves properly for the work of the Conference.

In order to facilitate the organisation of the work of the Conference, it is essential that I should be informed of the composition of delegations at the earliest possible moment. I shall therefore be most grateful for any steps you may be good enough to take to ensure that the composition and credentials of your country’s delegation to the Conference are communicated to me as early as possible, and in any case not later than 15 days before the opening of the Conference.

The Governing Body at its 144th Session (Geneva, March 1960) stressed the importance it attaches to the fullest use being made of the opening days of the Conference. With this in view, the Governing Body has asked me to request governments to notify delegates on their appointment that acceptance of the appointment implies an obligation to be available in Geneva for the work of the Conference, personally or through an adviser authorised to act as substitute, not later than the opening of business on the morning preceding the opening of the Conference and until the close of the Conference. In this connection, I venture to draw your attention to the fact that important votes, i.e. the final votes on the adoption of international labour Conventions and/or Recommendations, frequently take place on the last day of the Conference. It is essential that delegates or their duly authorised substitutes should be present when such votes are taken; they should accordingly make arrangements to be available

\(^1\) The fourth and fifth paragraphs of point 3, which relate to non-metropolitan territories, appear in the letter sent to the Governments of the following member States only: Australia, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, the Republic of South Africa, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States.
Introduction

until the very end of the Conference. I shall be most grateful for your co-operation in this matter and for any steps you may be good enough to take to ensure that the attention of the delegates from your country to the forthcoming session of the Conference is drawn to the obligation referred to above.

As mentioned above, the 49th Session of the Conference is expected to open on Wednesday, 2 June 1965; delegates or their duly authorised substitutes should, therefore, be present in Geneva as from the morning of Tuesday, 1 June and should be available in Geneva until the evening of Thursday, 24 June, when it is expected that the Conference will have completed its work.


It may be assumed that the discussion of the Report of the Director-General will begin, as it has done at recent sessions of the Conference, on the first Friday of the session. In order to ensure the smooth working of the Conference, it is most desirable that a number of speakers should be prepared to speak on that day, namely on Friday, 4 June 1965. I should, therefore, be much obliged if the attention of delegates could be drawn to this fact.

5. Depositing of Credentials and Resolutions.

Finally, the memorandum draws attention to certain provisions of the Standing Orders of the Conference concerning the depositing of credentials and resolutions. In connection with the submission of resolutions, I venture to remind you that, in accordance with the provisions of article 17, paragraph 1 (1) of the Standing Orders as amended by the Conference at its 43rd and 47th Sessions (1959 and 1963):

No resolution relating to a matter not included in an item on the agenda of the Conference shall be moved at any sitting of the Conference unless a copy of the resolution has been deposited with the Director-General of the International Labour Office at least 15 days before the opening of the session of the Conference, by a delegate to the Conference.

In the case of the 49th Session of the Conference, the final date for the deposit of such resolutions will be 18 May 1965.


I have the honour to be,

(Signed) DAVID A. MORSE,
Director-General.

MEMORANDUM ON THE 49th SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE (1965)

A. DATE, PLACE AND AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE

At its 157th Session (November 1963) the Governing Body of the International Labour Office decided that the 49th Session of the Conference should be held in Geneva and should open on Wednesday, 2 June 1965.

The agenda of the Conference at present consists of the following items:

I. Report of the Director-General.

II. Financial and budgetary questions.

III. Information and reports on the application of Conventions and Recommendations.

IV. The employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds (second discussion).

V. The employment of women with family responsibilities (second discussion).

VI. Agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects (general discussion).

VII. The role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries (first discussion).

In addition, the Conference will have before it a special report on the application of the Declaration concerning the policy of apartheid of the Republic of South Africa adopted by the Conference at its 48th Session, submitted by the Director-General in pursuance of the request contained in paragraph 6 of the operative part of the Declaration.

1 Not reproduced here.
B. INFORMATION ON ITEMS ON THE AGENDA

I. Report of the Director-General.

In accordance with the Standing Orders of the Conference a Report by the Director-General of the I.L.O. will be submitted to the Conference. For the 47th (1963) Session of the Conference the Director-General prepared a Report bearing upon the I.L.O.'s programme and structure and the adjustment of the Organisation to a changing world. This Report, accompanied by some guidelines for discussion, was put before the 48th (1964) Session of the Conference for further discussion. In his reply to the discussion of the Report at the 48th Session the Director-General said:

Now there has been a full ventilation of views upon the major issues of programme and structure. We know what the main viewpoints are; we know who holds these different views. On certain points I believe there is evidence of a substantial measure of agreement. . . . On other matters there are divergent views, . . . I think now it is for the Director-General to show how our programmes can move forward in those areas of agreement; and also, without in any way delaying the normal development of I.L.O. activities, to reflect further upon the questions on which there is some disagreement, so as to see whether I cannot, in the knowledge of the different views that are held here, come forward with new proposals which might carry a wider measure of agreement. This I will attempt to do in my Report to the Conference in 1965. It will be a new Report, it will be based upon the discussion of the last few years, and it will try to provide some fresh proposals and fresh ideas on those points which clearly still require some further examination.

Part I of the Director-General's Report will be on the lines indicated in the above-cited passage.

Part II of this Report will contain an account of the I.L.O.'s activities in 1964.

It may be assumed that the discussion of the Director-General's Report will begin, as it has done at recent sessions of the Conference, on the first Friday of the session. In order to ensure the smooth working of the Conference, it is most desirable that a number of speakers should be prepared to speak on that day, i.e. Friday, 4 June 1965. Governments may therefore wish to draw the attention of delegates to this point.

II. Financial and Budgetary Questions.

The Conference will be called upon to consider and approve the budget of the International Labour Organisation for 1966 and to deal with any other financial matters that may be brought to its attention in accordance with the Financial Regulations.

III. Information and Reports on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

Article 23 of the Constitution provides that the Director-General shall lay before the Conference a summary of the information and reports communicated to him by governments, in pursuance of articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution, on the measures taken to bring the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference before the competent national authorities and to give effect to the Conventions which they have ratified, and on the position in their respective countries with regard to the subject-matter of Conventions which they have not ratified and of Recommendations. Articles 22 and 35 provide that governments which have ratified Conventions shall supply the Director-General of the International Labour Office with information and reports concerning the application of such Conventions in non-metropolitan territories.

The Conference at its 49th Session will have to consider the information and reports supplied by governments in pursuance of the above-mentioned articles of the Constitution, together with the report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. The reports to be supplied this year under article 19 of the Constitution in respect of certain non-ratified Conventions and certain Recommendations will deal with Conventions and Recommendations concerning maternity protection.

IV. The Employment of Young Persons in Underground Work in Mines of All Kinds (second discussion).

The first discussion on this subject took place at the 48th Session. By a resolution adopted on 7 July 1964 the Conference adopted the reports of the Committee appointed to consider this item and in particular approved as general conclusions, with a view to the consultation of governments, proposals for a Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to employment in underground work in mines of all kinds, with a supplementary Recommendation, for a Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment in underground work in mines of all kinds, and for a Recommendation embodying certain provisions concerning the employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds. The Conference decided to place the above-mentioned question on the agenda of its next Ordinary Session for a second discussion with a view to the adoption of two Conventions and two Recommendations.

Pursuant to this decision, and in accordance with article 39, paragraph 6, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Office has communicated to governments the texts of two proposed Conventions and two proposed Recommendations, asking for their observations or amendments, if any (International Labour Conference, 49th Session, 1965, Report IV (1) The Employment of Young Persons in Underground Work in Mines of All Kinds (Geneva, I.L.O.,...
V. The Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities (second discussion).

The first discussion on this subject took place at the 48th Session as part of the discussion on the item: “Women workers in a changing world.” By a resolution adopted on 8 July 1964 the Conference adopted the report of the committee appointed to consider this item and in particular approved as general conclusions, with a view to the consultation of governments, proposals for a Recommendation relating to the employment of women with family responsibilities. The Conference decided to place on the agenda of its next Ordinary Session an item entitled “The employment of women with family responsibilities” for a second discussion with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation.

Pursuant to this decision, and in accordance with article 39, paragraph 6, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Office has communicated to governments the text of a proposed Recommendation, asking for their observations or amendments, if any (International Labour Conference, 49th Session, 1965, Report V (1): The Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities (Geneva, I.L.O., 1964)). In the light of the replies received a final report will be prepared containing the proposed Recommendation, including any amendments, as a basis for discussion at the 49th Session.

VI. Agrarian Reform, with Particular Reference to Employment and Social Aspects (general discussion).

In accordance with a decision taken by the Governing Body at its 154th Session (Geneva, March 1963) a Technical Advisory Group on Agrarian Reform met in Geneva from 24 February to 5 March 1964. The terms of reference of the group were to make proposals for consideration by the Governing Body on the manner in which the question of agrarian reform could be examined by the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference (1965) and to indicate those specific aspects of the question, within the competence of the International Labour Organisation, which should be discussed.

At its 159th Session (June-July 1964) the Governing Body had before it the recommendations of the Technical Advisory Group and decided to place on the agenda of the 49th Session of the Conference an item worded as follows: “Agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects” (general discussion).

As follows from the above, the discussion will bear primarily on aspects relating to employment and on some aspects of agrarian reform.

The document prepared by the Office for the 159th Session of the Governing Body noted that the discussion might lead to a comprehensive resolution which might take into consideration the general conclusions of the Technical Advisory Group and state the objectives of agrarian reform and the measures to be taken to achieve these objectives, in each case with regard to aspects of direct concern to the International Labour Organisation; it was indicated that the resolution might also include directives to strengthen the Organisation’s action in the research, standard-setting and operational fields.

The Office will prepare and communicate to governments in good time a report on the above-mentioned question as a basis for discussion at the 49th Session of the Conference.

It should be mentioned that in the course of the preparation of this report the Office will pursue with the other international agencies concerned, and in particular with the United Nations and with the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, the close cooperation established in the first stages of the consideration of this item.

VII. The Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries (first discussion).

Assistance to co-operative development has been part of the accepted policy of the International Labour Organisation since its foundation, and this policy has been translated into practical action through the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance in a manner which has been welcomed and used by a large number of developing countries.

Considering that the time had now come when the experience thus acquired should be evaluated and the lines of future development laid down, the Governing Body, at its 157th Session (November 1963), decided to include in the agenda of the 49th Session of the Conference an item worded: “The role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries” (first discussion), with a view to the formulation of a Recommendation to deal with certain practical aspects of co-operation.

The question is to be examined according to the double-discussion procedure defined in article 39 of the Standing Orders of the Conference. In accordance with the provisions thereof, the Office has prepared and sent to governments a preliminary report (International Labour Conference, 49th Session, 1965, Report VII (1): The Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries (Geneva, I.L.O., 1964)).

The first chapter of the report describes the co-operative solution to economic and social problems; the second chapter defines the factors impeding development and the conditions
for the success of co-operative action. Some final remarks are submitted in a third chapter. The report also contains a questionnaire, to which governments are asked to reply indicating the reasons for their replies.

On the basis of governments' replies the Office will prepare a second report summarising the views expressed and indicating the principal points which would appear to require consideration by the Conference.

Both reports will serve as a basis for discussion at the 49th Session.

C. COMMUNICATION OF DOCUMENTS PREPARED FOR THE CONFERENCE

Every effort will be made to ensure that the documents submitted to the Conference are communicated to member States well in advance of the opening of the session.

It will be appreciated that the smooth working of the Conference depends on the delegates' having the opportunity to study beforehand the documents prepared by the International Labour Office on which the discussions are based. The attention of governments is therefore drawn to the importance of ensuring that the reports sent to them on the various items on the agenda are in the hands of delegates well in advance of the session.

D. COMPOSITION OF DELEGATIONS

Article 3, paragraph 1, of the Constitution of the Organisation provides that each delegation to a session of the International Labour Conference shall be composed of four delegates, namely two Government delegates, one delegate representing the employers and one delegate representing the workers.

In accordance with the provisions of article 3, paragraph 2, of the Constitution, each delegate may be accompanied by not more than two advisers for each separate item placed on the agenda. Each of the last four items mentioned in section A of this memorandum forms a separate item placed on the agenda of the session. Moreover, as on the occasion of all previous sessions since 1945, the item "Information and Reports on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations" will be considered as a separate item within the meaning of the above-mentioned paragraph 2 of article 3, that is to say, with a view to the appointment of technical advisers. In these circumstances each Government, Employers' and Workers' delegate to the 49th Session may be accompanied by not more than ten advisers. To ensure an equal representation of Employers and Workers on the committees of the Conference it is desirable that, so far as possible, equal numbers of Employers' and Workers' advisers should be appointed in each delegation.

The regular application of the principle that as a general rule the sittings of the committees shall not take place at the same time as the plenary sittings of the Conference has proved impracticable in recent years as a result of the growth in the volume of business coming before the Conference. The Governing Body recognised this with regret at its 148th Session (March 1961) and stressed the importance of delegations being so equipped as to enable plenary sittings and sittings of committees to be held without interference with each other's work when such simultaneity could not be avoided. Governments are therefore requested, when composing their delegations, to give consideration to the importance of making arrangements for representation at the plenary sittings when such sittings are held simultaneously with the sittings of committees.

Article 3, paragraph 5, of the Constitution provides that—

The Members undertake to nominate non-government delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries.

In connection with this provision of article 3 of the Constitution, the Credentials Committee of the 46th Session of the Conference (1962), having before it cases where several representative organisations existed in one and the same country, made the following statement in this regard:

This article requires: (a) that there shall be consultations; (b) that these consultations shall be entered into with the most representative organisations of employers and of workpeople, in the country in question, provided such organisations exist; and (c) that the delegates finally appointed should be chosen in agreement with the said organisations.

Certainly, agreement cannot always be reached. But genuine consultations undertaken in good faith are essential. In Advisory Opinion No. 1 of the Permanent Court of International Justice—which relates particularly to countries where there are several representative organisations...it is stated, in particular with regard to the obligation laid down in paragraph 5 of article 3 of the Constitution, that—

The engagement...is not a mere moral obligation. It is a part of the Treaty and constitutes an obligation by which the Parties to the Treaty are bound to one another.

The obligation is that the persons nominated should have been chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations most representative of employers or workpeople. There is no definition of the word "representative" in the Treaty. The most representative organisations for this purpose are, of course, those organisations which best represent the employers and the workers respectively. What these organisations are, is a question to be decided in the particular case, having regard to the circumstances in each particular country at the time when the choice falls to be made. Numbers are not the only test of the representative character of the organisations, but they are an important factor; other things being equal, the most numerous will be the most representative. The article throws upon the Government of the State the duty of deciding, on the data at its disposal, what organisations are, in point of fact, the most representative....
The only object of the intervention of industrial organisations, in connection with the selection of delegates and technical advisers, is to ensure, as far as possible, that the Governments should nominate persons whose opinions are in harmony with the opinions of employers and workers respectively. If, therefore, in a particular country there exist several industrial organisations representing the working classes, the Government must take all of them into consideration when it is proceeding to the nomination of the Workers' delegate and his technical advisers. Only by acting in this way can the Government succeed in choosing persons who, having regard to the particular circumstances, will be able to represent at the Conference the views of the working classes concerned.

The aim of each Government must, of course, be an agreement with all the most representative organisations of employers and workers, as the case may be; that, however, is only an ideal which is extremely difficult to attain.

What is required of the Governments is that they should do their best to effect an agreement, which, in the circumstances, may be regarded as the best for the purpose of ensuring the representation of the workers of the country.

The Credentials Committee feels bound to appeal very strongly... to all the governments of the States Members of the Organisation to conform strictly to the Constitution when appointing non-government delegates to the International Labour Conference. Arbitrary choice of such delegates by the government from lists submitted by organisations of greatly varying sizes, without any effort at genuine consultation to reach an agreement with the most representative organisations, constitutes an abuse which, if it is not remedied, could lead the International Labour Conference into a situation which would be dangerous for the entire Organisation....

Governments will no doubt take the necessary steps to ensure that the delegations attending the Conference are appointed in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, that they are complete and that they include the advisers necessary for dealing adequately with the technical questions on the agenda.

Women Delegates and Advisers.

It will be noted that not only do the items on the agenda of the 49th Session concern women as much as men but that one of them, i.e. item V: "Employment of women with family responsibilities", specially affects women. The attention of governments is therefore drawn to the fact that women are equally eligible with men for appointment as delegates or advisers to the Conference, irrespective of the nature of the items on the agenda, and that article 3, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the Organisation provides that, when questions specially affecting women are on the agenda, one at least of the advisers should be a woman.

E. CREDENTIALS

The credentials of delegates to the Conference and their advisers should, in conformity with the provisions of article 26, paragraph 1, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, be deposited with the International Labour Office at least 15 days before the date fixed for the opening of the session of the Conference. As the Governing Body decided that the Conference will open on 2 June 1965, the final date for the deposit of credentials will be 18 May 1965.

For the convenience of governments, a suggested form for the credentials of delegates is appended to the present memorandum.

F. RESOLUTIONS

According to the provisions of article 17, paragraph 1 (1), of the Standing Orders, as amended by the Conference at its 43rd and 47th Sessions (1959 and 1963)...

No resolution relating to a matter not included in an item of the agenda of the Conference shall be moved at any sitting of the Conference unless a copy of the resolution has been deposited with the Director-General of the International Labour Office at least 15 days before the opening of the session of the Conference, by a delegate to the Conference.

As the Governing Body has decided that the Conference should open on 2 June 1965, the final date for the deposit of such resolutions will be 18 May 1965.

G. ENTERTAINMENT DURING THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

H. ACCOMMODATION FOR DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA

1 Copies of Advisory Opinion No. 1 are available on request. (Note appended to the original text.)

2 Not reproduced here.
* * *

This Record of Proceedings of the Forty-ninth Session of the Conference is arranged as follows:

**First Part**

List of members of delegations, etc., comprising the names of all persons who took part in the Conference, classified according to the functions they performed.

**Second Part**

A verbatim report of the proceedings in plenary sitting, including stenographic reports of the original speeches in the case of speeches delivered in English, and translations based on the simultaneous telephonic interpretations into English given by the official interpreters to the Conference in the case of speeches delivered in other languages.

**Third Part**

Appendices, including the reports and documents submitted by the committees to the Conference and the texts (Conventions, Recommendations, resolutions, etc.) adopted by the Conference.

In addition, the volume contains a table of contents, which precedes this Introduction, and, at the end, an index to the Second and Third Parts.
FIRST PART

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

Delegations

AFGHANISTAN

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Ali Mohammad ZAKARYA, Secretary, Royal Afghan Embassy, Belgrade.
Mr. Faqir M. BAIZAY, Director of Vocational Training, Ministry of Mines and Industries.

ALGERIA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. HADJ Boudissa SAFI, M.P., Member of the Central Committee; Minister of Labour; Vice-President, All-African Trade Union Federation.
Accompanied by:
Mr. Mebarek DJILANI, M.P., Chairman, Social Affairs Committee of the National Assembly.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Raouf BOUDJAKDI, Chief of the International Organisations Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Abdelmadjid BOUHARA, Assistant Director of Labour Regulations, Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Abdelaziz BOUCHOUK, International Organisations Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Mohamed LARBI, Technical Adviser, Ministry of Labour.

Advisers
Mr. Mokhtar BOUBDELLAH, Technical Adviser, Ministry of Labour.
Mrs. Fatima GHANI-GHARBI, Attaché, Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Mohamed ABDELLAZIZ, Technical Adviser, Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Mohamed BENAMARA, Official responsible for social affairs, Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform.
Mr. Idir AIT AMAR, Departmental Director of Labour and Manpower.
Mr. Mahmoud BELLAL, Division of International Organisations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Abdelkader TAOG, General Union of Algerian Merchants (U.G.C.A.).

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Mohamed KHAZNADJI, General Economic Confederation of Algeria; Vice-President, UNALBA.

WORKERS’ DELEGATE
Mr. Mouloud OUMEZIANE, General Secretary, General Union of Algerian Workers (U.G.T.A.).

Advisers and Substitute Delegates
Mr. Lahcene MIMOUNI, General Secretary, General Union of Algerian Workers (U.G.T.A.).
Mr. Azzedine MAZRI, Secretary, Constantine Regional Union of the General Union of Algerian Workers (U.G.T.A.).

Advisers
Mr. Youcef BRIKI, Secretary, Algiers Regional Union of the General Union of Algerian Workers (U.G.T.A.).
Mr. Mohamed BERKACHE, Secretary, Oran Regional Union of the General Union of Algerian Workers (U.G.T.A.).

ARGENTINA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. Fernando SOLÁ, Minister of Labour and Social Security.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Germán LÓPEZ, Under-Secretary for Labour.
Mr. Miguel Ángel ARMENDARES, Director-General of Legal Affairs, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Jorge Luis FERNÁNDEZ PASTOR, Secretary-General, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Advisors
Mr. Mario Alberto CÁMPORA, Secretary of Embassy; Member of the Permanent Mission of the Argentine Republic accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.
Mr. Juan Carlos ARLÍA, Secretary of Embassy; Member of the Permanent Mission of the Argentine Republic accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.
Mr. Jorge BRAVO, Under-Secretary of Labour, Province of Buenos Aires.

EMPLOYERS’ DELEGATE
Mr. Ildelfonso RECALDE.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Severo Simón BARTOMBO.

Advisors
Mr. Jorge León RODEYRO.
Mr. José B. GELBAED.
Mr. Laureano ARAYA.
Mr. Juan Severo TARTARA.

WORKERS’ DELEGATE
Mr. José ALONSO.
Advisers
Mr. Juan RACCHINI.
Mr. Luis A. ANGELEIER.

AUSTRALIA

Government Delegates
Mr. Philip Halford COOK, First Assistant Secretary, Industrial Relations and General Division, Department of Labour and National Service.
Mr. Brian Clarence HILL, Ambassador; Permanent Representative of Australia to the European Office of the United Nations; Representative of the Government of Australia on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Miss Alison Mary STEPHEN, Principal Research Officer, Planning and Research Division, Department of Labour and National Service.

Advisers
Mr. Keiran DESMOND, First Secretary, Australian Embassy, Brussels.
Mr. Campbell FLEAY, Senior Industrial Relations Officer, Department of Labour, Territory of Papua and New Guinea.
Miss June Hyett BAENETT, Second Secretary, Australian Permanent Mission to the European Office of the United Nations.
Mr. Humphrey ALLEN JONES, Assistant Secretary, Department of Labour of West Australia.
Mr. Thomas TOBUNBUN, Department of Education, Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Joseph Randolph GIBSON, Past President, Queensland Chamber of Manufactures; Member of the Executive, Associated Chambers of Manufactures of Australia.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Robert William Charles ANDERSON, O.B.E., Federal Director, Associated Chambers of Manufactures of Australia.

Advisers
Mr. Graham Ernest PYKKE, Secretary, South Australian Employers' Federation.
Mr. George POLITES, Executive Director, Australian Council of Employers' Federations.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Albert Ernest MONK, President, Australian Council of Trade Unions; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Gilbert Edward HAYES, Secretary, Victorian Branch, Australian Boot Trade Employees' Federation.

Advisers
Mr. James William COLEMAN, Secretary, Trade and Labour Council of Western Australia.
Mr. Richard William Brian HARRADINE, Secretary, Tasmanian Branch, Federated Clerks' Union.

AUSTRIA

Minister Attending the Conference
Mr. Anton PROKOSCH, Federal Minister of Social Administration.

Belgium

Government Delegates
Mr. L. SERVAIS, Minister of Employment and Labour.
Mr. L.-E. TROCLET, Senator.
Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mr. G. SCYNS, Member of the House of Representatives.
Mrs. G. COPÉE-GERBINET, Member of the House of Representatives.
Mr. L. VERHENNE, Member of the House of Representatives.
Mr. R. ROTHSCCHILD, Belgian Ambassador, Berne; Permanent Representative of Belgium accredited to the European Office of the United Nations.
Mr. M. HOUILLEZ, Deputy Permanent Representative of Belgium accredited to the European Office of the United Nations.
Mr. J. DENYS, Counsellor, Ministry of Employment and Labour.
Mr. Fernand VAN BLADEL, Conciliation Officer, Attached to the Office of the Minister of Employment and Labour.

Advisers

Mr. A. UYTDENHOEF, Director-General, Ministry of Employment and Labour.
Mr. VAN MALDEBEN, Chief Engineer; Director, Mining Administration.
Mr. E. H. DE SUTTEE, Chief Engineer; Director, Ministry of Agriculture.
Mr. DE WINTEE, Principal Inspector; Chief of Service, Ministry of Agriculture.

Employers' Delegate

Mr. A. VERSCHUEREN, Director, Social Department, Federation of Belgian Industries; Substitute Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. R. DE SUTTEE, Chief Engineer; Director, Ministry of Agriculture.

Workers' Delegate

Mr. J. DE BRUYN, General Secretary, Federation of Non-Industrial Undertakings of Belgium.
Mr. A. GILBERT, Managing Director, S.A. des Charbonnages du Nord de Gilly.
Mr. J. HIEBEL, Chief Agricultural Adviser, Belgian Agricultural Federation Special Lecturer, Catholic University of Louvain.
Mr. G. SLADDEN, Agronomist; Engineering Consultant, Cominère.

Employers' Delegate

Mr. N. DE BOCK, General Secretary, Belgian General Federation of Labour (F.G.T.B.); Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Auguste COOL, President, Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

Advisers

Mr. E. MACHELS, President, Central Christian Association of Workers in the Food Industries.
Mr. G. SAuvAGE, Assistant Secretary, Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.
Mr. R. METTENS, Legal Adviser, Belgian General Federation of Labour (F.G.T.B.).

Workers' Delegate

Mr. Antonio CORRÊA do LAGO, Ambassador; Head of the Permanent Delegation of Ambassador in Geneva.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Lopo de CARVALHO COELHO, Representative of the Government of Brazil on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers

Mr. Max do REGO MONTEIRO, Chairman, Supreme Social Welfare Council.
Mr. Marcelo PIMENTEL, Legal Adviser, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Carlos Alberto NEMBRI de BRITO, Cabinet Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Rodolfo GODÓY de SOUZA DANTAS, First Secretary of Embassy, Permanent Delegation of Brazil in Geneva.
Mr. David SILVEIKA de MOTA, Jr., First Secretary of Embassy, Permanent Delegation of Brazil in Geneva.
Mr. Augusto de ULHOA REIS, Physician, National Occupational Safety and Health Department.
Mr. Bernardo de AZEVEDO BRITO, Secretary of Embassy.
Mr. Carlos Alberto TENÓRIO MACHADO, Substitute Representative of the Government of Brazil on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
Mr. Vicente BEZERRA NETO, Senator.
Mr. Gilberto Ronaldo CAMPELO de AZEVEDO, M.P.

Employers' Delegate

Mr. Raymundo N. FONTENELLE de ARAÚJO.

Advisers

Mr. Nério Siegfried WAGNER BATTENDIERI.
Mr. Antonio FERNANDES, Jr.
Mr. Buy NOGUEIRA MARTINS.
Mr. Diego GONZALVES BLANCO.

Workers' Delegate

Mr. Mario LOPES de OLIVEIRA.

Advisers

Mr. João WAGNER.
Mr. Eduardo PRINCIPA.
Mr. Antonio PEREIRA MAGALDI.
Mr. Rômulo MARINHO.
Mr. João Regis FASSBENDER TEIXEIRA.
Mr. Avelino GOMES de CASTRO.

BULGARIA

Minister Attending the Conference

Mr. Mishe MISHEV, Chairman, Labour and Work Remuneration Committee, Council of Ministers.

Government Delegates

Mr. Angel TZANKOV, First Vice-Chairman, Labour and Work Remuneration Committee, Council of Ministers; Representative of the Government of Bulgaria on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

BRAZIL

Government Delegates

Mr. Arnaldo LOPES SUSSEKIND, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Methodi POPOV, Minister Plenipotentiary; Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria accredited to the European Office of the United Nations and the international organisations in Geneva; Substitute Representative of the Government of Bulgaria on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates


Mr. Petko KIREY, Professor, George Dimitrov Higher Institute of Agricultural Sciences.

Mr. Pepo COHEN, Head of the I.L.O. Department, Labour and Work Remuneration Committee, Council of Ministers.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mrs. Zdravka Borisova PEEVA, Engineer; Director, "Pirine" Amalgamated Industrial Enterprise.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Mladen IVANOV, Secretary, Central Council of Trade Unions.

Adviser

Mr. Nikolai DESSEV, Central Council of Trade Unions.

BURMA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Captain Maung KYI, Deputy Director-General of Labour Affairs.

Mr. Thein TIN, Deputy Director of Labour Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Tha HAN, Assistant Engineer, National Housing Board.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Win HTEIN, Assistant Foreman, Union of Burma Railways Board.

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Anatolii Emelyanovich GURINOVICh, Vice-Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Anatolii Nikitich SHELDov, Member of the Collegium, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mr. Vasilli Ivanovich PESHKOV, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Eduard Yosifovich BORSCHCHEVSKY, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission to the European Office of the United Nations.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Alexei Vasilievich KAZANTSEV, Director, Minsk Watch Factory "Luch".

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Anatolii Petrovich OBUKHOVICH, Secretary, Byelorussian Council of Trade Unions.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mrs. Evgenia Timofeevna SMIRNOVA, Secretary, Byelorussian Republican Committee of Unions of Workers in Education, Higher Institutes of Learning, and Scientific Establishments.

CAMEROON

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. NZO-EKHHAH-NGHARY, Minister of Labour and Social Legislation.

Mr. Paul FOKAM KAMGA, Director of Labour.

Advisers

Mrs. D. GWANULA, representing the women of Western Cameroon.

Mrs. Jeanne BOULOU, Third-Class Primary School Teacher, Eastern Cameroon.

Dr. Joseph BOWEN, Medical Inspector of Labour.

Mr. Georges-Henri CONNILLIÈRE, Technical Counsellor, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. OBAM MFO'OU, Director of Co-operation and Mutual Aid, Federated State of Eastern Cameroon.

Mr. W. E. MAKIA, Representative of the Co-operative Movement, Federated State of Western Cameroon.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Louis BEKOMBO, Manager, Cameroon Automobile; President, Federation of Occupational Unions of Eastern Cameroon.

Adviser

Mr. Braimoh Sanusi AGBABIAKA, Personnel Manager, Cameroon Development Corporation, Federated State of Western Cameroon.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Jacques NGOM, General Secretary, Federation of Trade Unions of Cameroon (F.S.C.).

Adviser

Mr. Gabriel FOGAM, General Secretary, West Cameroon Trade Union Congress.

CANADA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE

The Hon. Allan J. MacEACHEN, Minister of Labour.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. George V. HAYTHORNE, Deputy Minister of Labour; Representative of the Government of Canada on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. John MAINWARING, Director, International Labour Affairs Branch, Department of Labour.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Saul F. RAE, Ambassador; Permanent Representative of Canada accredited to the European Office of the United Nations.

Advisers

Mr. P. J. LAVELLE, Executive Assistant to the Minister of Labour.

Mr. R. M. ADAMS, Counsellor (Labour), Canadian Embassy, Brussels.

Mr. B. N. ARMASON, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Saskatchewan.

Mr. J. Alan BEEESLEY, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations.

Mr. C. J. MARSHALL, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations.

Miss M. V. ROYCE, Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labour.
Mr. W. H. SANDS, Deputy Minister of Labour, British Columbia.
Miss E. WOOLNER, Legislation Branch, Department of Labour.
Mr. Félix QUINET, Labour-Management Division, Department of Labour.
Mr. Jean-Pierre CÔTÉ, M.P.
Mr. R. BASFORD, M.P.

Representatives of Provincial Governments
Accompanying the Government Delegates
The Hon. Carrier FORTIN, Minister of Labour, Quebec.
Mr. G. CHARBONNEAUX, Labour Relations Counsellor, Ministry of Health, Quebec.

Employers' Delegate
Mr. K. HALLSWORTH, Director, Industrial Relations, Ford Motor Company of Canada.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. J. P. DESPRES, Director of Industrial Relations, Iron Ore Company of Canada.

Advisers
Mr. J. E. DAVIDSON, Davidson, Davidson & Neil.
Mr. George LACH, Assistant Vice-President (Personnel), Canadian National Railways.
Mr. P. L. SCHMIDT, Industrial Relations Department, Canadian Manufacturers' Association.
Mr. W. J. WHITTAKER, Wardlaw and Whittaker.

Workers' Delegate
Mr. Joseph MORRIS, Executive Vice-President, Canadian Labour Congress.

Advisor and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Kalmen KAPLANSKY, Director, Department of International Affairs, Canadian Labour Congress; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers
Miss G. LACHAINE, Vice-President, Confederation of National Trade Unions.
Mr. Jim MacDONALD, Executive Secretary, National Labour Co-operative Committee.
Miss H. PLAMONDON, Vice-President, Canadian Labour Congress (Quebec).
Mr. John F. WALTER, Member, National Legislative Committee, International Railway Unions.

Central African Republic

Government Delegates
Mr. Jean-Gauthier LEDOT, Minister of the Civil Service and Labour.
Mrs. Marie-Joséphine FRANCK, President, Central African Women's Association; Chief, Women's Advancement Service.

Advisor
Mr. Fernand-Michel WALLOT, Director of Labour.

Employers' Delegate
Mr. André HALIE.

Workers' Delegate
Mr. Maurice ROKEY.

CEYLON

Government Delegates
Mr. R. M. C. R. BELIGAMMAMA, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Employment and Housing.
Mr. A. O. WIRASINGHE, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Employment and Housing.

Advisor
Mr. R. L. GUNASEKEERA, Deputy Commissioner of Labour.

Employers' Delegate
Mr. C. RAJASURIYA, Secretary, Ceylon Estates Employers' Federation.

Workers' Delegate
Mr. S. THONDAMAN, M.P., President, Ceylon Workers' Congress; Substitute Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

CHAD

Government Delegates
Mr. Ali KEKE, Minister of Labour, Youth and Sport.
Mr. Eloi YAMSALA, Cabinet Director, Ministry of Labour, Youth and Sport.

Advisor and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Augustin NODJITEL, Director of Labour and Social Legislation.

Employers' Delegate
Mr. François ISSENMANN, President, Chad Inter-occupational Federation (UNITCHAD).

Advisor
Mr. Jean-Pierre SCHAMBÉ, Chief of Personnel for Chad, Air Afrique Company.

Workers' Delegate
Mr. Robert GORALLAH.

CHILE

Government Delegates
Mr. William THAYER, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Ramón HUIDOBRO, Permanent Representative of Chile accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.

Advisor and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Patricio BUSQUET IBRIBARRA, Legal Adviser, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Advisers
Mr. Fernando CONTRERAS TAPIA, Counsellor; Deputy Permanent Representative of Chile accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.
Mr. Rolando STEIN, Secretary of Embassy.

Employers' Delegate
Mr. César SEPÚLVEDA LATAPÍAT.

Workers' Delegate
Mrs. Gioconda DEFILLIPPI MORENO.
List of Members of Delegations, etc.

CHINA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES


Mr. LEE Yen-ping, Senior Specialist, Ministry of the Interior; Substitute Representative of the Government of the Republic of China on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers

Mr. HUANG Yung-shih, Deputy Director, Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of the Interior.

Mr. HU Fu-sen, Chief, International Labour Affairs Division, Ministry of the Interior.

EMPLOYERS’ DELEGATE

Mr. CHENG Tien-shih, Vice-President, Taiwan Sugar Corporation.

Adviser

Mr. LIU Kuo-tai, Board Chairman, Taiwan Mutual Loan and Savings Corporation.

WORKERS’ DELEGATE

Mr. TENG Wan-hsi, Member of the Standing Committee, Chinese Federation of Labour.

Adviser

Mr. LOH Kwang, Member of the Standing Committee, Chinese Federation of Labour.

COLOMBIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Eliseo ARANGO, Permanent Representative of Colombia accredited to the European Office of the United Nations.

Mr. Rodolfo MARTÍNEZ TONO, Director of the National Apprentices Bureau (SENA).

EMPLOYERS’ DELEGATES

Mr. Ignacio REYES POSADA, Assistant Manager (Legal), National Association of Industrialists (A.S.D.I.).

WORKERS’ DELEGATE

Mr. Tulio CUEVAS, President, Union of Colombian Workers (U.T.C.).

Adviser

Mr. José Raquel MERCADO, President, Confederation of Colombian Workers (C.T.C.).

CONGO (Brazzaville)

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Gabriel BETOU, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, in charge of civil aviation, ASECNA and the Tourist Bureau.

Mr. Agathon NOTE, Director of Labour and Social Welfare.

EMPLOYERS’ DELEGATE

Mr. A. MABOUNGOU M'BIMBA, President, Social and Economic Council.

Adviser

Mr. Jean DUCUP de SAINT-PAUL, President and International Delegate, Unicongo.

WORKERS’ DELEGATE

Mr. Idrissa DIALO, Secretary-General, Congolese Trade Union Federation.

Adviser

Mrs. M'BEMBA, Primary School Teacher, Delegate of the Women’s Revolutionary Union of the Congo.

CONGO (Leopoldville)

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Dismas MWALU, Chief of Section, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Alphonse MAKWAMBALA, Secretary-General, Ministry of Labour; Representative of the Government of the Congo (Leopoldville) on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office (Deputy Member).

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Abdon MUNGA, Assistant Director, Ministry of Labour.

Advisers

Mr. Henri PLATTEAU, Cabinet Adviser, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Victor HODY, Adviser, Secretariat-General, Ministry of Labour.

EMPLOYERS’ DELEGATE

Mr. Jean P. M. J. Gh. JONCKHERE, Director, Federation of Congolese Undertakings (F.E.C.).

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. MASANGU, Administrator, Agence Maritime du Congo.

WORKERS’ DELEGATE

Mr. TAMPUNGU, National Secretary, Union of Congolese Workers (U.T.C.).

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Thomas BOOKA, Deputy General Secretary, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of the Congo (C.S.L.C.).

COSTA RICA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Alfonso CARRO ZÚÑIGA, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Guillermo PADILLA CASTRO, I.L.O. Correspondent in Costa Rica.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Ms. Elizabeth ODIO BENTO, Chief, Legal, Information and International Relations Office, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Claudio GONZÁLEZ QUIRÓS, Chief of the Branches, Section, Costa Rican Social Security Fund.

Adviser

Mr. Aristide P. DONNADIEU, Deputy Permanent Delegate and Consul-General, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS’ DELEGATE

Mr. Luis Felipe MORÚA CARRILLO, Administrative Board, Chamber of Industry.
List of Members of Delegations, etc.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Amado LÓPEZ CHINCHILLA, General Secretary, Costa Rican Confederation of Workers—Rerum Novarum.

CUBA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Faustino CALCINES GORDILLO, First Vice-Minister, Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Enrique CAMEJO ARGUDÍN, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; Permanent Delegate of Cuba accredited to the international organisations in Switzerland.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Roberto MULET DEL VALLE, Director of International Affairs, Ministry of Labour.

Advisers
Mr. José Manuel ANTELO VILLANUEVA, Head of the Department of Specialised Agencies, Directorate of International Organisations, Ministry of Foreign Relations.
Mr. Manuel GONZÁLEZ NORIEGA, Official, National Institute of Agrarian Reform.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Bernardo DOMÍNGUEZ OCEJA, Director, Amalgamated Soap and Perfumery Undertaking.

Adviser
Mrs. Waldina ESTANO CASTRO, Member of the Executive Committee, Cuban Workers' Union.

CYPRIUS

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. Tassos PAPADOPOULOS, Minister of Labour and Social Insurance.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Mikis D. SPARISIS, Ag. Director-General, Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance.
Mr. Anthony PROTOPAPAS, Senior Employment Officer, Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance.

Advisors
Mr. Andreas AZINAS, Commissioner for Co-operative Development.
Mr. Pavlos PAPAIOANNOU, General Secretary, Department of Co-operative Development.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Costas KAPARTIS, Secretary-Director, Cyprus Employers' Consultative Association.

Advisers
Mr. Leandros ZACHARIADES, Chairman, Cyprus Employers' Consultative Association.
Mr. Antonakis PIERIDES, Personnel Manager, Cyprus Mines Corporation.
Mr. Stelios STELLAKIS, Personnel Manager, Bank of Cyprus.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Andreas ZIARTIDES, General Secretary, Pancyprian Federation of Labour.

Advisers
Mr. Nicos ZIVANAS, General Secretary, Cyprus Workers' Confederation.
Mr. Petros STYLIANOU, General Secretary, Democratic Labour Federation of Cyprus.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Vilém PITHART, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Ladislav PISCA, Director, Social Security Institute, Bratislava.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Jaroslav DOSTÁL, State Planning Commission.

Advisers
Mr. Václav ERMIÁŠ, Director, Institute for Agricultural Economy.
Mr. Mikuláš CAPEK, Head of Department, Central Council of Co-operatives.
Mrs. Albina BUCKOVÁ, State Planning Commission.
Mr. Milan JURZA, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Jan PECHÁČEK, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Vlastimil PLECHÁČ, Director, Záluzí Chemical Works; Member, Council of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Zdeněk GREGOR, Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions.

Adviser
Mr. Albin ŽILA, Slovak Council of Trade Unions.

DAHOMEY

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE
Mr. Jean SAKA, Cabinet Director, Ministry of the Civil Service, Labour and Social Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Arnold LOTSU, General Secretary, Chief of Personnel, John Walkden Company.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Léandre AMILON.

DENMARK

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. Erling DINESEN, Minister of Labour.
List of Members of Delegations, etc.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Gunnar COLN, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. P. JOUTL-CHRISTENSEN, Director, International Relations Department of the Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs.

Advisers

Mrs. Nina ANDERSEN, M.P.; Secretary.

Mr. Clemens PEDERSEN, Secretary-General, Central Co-operative Committee of Denmark.

Mr. Greger FRANDSEN, Assistant Chief, International Department of the Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Arne LUND, Director-General, Danish Employers' Confederation.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Poul Schade POUlsen, Assistant Director, Danish Employers' Confederation.

Adviser

Mr. Age TARP, Consultant, Danish Employers' Confederation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Svend Bache VOgNBJEERG, Secretary, National Confederation of Danish Trade Unions.

Advisers

Mr. Thomas NIELSEN, Secretary, National Confederation of Danish Trade Unions.

Mr. Hans JENSEN, President, National Union of Bricklayers.

ECUADOR

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Luis JARAMILLO PÉREZ, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Enrique PONCE y CARBÓ, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; Permanent Representative of Ecuador accredited to the European Office of the United Nations; Representative of the Government of Ecuador on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser

Mr. Mentor POVEDA, Director, Land Administration Department, Ecuadorian Land Reform Institute.

ETHIOPIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Getahun TESEMMA, Minister of National Community Development.

Mr. Michael AMEDE, Director-General of Labour Relations, Ministry of National Community Development.

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Mr. Melake Selam BEKELE, Legal and International Section, Ministry of National Community Development.

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WORKERS' DELEGATE

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MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE

Mr. Juho TENHÍALÁ, Minister of Social Affairs.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

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Mr. Niilo KOLJONEN, Secretary, Finnish Trade Union Federation (S.A.J.).

Mr. Lauri HYPPÖNEN, Executive Secretary, Confederation of Salaried Employees.

FRANCE

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE

Mr. Gilbert GRANDVAL, Minister of Labour.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Alexandre PARODI, former Minister of Labour and Social Security; Vice-President of the Council of State; Representative of the Government of France on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers
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Mr. Dante ROSENTHAL, Civil Administrator, Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Maurice RAMOND, Deputy Inspector General, Inspectorate of Social Security.
Mr. Albert VANTHIER, Foreign Affairs Counselor; Chief, Liaison Service for the Major Non-Governmental International Organisations.
Mr. Michel LENNUYEUX-COMMeNE, Secretary of Embassy; First Secretary, Permanent Mission of France accredited to the European Office of the United Nations.
Mr. Jean DAMIAN, General Mining Engineer, Ministry of Industry.
Mr. Marcel SERRAIN, Inspector of Rural Economy attached to the Ministry of Co-operation.
Mr. Pierre MARÉCHAL, Assistant Director of Economic Structures, Ministry of Agriculture.

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Mr. Louis MERMILOD, Chief, Liaison Service of the National Council of French Employers (C.N.P.F.) with the International Labour Organization.
Mr. Jean MONSEMPES, General Delegate, International Federation of Clothing Industries.
Mr. Pierre NEGRE, Chief, Labour and Social Relations Service, Charbonnages de France.
Mr. Gabriel SAINTIGNY, Administrator, Chemical Industries Association; Member of the Paris Chamber of Commerce.
Mr. Jules SALLENAVE, President, National Federation of Dye Works; Chairman, Interfederal Committee for Liaison between the Laundry and Dye Works Industries; Member of the Directorate of the General Confederation of Small and Medium-Sized Undertakings.

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Mr. René DUHAMEL, Secretary, General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).
Mrs. Renée PEUVIER, Secretary, C.G.T. Federation of State Workers; Member of the Administrative Committee, General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).
Mr. Roger MARIO, Secretary, Confederal Committee on Social Security, General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).
Mr. Roger LOUBET, Confederal Secretary, General Confederation of Labour—Force ouvrière (C.G.T.-F.O.).
Miss Madeleine DUPEYRON, Secretary, Trade Union Federation of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services (Force ouvrière).
Mr. René MONNEROT, International Envoy, General Confederation of Supervisors (C.G.C.).

GABON

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Mr. Marcel MINTSA, M.P., President, Social Affairs Committee of the National Assembly.

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Mr. Jacques KIEFFER, General Secretary, Interoccupational Economic and Social Union of Gabon (UNIGABON).

Workers' Delegate
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Mr. Walter SCHNASE, Senior Mining Counsellor, Federal Ministry of Economy.

Mrs. Christa MORAVE, Economist, Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

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Mr. G. W. KELLER, Lawyer; Director, Association of Employers in the Textile Industry of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Mr. Werner LÖW, Adviser, German Confederation of Employers’ Associations.

Mr. Walter SCHLOTTFELDT, Lawyer; Chief, International Social Policy Division, German Confederation of Employers’ Associations.

Mr. Rudolf SCHNIEDEBS, Adviser, German Agriculturists’ Association.

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Mr. Heinz MARKMANN, Adviser, Economic Policy Division of the Executive Board, German Confederation of Trade Unions (D.G.B.).

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Mrs. Herta METER-RIEKENBERG, Member of the Executive Board, German Federation of Salaried Employees; Chief of the Women’s Section.

Mr. Herbert TUROWSKI, Member of the Council, German Federation of Salaried Employees; Chief of the Federal Mine Employees’ Group.

Mr. Hans WEISE, Adviser, Federation of Workers in the Mining and Power Industries.

**Ghana**

**MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE**

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**Adviser**

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**Advisers**

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Mr. R. H. ATTIMU, General Secretary, Municipal and Local Workers’ Union.

Miss Pauline CLERK, Political Adviser, Ghana Trades Union Congress.

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**MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE**

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**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

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**Advisers**

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Mr. Leandros POLYCHRONIS, Special Counsellor, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Evangelos FLOKOS, Director, Ministry of Labour.

**EMPLOYERS’ DELEGATE**

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**Adviser**

Mr. Georgios ANGELOU, Legal Section, Federation of Greek Industrialists.

**WORKERS’ DELEGATE**

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**Advisers**

Mr. Nicholas VITORIS, Deputy Secretary-General, Greek General Confederation of Labour.

Mr. Constantinos PAPAIOANNOU, Member of the Executive Board, Greek General Confederation of Labour.
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**GUATEMALA**

**Government Delegates**
- Mr. Jorge José SALAZAR VALDÉS, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.
- Mr. Romeo Manuel HERNÁNDEZ CARDONA, Co-ordinating Secretary, Regional Technical Committee for Labour Affairs, Central American Labour and Social Welfare Council.

**Advisers**
- Mr. Alberto DUPONT-WILLEMIN, Consul-General; Permanent Representative of Guatemala accredited to the European Office of the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation.
- Mr. Alberto Luis Enrique DUPONT-WILLEMIN Jr., Vice-Consul; Attaché, Office of the Permanent Representative of Guatemala accredited to the European Office of the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation.

**Employers’ Delegate**
- Mr. Walter S. EISNER, Permanent Representative of the Employers’ Organisations on the Executive Committee of the International Organisation of Employers.

**Workers’ Delegate**
- Mr. Mauro MONTERROSO.

**GUINEA**

**Government Delegates**
- Mr. Sihkée CAMARA, Ambassador of the Republic of Guinea, Belgrade.
- Mr. Bohssein EOUAD, Cabinet Director, Secretariat of State for Labour.

**Employers’ Delegate**
- Mr. René BETZEL, Managing Director, Société Duffour & Igon.

**Workers’ Delegate**
- Mr. Habibou BAH, Teacher; Professor, Trade Union University of Conakry.

**HONDURAS**

**Government Delegate**
- Mr. Nicolás CRUZ TORRES.

**Employers’ Delegate**
- Mr. Augusto BARÓN LUPILAC.

**Workers’ Delegate**
- Mr. Salvador RAMOS ALVARADO.

**HUNGARY**

**Government Delegates**
- Mr. József MEKIS, First Deputy Minister of Labour.
- Mr. József BÉNYI, Deputy Permanent Representative of the Hungarian People’s Republic to the European Office of the United Nations.

**Adviser and Substitute Delegate**
- Mrs. Edit KONRÁD, Head of Section, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

**Advisers**
- Mr. Ferenc SOMOS, Second Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
- Mr. Andor WELTNÉR, University Professor, Head of the Chair of Labour Law, Loránd Eötvös University.

**Employers’ Delegate**
- Mr. Tamás SATTLER, General Director, Mineralimpex Foreign Trade Enterprise.

**Workers’ Delegate**
- Mr. László KARAKAS, Secretary, National Council of Trade Unions.

**Adviser and Substitute Delegate**
- Mr. János LÁZÁR, Head of Subdivision, Department of International Relations, National Council of Trade Unions.

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**Government Delegates**
- Mr. BHEEKHABHAI, Minister of Panchayati Raj, Community Development, Forest, Labour, Ayurveda, Social Welfare, Khadi and Village Industries, Government of Rajasthan.
- Mr. P. M. MENON, Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Employment.

**Advisers and Substitute Delegates**
- Mr. H. P. DUARA, Commissioner of Labour, Government of Assam.
- Mr. S. V. PURUSHOTTAM, Consul, Consulate General of India, Geneva.
- Mr. R. RANGANATHAN, Second Secretary (Commercial), Indian Embassy, Berne.

**Employers’ Delegate**
- Mr. Babubhai M. CHINAI, M.P.

**Advisers**
- Mr. P. Cheentaal RAO, Secretary, All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers.
- Mr. V. J. ROSS, Secretary, Madras Chamber of Commerce.

**Workers’ Delegate**
- Mr. ABID ALI, M.P.; Vice-President and International Representative, Indian National Trade Union Congress; Member of the Executive Board, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

**Advisers**
- Mr. Kali MUKHERJEE, President, Indian National Trade Union Congress, Bengal Branch.
- Mr. Jagannath SINHA, General Secretary, Indian National Trade Union Congress, Assam Branch.

**IRAN**

**Minister Attending the Conference**
- Mr. Atta-ollah KHOSROVANY, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs.

**Government Delegates**
- Mr. Sadegh AZIMI, Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegation of Iran accredited to the European Office of the United Nations.
Mr. Hassan FABZANEH, Engineer; Director-General of the Bureau of Economic and Social Studies, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates
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Mr. Abdol Hossein Mohammad KARY, Director of International Relations, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

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EMPLOYERS’ DELEGATE
Mr. Massoud GHAYOUE, Member of the Governing Board and the Executive Committee, General Secretary, Iranian Chamber of Mines and Industries; Member of the Governing Board, Associations of Metallurgical Industries; Member of the Iranian Higher Council of Labour.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates
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Mr. Mohammad SHAHEED-SALESS, National Iranian Oil Company.

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Mr. Heshmatollah FAEBOOD.
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WORKERS’ DELEGATE
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Advisers
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Mr. Abodorrza AKHAVANKALDAI, Workers’ Representative, Masjed Soleiman.
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IRAQ
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Advisers
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Advisers
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Mr. John O’CONNELL, Assistant Secretary, Federated Union of Employers.

WORKERS’ DELEGATE
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Advisers
Mr. Jack MACGOGGAN, Member of the Executive Council, Irish Congress of Trade Unions; National Officer, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers.
Mr. Raaidhri ROBERTS, Joint Secretary, Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

ISRAEL
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Mr. H. RADAY, Chief Labour Relations Officer, Ministry of Labour.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates
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Mr. A. TARSHISH, Member of the Ein Harod Kibbutz.

ITALY

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
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GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Roberto AGO, Professor of International Law, Rome University; Representative of the Government of Italy on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
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IVORY COAST

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Major Eric Herbert Augustus GRELL, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Insurance.

Employers' Delegate
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Workers' Delegate
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Mr. Ihei SHISEKI, Parliamentary Vice-Minister of Labour.

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Mr. Kazuo ADACHI, First Secretary, Embassy of Japan, London.

Mr. Keitaro HIBONAGA, Chief, Women Workers' Section, Women's and Minors' Bureau, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Ayako OBA, Chief, Women Workers' Section, Women's and Minors' Bureau, Ministry of Labour.

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Mr. Yuzuki KITO, Third Secretary, Permanent Delegation of Japan to the international organisations in Geneva.

Mr. Osamu OKAWARA, Secretary, International Labour Affairs Sections, Ministry of Labour.

Employers' Delegate
Mr. Akio MISHIRO, Chairman of the I.L.O. Committee, Japan Federation of Employers' Associations; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers
Mr. Kitae OGAWA, Managing Director, Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. Ltd.

Mr. Takao TAWARA, Managing Director, Nippon Mining Co. Ltd.

Mr. Koji KONDO, Correspondent in Europe, Japan Federation of Employers' Associations.

Workers' Delegate
Mr. Ichiro SHIOJI, President, Federation of Japan Automobile Workers' Unions.

Advisers
Mr. Kitae OGAWA, Managing Director, Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. Ltd.

Mr. Takao TAWARA, Managing Director, Nippon Mining Co. Ltd.

Mr. Koji KONDO, Correspondent in Europe, Japan Federation of Employers' Associations.

Mr. Saleem SOUSSAH.

Mr. Fahd ALNAJDAWI.

Mr. Muhammad JAWHAR.

Mr. Kamel Mohamed EDDEAN, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.

Government Delegates
Mr. Naji ABDUL-AZIZ, Assistant Director, Department of Labour.

Mr. Ghazi DIAB, Conciliation Representative.

Employers' Delegate
Mr. Walid ASFOUR.

Advisers

Mr. Saleem SOUSSAH.

Mr. Fahd ALNAJDAWI.

Workers' Delegate
Mr. Muhammad JAWHAR.

KENYA

Minister Attending the Conference
The Hon. J. ODERO-JOWI, M.P., Assistant Minister, Ministry of Labour and Social Services.

Government Delegates
Mr. M. A. O. NDISI, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Services.

Mr. J. H. I. OBIMBO, Labour Officer, Ministry of Labour and Social Services.

Advisers
Mrs. Rachel MZERA, Director, Kenya Red Cross
List of Members of Delegations, etc.

Mr. Joseph Gerard AYUGI, Acting Deputy Commissioner for Co-operative Development.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. D. RICHMOND, Executive Officer, Federation of Kenya Employers.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
The Hon. C. K. LUBEMBE, Senator; General Secretary, Kenya Federation of Labour.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Chadwick ADONGO, General Secretary, Union of Posts and Telecommunication Employees of Kenya, Kenya Federation of Labour.

KUWAIT

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Abdul Aziz SARAWI, Minister of Social Affairs and Labour.
Mr. Issa YASSIN, Supervisor of Unions and Industrial Relations.

Advisers
Mr. Abdul-Mutaleb AL-BIKAI, Supervisor of International Relations and Follow-up.
Mr. Mohammed Taha MADEOUR, Labour Expert.
Mr. Nasir AL-MALHAS, Head of International Relations Section.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Abdul Mushtin AL-TUWAINI, Kuwaiti Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Ajnan Kabalan DAHY.

Adviser
Mr. Nasser Sa’ad AL-ARIFI.

LEBANON

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. Edouard HONEIN, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Rida WAHID, former Minister; Director-General, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs; Director-General, National Social Security Fund; Representative of the Government of Lebanon on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
Mr. Fouad Naar ABI RAAD, Substitute Representative of the Government of Lebanon on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates
Father André LE GENISEL, Expert, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.
Mr. Joseph DONATO, Director-General, Social Development Office; Substitute Representative of the Government of Lebanon on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Marwan NASR, Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser
Mr. Georges HABBIB, Personnel Officer (Refinery), Iraq Petroleum Company Ltd., Lebanon.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Afif ZAINATI, President, Esso Trade Union; Chairman, Permanent Committee for Workers' Education and Trade Union Training; Secretary, Lebanese Federation of United Trade Unions (S.U.L.).

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Gabriel KHOURY, President, Bank Employees' Union (S.E.B.L.); President, Lebanese Federation of United Trade Unions (S.U.L.); President, Lebanon Confederation of Labour (C.T.L.); Member of the Managing Board of the Lebanese Social Security Fund; Substitute Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers
Mr. Fouad DARIAN, Former Secretary-General, Lebanese Federation of United Trade Unions (S.U.L.); Member of the Labour Court; Legal Adviser, General Confederation of Labour.
Mr. Antoine AOUN, Former Secretary-General, Lebanese Federation of United Trade Unions (S.U.L.); Member of the Board, Medico-Social Centre of Lebanon; Administrative Secretary, Lebanese Federation of United Trade Unions (S.U.L.).
Mr. Ali HOUMANI, President, Beirut Dockers' Union; Vice-President, Federation of Independent Trade Unions; Member of the Executive Board, Lebanon Confederation of Labour (C.T.L.).
Mr. Khaled BARADHI, President, Bakery Workers' Union of Northern Lebanon; General Secretary, Northern Lebanon Federation of Trade Unions; Secretary, Lebanon Confederation of Labour (C.T.L.).
Mr. Izzet SEMAAN, Member of the Executive Board, Workers' Union of the American University of Beirut; Member of the Executive Board, Lebanese Federation of United Trade Unions (S.U.L.); Member of the Executive Board, Lebanon Confederation of Labour (C.T.L.).
Mr. Halim MATAR, President, Printing Workers' and Bookbinders' Union; Vice-President, Trade Union League; Member of the Executive Board, Lebanon Confederation of Labour (C.T.L.).
Mr. Ahmed SULTAN, President, Northern Lebanon Hairdressers' Union; Member of the Executive Board, Northern Lebanon Federation of Trade Unions; Member of the Executive Board, Lebanon Confederation of Labour (C.T.L.).
Mr. Khodr DAYEH, President, Cinematographic Workers' Union; Secretary, Trade Union League.
Mr. Abdelkader FAYED, General Secretary, Union of Employees and Workers of the Port of Beirut; Secretary, Lebanon Confederation of United Trade Unions (S.U.L.).
Mr. Khalil KHALAJIJ, President, Union of Workers and Employees of the Tripoli Petroleum Refinery (I.P.C.); Secretary, Federation of Petroleum Employees' and Workers' Unions.

LIBERIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
The Hon. A. Dashward WILSON, Jr., Under-Secretary for Labour.
Mr. J. Urias NELSON, Director of Labour Standards.

Adviser
Mr. James B. FREEMAN.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. George PADMORE.
Advisers
Mr. Joseph BENSON.
Mr. Douglas Hugh GREVE.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Mohamed A. RAHMAN.

LIBYA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. Abdel Mola LENGHI, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Mohamed Ali El MARIAMI, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.
Mr. Mahmud DERBI, Assistant Under-Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

Advisers
Mr. Mohamed MEIR, Assistant Director-General, Co-operation Department.
Mr. Mohammed MAHJUB, Specialist, Manpower Section.
Mrs. Bassima EL-SADAWI, Official, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Abdulhalim BEN HALIM.

Adviser
Mr. Mohammed Mansur BEN BAEKAH.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
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Advisers
Mr. Antoine KRIFER, President, General Confederation of Labour; Substitute Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

MALAGASY REPUBLIC

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. Pierre RANJEVA, Director of Labour and Social Laws.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. RAOLISON, Chief, Research and Development Division, Commissariat-General for Co-operation.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Daniel ANDRIANTSITOHAINA, Vice-President, Confederation of Trade Unions of Economic Interest, Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Philgène RAVEROSON, Fivondronamben'ny Mpiaga Malagasy Trade Union.

MALAWI

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
The Hon. Alfred Beatres James CHIWANDA, M.P., Minister of Labour.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Ian Gilmour McCulloch, Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Edward Albert NEILMS, Industrial Relations Officer, Agricultural Employers' Association; Secretary, National Employers' Consultative Association of Malawi.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Frank Lewis MATTENJE, President, Railway Workers' Union of Malawi.

MALAYSIA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
The Hon. V. MANICKAVASAGAM, Minister of Labour.
GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. S. KUMAR, Commissioner for Labour, States of Malaya.
Mr. ABDUL RAHMAN bin Abu Osman, Senior Assistant Commissioner (Industrial Relations), Department of Labour and Industrial Relations, States of Malaya.

Advisers
Mr. A. NADESAN, Acting Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Labour, State of Singapore.
Mr. WONG Siew Wai, Deputy Commissioner (Administration), Department of Labour and Industrial Relations, States of Malaya.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Advisor
Mr. G. C. THIO, Personnel Manager, Bata Shoe Co. Ltd.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. S. J. H. ZAIDI, Hon. General Secretary, Malaysian Trades Union Congress.

Advisor
Mr. George CHUA, Secretary for Welfare and Social Programmes, National Trades Union Congress, Singapore.

MALI

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Oumar Baba DIARRA, Secretary of State for the Civil Service and Labour; Representative of the Government of Mali on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
Mr. Mamadou DIARRA, Labour Controller.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Balla DEMBELE, Deputy Managing Director, Office du Niger.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Mamadou Famady SISSOKO, M.P., General Secretary, Mali National Union of Workers (U.N.T.M.).

MALTA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Dr. Alexander CACHIA-ZAMMIT, M.D., M.P., Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Joseph M. ROSSIGNAUD, Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Joseph L. BONNICI, Enforcement Officer.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. George John RANSLEY, General Secretary, Malta Employers' Confederation.

Advisor
Mr. Joseph GASAN, Member, Federation of Malta Industries.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Joseph ATTARD KINGSWELL, General Secretary, General Workers' Union.

Advisor
Mr. Guido CALLUS, General Secretary, Confederation of Malta Trade Unions.

MAURITANIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. SIDI MOHAMED DIAGANA, Minister of Health, Labour and Social Affairs.
Mr. Brabil SOUEIDAHMED, General Director of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Christian TROUVE.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Elimane KANE.

MEXICO

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Omar PACHO CARRILLO, Official, Secretariat of Labour.
Mr. Enrique BRAVO CARO, Minister; Acting Permanent Delegate of Mexico to the international organisations in Geneva.

Advisers
Mr. Alejandro KUHNE, Engineer.
Mr. Héctor BLANCO MELO, Adviser.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Manuel FERNÁNDEZ LANDERO.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Alfonso SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA, Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisor and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Francisco J. MACIN.

KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Abdelkader LARAQUI, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco, Berne.
Mr. Mohammed BENNIS, Secretary-General, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates
Mr. Mohammed GOURJA, Chief of the Employment Injuries Service, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs; Substitute Representative of the Government of Morocco on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office (Deputy Member).
Mr. Abdallah BOUMHOUCH, Special Inspector of Labour; Chief of Service, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

Advisor
Mr. Ahmed GHOMARI, Chief of the Manpower Service.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Abdallah SOUTIRI, President, Moroccan Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

Advisers
Mr. Kacidi BELHADJ, President, Agadir Chamber of Commerce and Industry.
Mr. Haj Ali SEIF, President, Safi Chamber of Commerce and Industry.
Mr. Hassan ZEMMOURI, General Secretary, Moroccan Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry.
Mr. Bouabdellah TAIEB, President, Taza Chamber of Commerce and Industry.
XXXIV  List of Members of Delegations, etc.

NEW ZEALAND

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. H. PARSONAGE, Secretary of Labour, Department of Labour.
Mr. C. D. MACAN, District Superintendent, Department of Labour.

Advisers
Mr. G. THORP, Permanent Representative of New Zealand to the European Office of the United Nations.
Miss M. C. RICHES, Second Secretary, New Zealand Permanent Mission to the European Office of the United Nations.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. W. H. TUCKER, Vice-President, New Zealand Employers' Federation.

Adviser
Mr. P. J. LUXFORD, Executive Director, New Zealand Employers' Federation

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. T. E. SKINNER, President, New Zealand Federation of Labour.

Adviser
Mr. R. A. HILL, Secretary, New Zealand Clothing Trades Federation.

NICARAGUA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Luis ZÚÑIGA OSORIO, Minister of Labour.
Mr. José Antonio TIJEREINO MEDRANO, Director-General, National Social Security Institute.

Advisor and Substitute Delegate
Mrs. Marta E. de CHÁVEZ, Consul-General Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Constantino CAMPOS PÁIZ.

NIGER

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Ibra KABO, Minister of the Civil Service and of Labour.
Mr. Yacouba Issa KONE, Director of Labour, Manpower and Social Security.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Henri GEORGET, Vice-President, Employers' Association for Undertakings and Industries of Niger.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. René DELANNE, General Secretary, National Union of Workers of Niger (U.N.T.N.).

Advisor
Mr. Abdoulayo DIALLO, General Grievances Secretary, National Union of Workers of Niger (U.N.T.N.).

NIGERIA

MINISTERS ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
The Hon. Adeleke ADEDOTUN, Federal Minister of Labour.
The Hon. J. O. ADIGUN, Minister of Labour, Western Nigeria.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Bene DELANNE, General Secretary, National Union of Workers of Niger (U.N.T.N.).

Adviser
Mr. Abdoulaye DIALLO, General Grievances Secretary, National Union of Workers of Niger (U.N.T.N.).

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Miss M. C. RICHES, Second Secretary, New Zealand Permanent Mission to the European Office of the United Nations.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
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Adviser
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WORKERS' DELEGATE
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Mr. José Antonio TIJEREINO MEDRANO, Director-General, National Social Security Institute.

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Mr. Yacouba Issa KONE, Director of Labour, Manpower and Social Security.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Henri GEORGET, Vice-President, Employers' Association for Undertakings and Industries of Niger.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. René DELANNE, General Secretary, National Union of Workers of Niger (U.N.T.N.).

Advisor
Mr. Abdoulayo DIALLO, General Grievances Secretary, National Union of Workers of Niger (U.N.T.N.).

NIGERIA

MINISTERS ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
The Hon. Adeleke ADEDOTUN, Federal Minister of Labour.
The Hon. J. O. ADIGUN, Minister of Labour, Western Nigeria.
List of Members of Delegations, etc.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. M. A. TOKUNBOH, Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Labour.
Mr. A. OBOGUN, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Benin-City.

Advisers

Mr. J. I. O. BOSAH, Senior Labour Officer, Federal Ministry of Labour.
Mr. E. U. ONUOHA, Senior Labour Officer, Federal Ministry of Labour.
Mallam M. MAIBE, Labour Officer, Federal Ministry of Labour.
Mr. O. EKUMANKAMA, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Federal Ministry of Labour.
Mr. M. K. FALODE, Acting Assistant Chief Agricultural Extension Officer, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources.
Mrs. J. O. AGWUEGBO, Social Welfare Officer, Federal Ministry of Labour.
Mrs. Norma NELSON-COLE, National Council of Women's Societies.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. C. E. ABEBE, Personnel Director, United Africa Company of Nigeria Ltd.

Advisers

Mr. H. M. OFUBUM, Shell-BP Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Ltd.; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
Mr. D. A. BOBBIE, Director, Nigeria Employers' Consultative Association.
Mr. John E. H. KEYLOCK, M.B.E., A.M.I.M.M., Deputy Chairman, Nigerian Mining Employers' Association; Chief Industrial Relations Officer, A. O. Nigeria Ltd.
Mr. W. Z. COKER-DICKENS, Chief Industrial Relations Officer, Nigeria Ports Authority.
Mrs. A. ASUNI, Managing Director, Nigeria Educational and Vocational Aid Co. Ltd.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

The Hon. L. Lawrence BOEHA, M.P., Trade Unions Supreme Council; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers

Mr. E. N. OKONGWU, Trade Unions Supreme Council.
Mallam Yunusa KALTUNGO, North Regional Secretary, United Labour Congress of Nigeria.
Mr. W. O. GOODLUCK, Joint Action Committee of Trade Unions.
Mr. Paul NWOFILI EBO, President-General, Nigerian Ports Authority Clerical Workers' Union.
Mr. E. C. OKEI-ACHAMBA, Joint Action Committee of Trade Unions.

NORWAY

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE

Mr. Olav GJÆREVVOLL, Minister of Social Affairs.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. K. J. ØKSNES, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Social Affairs; Representative of the Government of Norway on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office (Deputy Member).
Mrs. Rakel SEWERN, M.P.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mr. Halldor HELDAL, Chief of Division, Ministry of Social Affairs; Substitute Representative of the Government of Norway on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office (Deputy Member).

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Bue OTNAESS, Deputy Director, Directorate for Labour Inspection.
Mrs. Kari VANGSNES, Counsellor; Secretary of the Norwegian Council on Equal Pay.
Mr. Evina BERG, First Secretary of Embassy, Norwegian Permanent Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations and the other international organisations in Geneva.
Miss Eldrif BJORDAL, Principal, Norwegian Agency for International Development.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Kaare SELVIG, Advocate; Director, Norwegian Employers' Confederation.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Lars AARVIG, Director, Norwegian Employers' Confederation.

Adviser

Mr. Ivar OFSTAD, Regional Director for Western Norway, Norwegian Employers' Confederation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Einar STEAND, Member of the Executive Board, General Confederation of Trade Unions in Norway.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Kaare HALDEN, Deputy Legal Adviser, General Confederation of Trade Unions in Norway.

Advisers

Mr. Viktor JENSEN, President, Norwegian Federation of Municipal Employees.
Miss Mirjam NORDAHL, Secretary, General Confederation of Trade Unions in Norway.

PAKISTAN

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Malik Abdul LATIF KHAN, C.S.P., Secretary, Labour Department, Government of West Pakistan.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Niaz NAIK.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. WAJID ALI, President, Employers' Association of West Pakistan; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Afzal ALI, President, East Pakistan Federation of Labour.

PANAMA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Rigoberto PAREDES, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; Member of the National Assembly.
Mr. Miguel AMADO BURGOS, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; Permanent Delegate of Panama accredited to the European Office of the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation.
List of Members of Delegations, etc.

PHILIPPINES

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Vicente ALBANO PACIS, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations and the other international organisations in Geneva.

The Hon. Onofre GUEVARA, Under-Secretary of Labor.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates
The Hon. Emiliano TABIGNE, Judge of the Court of Industrial Relations.
The Hon. Amando C. BUGAYONG, Judge of the Court of Industrial Relations.

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EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
The Hon. Primitivo LOVINA, former Secretary of Labor; Director, Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates
Mr. Gregorio IMPERIAL, Jr., Personnel Manager, U.S. Industries-Philippines Inc.
Mr. Benedicto G. ASCALON, Member, Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines.

Advisers
Mr. Cipriano CID, President, Philippine Association of Free Labor Unions.
Mr. Juan C. TAN, Secretary-General, Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unionists (I.F.C.T.U.); President, Federation of Free Workers.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates
Mr. Democrito T. MENDOZA, National President, Philippine Labor Center; President, Philippine Transport and General Workers' Union.

Advisers
Mr. Antonio V. POLICARPIO, First Vice-President and General Secretary, National Labor Union.
Mr. Pedro D. FERNANDEZ, President, Philippine Union of Stevedores (U.O.E.F.).

POLAND

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. Aleksander BURSKI, President, Labour and Wages Committee.
LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS, ETC.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Leon CHAJN, M.P.; Member of the Council of State; former Vice-Minister of Labour and Social Welfare; Representative of the Government of Poland on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Jerzy LICKI, Director, Labour and Wages Committee.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mrs. Maria JAKUBOWICZ, Deputy Director, Labour and Wages Committee.

Mr. Stanislaw TURBAŃSKI, Chief of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Kazimierz SZABLEWSKI, First Secretary, Permanent Delegation of the People's Republic of Poland to the European Office of the United Nations.

Mr. Waclaw FRONCZAK, Counsellor, Office of the President, Labour and Wages Committee.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Henryk BOGACKI, Director, Union of Linen Industries.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Eyszard POSPIESZYNSKI, President, Polish Seamen's and Dockers' Union; Member of the Presidium, National Council of Polish Trade Unions.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Mieczyslaw JUEEK, Deputy Chief, International Relations Section, National Council of Polish Trade Unions.

Adviser

Mr. Eemigiusz BIEZANEK, Professor, Lodz University.

PORTUGAL

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Carlos Augusto FERNANDES, Minister Plenipotentiary; Assistant to the Director-General of Economic and Consular Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Alexandre RIBEIRO da CUNHA, Senior Inspector for Political Affairs, Ministry of Overseas Territories.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Fernando de ALCAMBAR PEREIRA, Permanent Delegate of Portugal to the International Labour Organisation.

Advisers


Mr. Nuno ÁLVARES DUARTE MATIAS FERREIRA, Senior Inspector for Political Affairs, Ministry of Overseas Territories.

Mr. António Maria da COSTA MORAIS, Inspector for Political Affairs, Ministry of Overseas Territories.

Mrs. Aurora da FONSECA, Assistant, Social Welfare Services.

Mr. Carlos António LUNA da COSTA LEÃO, Assistant Inspector of Labour.

Mr. Manuel da CÂMARA de CARVALHO DAUN e LORENA, Chief, International Relations Service, Ministry of Corporations and Social Welfare.

Mr. José Manuel Ribeiro SÉRVULO CORREIA, Assistant, Corporation and Social Study Centre, Ministry of Corporations and Social Welfare.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. António MORALES de los RIOS LEITÃO, Union of Bein Manufacturers' and Exporters' Associations.

Advisor and Substitute Delegate

Mr. António Júdice BUSTORFF SILVA, Association of Banks and Banking Undertakings.

Advisers

Mr. Joaquim PENA DA COSTA.

Mr. José BERNARDO.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. António LOPES RIBEIRO, National Union of Cinematographic Workers.

Advisor and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Pedro António MONTEIRO MAURY, Regional Federation of Unions of Office Workers of the South, the Azores and Madeira.

Advisers

Mr. Armando PEDROSO de LIMA, Member of Mozambique Legislative Council and National Union of Office Workers of Mozambique.

Mr. Assahel Jonassane MAZULA, Member of Mozambique Legislative Council and National Union of Office Workers of Mozambique.

RUMANIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Vasile DUMITRESCU, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Rumania, Berne.

Mr. Ion DATCU, Director, Directorate of International Organisations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Nicolae ECOBESCU, Acting Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Rumania accredited to the European Office of the United Nations and the specialised agencies in Geneva.

Advisers

Mr. Nicolae ALEXE, Counsellor, State Committee for Labour and Wages Questions.

Mr. Tache TABACARU, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Rumania accredited to the European Office of the United Nations and the specialised agencies in Geneva.

Mr. Valeriu TUDOR, Chief of Service, Directorate of International Organisations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Ion COVACI, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Aurel SANISLAV, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Rumania accredited to the European Office of the United Nations and the specialised agencies in Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Bujor OLTEANU, Director-General, "Brazi" Refinery.

Workers' Delegate

Mr. Constantin TUDOR, Member of the Presidium, Central Council of Trade Unions.

Advisor

Mr. Gheorghe FLOREA, Central Council of Trade Unions.
Rwanda

**Government Delegates**

Mr. Martin UZAMUGURA, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Thomas NTAWIHA, Director-General of Labour, Ministry of the Interior.

**Employers’ Delegate**

Mr. SAUVENIER, Director, Georwanda; President, Association of Undertakings of Rwanda.

**Workers’ Delegate**

Mr. Pedro NIYITEGEKA, Chief Public Relations Officer, Minétain.

El Salvador

**Government Delegate**

Mr. Gustavo Adolfo GUEBRE, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; Permanent Representative of the Republic of El Salvador accredited to the European Office of the United Nations.

Senegal

**Minister Attending the Conference**

Mr. Abdou Rahmame DIOP, Minister of the Civil Service and Labour.

**Government Delegates**

Mr. Souleymane SIDIBÉ, Technical Counsellor, Office of the President of the Republic of Senegal.

Mr. Coumba N’Doffène DIOUF, Director-General of Labour and Social Security.

**Advisor**

Mr. Oumar BA, Assistant Director of Social Security.

**Employers’ Delegate**

Mr. Jean-Baptiste DIOP, Chief of Personnel, Senegal Canning and Preserves Factory.

**Advisor**

Mr. Georges ANTOINE, General Secretary, Inter-Union Federation of Undertakings and Industries of West Africa (UNISYNDI).

**Workers’ Delegate**

Mr. Alassane SOW, Deputy General Secretary, National Union of Senegalese Workers (U.N.T.S.).

Sierra Leone

**Minister Attending the Conference**

Mr. Aloysius Joseph DEMBY, M.P., Minister of Lands, Mines and Labour.

**Government Delegates**

Mr. G. L. V. WILLIAMS, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Lands, Mines and Labour.

Mr. M. A. E. DAVIES, Commissioner of Labour, Ministry of Lands, Mines and Labour.

Spain

**Minister Attending the Conference**

Mr. Jesús ROMEO GORRIÁ, Minister of Labour.

**Government Delegates**

Mr. Ricardo GÓMEZ-ACEBO y SANTOS, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. José Antonio GIMÉNEZ-ARNAU y GRAN, Permanent Delegate of Spain accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.

**Advisers and Substitute Delegates**

Francisco Javier ELORZA y ECHÁNIZ, Marquis of NERVA, Director-General for International Organisations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Manuel ALONSO OLEA, Director-General of Labour Jurisdiction.

**Advisers**

Mr. Alfredo SANTOS BLANCO, General Technical Under-Secretary, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Alfredo CERRAZOLA ASENJO, Secretary-General, Directorate-General of Social Promotion.

Mr. Electo José GARCÍA TEJEDOR, Deputy Permanent Delegate of Spain accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.

Mr. Manuel TROYANO de los RÍOS, Chief, International Relations Section, Ministry of Labour.

1 From 11 June only.
List of Members of Delegations, etc.

Mr. Antonio Cándido NANG ONDO, Labour Counsellor, Governing Council of Equatorial Guinea.

Mr. Manuel de VILLEGAS y URZÁIZ, Counsellor; Member of the Permanent Delegation of Spain accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.

Mr. Gonzalo FERNÁNDEZ de CÓRDOVA y MORENO, Counsellor, Directorate-General for International Organisations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. José Ramón de CÁRDENAS RODRÍGUEZ, Chief, Central Section of the Labour Inspectorate.

Mr. Miguel JABALA GONZÁLEZ, Second Secretary, Permanent Delegation of Spain to the international organisations in Geneva.

Mr. Héctor MARAVALL CASENOVES, Chief, Labour Advisory Bureau, General Technical Secretariat, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. José María ESTEBAN VARGAS, Chief, Vocational Counselling Section, Directorate-General of Employment.

Mrs. María Jesús SÁEZ de PARGA, Chief of Section, Central Internal Administrative Service, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. José María CAMPÁ-BLANES, Attaché, Permanent Delegation of Spain accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.

Mr. Luis GALDÓS GABÍCÍA, President, Central Economic Section (Employers), Chemical Industries Association; Managing Director, Unión Eesinera Española, S.A.

Mr. Francisco-Javier LOZANO BEEGUA, Managing Director, Ebro Compañía de Azúcares y Alcoholes S.A.; President, Central Economic Section (Employers), Sugar Association.

Mr. Moaquin FERNÁNDEZ LÓPEZ, President, Economic Section (Employers), National Merchant Marine Association; Secretary of the Board, Armadores de Pequeño Tonelaje S.A. (ARMASA).

Mr. Fernando FUGARDO SANZ, President, National Workers' Committee, National Association of Wood and Cork Industries; Workers' Representative; President, Woodworkers' Mutual Aid Society; Staff Counsellor, Bank of Spain.

Mr. Santiago ÁLVAREZ-AVELLÁN, President, National Committee, Building, Glass and Ceramic Industries Association; Workers' Representative; National Workers' President for the Building Industry.

Mrs. Purificación SEDEÑO FUENTES, Member, Central Social Section (Workers), Transport Association.

Mr. Paronk Bedawi EL-SAWAHLI, Head of International Relations Department, Ministry of Information and Labour.

Mr. Ahmad Izz EL-ARAB YOUSIF, Chief Factory Inspector.

Mr. Mohamed Ali AHMED, Establishment Officer, Ministry of Finance and Economics.

Mr. Snad El-Fatih EL-BEDAWI, Lecturer in History, G.I.T.T.C., Khartoum.

Mr. Mohamed El-Sayed OSMAN, Manager, Mitchell Cotts and Co.

Mr. Abdel Ghani GAWHER, Sudan Railways Trade Union.

Mr. Fadl Ahmed FADL, Sudan Workers' Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. Sven ASPLING, Minister of Health and Social Affairs.

Mr. Sten-Eric HEINRICKI, Chief of the International Relations Division, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

Mr. Lars-Åke ÅSTRÖM, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

Mr. Reidar TILBERT, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of the Interior, Labour and Housing.

Mr. Ingemund BENGTSSON, M.P., Special Adviser, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

Mr. Ian LAGERBREN, Secretary, Budget Department, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

Mr. Ingemar LINDBERG, Principal, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

Dr. Åke LARSSON, Special Adviser, Ministry of the Interior, Labour and Housing.

Mr. Hilding STARLUND, Chief Engineer, Head of Technical Division, National Workers' Protection Board.

Mrs. Ingeborg JÖNSSON, Secretary, National Labour Market Board.

Mr. Bertil MATHSSON, Former Director of the International Co-operative Alliance Education Centre, New Delhi.

Mr. Göran WALDAU, Head of the International Division, Ministry of the Interior, Labour and Housing.

Mr. Gullmar BERGENSTRÖM, Director, Swedish Employers' Confederation; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Erik FORSTADIUS, Director, Swedish Employers' Confederation.

Mr. Gideon GERHARDSSON, Graduate Engineer, Swedish Employers' Confederation.

Mr. Stig SANDELL, Director, Swedish Employers' Confederation.

Mr. Abdel Aziz El Zein ISMAIL, Acting Director of Ministry of Information and Labour.

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Mr. Fadl Ahmed FADL, Sudan Workers' Federation of Trade Unions.

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Mr. Reidar TILBERT, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of the Interior, Labour and Housing.

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Mr. Ingemar LINDBERG, Principal, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

Dr. Åke LARSSON, Special Adviser, Ministry of the Interior, Labour and Housing.

Mr. Hilding STARLUND, Chief Engineer, Head of Technical Division, National Workers' Protection Board.

Mrs. Ingeborg JÖNSSON, Secretary, National Labour Market Board.

Mr. Bertil MATHSSON, Former Director of the International Co-operative Alliance Education Centre, New Delhi.

Mr. Göran WALDAU, Head of the International Division, Ministry of the Interior, Labour and Housing.

Mr. Gullmar BERGENSTRÖM, Director, Swedish Employers' Confederation; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Erik FORSTADIUS, Director, Swedish Employers' Confederation.

Mr. Gideon GERHARDSSON, Graduate Engineer, Swedish Employers' Confederation.

Mr. Stig SANDELL, Director, Swedish Employers' Confederation.

Mr. Abdel Aziz El Zein ISMAIL, Acting Director of Ministry of Information and Labour.
Mr. Lars STRÅNGH, Director, Swedish Employers' Confederation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Bertil BOLIN, Director for International Affairs, Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions.

Advisers
Mr. Nils LINDELL, President, Swedish Miners' Union.
Dr. Clas-Erik ODHNER, Research Department, Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions.
Mrs. Sigrid EKENDAL, M.P., Former Secretary, Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions.
Mrs. Britt-Marie BYSTEDT, Secretary, Swedish Central Organisation of Salaried Employees.

SWITZERLAND

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Max HOLZER, Director, Federal Office of Industry, Arts and Crafts, and Labour; Honorary Professor, University of Berne.
Mr. Arnold SAXER, Director, in charge of Social Insurance Agreements.

Advisor and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Bernardo ZANETTI, Assistant Director, Federal Office of Industry, Arts and Crafts, and Labour; Lecturer, University of Fribourg.

Advisers
Miss Alice ZIMMERMANN, Assistant, Subdivision of Labour Law and Workers' Protection, Federal Office of Industry, Arts and Crafts, and Labour.
Mr. Charles SCHLUCHTER, Assistant, Federal Office of Industry, Arts and Crafts, and Labour.
Mr. Hans POPP, Chief of Section, Federal Division of Agriculture.
Mr. Marcel BOSON, Scientific Counsellor, Swiss Union of Consumer Co-operatives; Privat-dozent, Lausanne University.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Charles KUNTSCHEN, Honorary Secretary, Central Federation of Swiss Employers' Associations; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers
Mr. Edouard DUC, Secretary, Central Federation of Swiss Employers' Associations.
Mr. Manfred FINK, Deputy Director, Swiss Federation of Arts and Crafts.
Mr. Jörg MÜLLER, Secretary, Association of Swiss Employers in the Textile Industry.
Mr. Willy NEUKOMM, Assistant Director, Swiss Peasants' Federation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Jean MORI, Swiss Federation of Trade Unions; Vice-Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers
Mrs. Maria ZAUGG-ALT, Member of the Women's Committee, Swiss Federation of Trade Unions; Secretary of the Women's Committee, Swiss Federation of Workers in Commerce, Transport and the Food Industry.
Mr. André GHELFI, General Secretary, Swiss Federation of Metalworkers and Watchmakers.
Mr. Alfred DOESIGER, Secretary, Swiss Foremen's Association; Member of the Governing Board, Federation of Swiss Societies of Salaried Employees.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. Ali TALJABINI, Minister of Social Affairs and Labour.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Moussa CHAHOUHD, Secretary-General, Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour.
Mr. Ali Mohssen ZEIFFA, Director of International Relations, Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour.

Adviser
Mr. Hicham PHARAON, Ministry of Agrarian Reform.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Charif CHARABATI, President, General Federation of Employers' Associations.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Khaled AL-JOUNDI, President, General Federation of Workers' Unions.

TANZANIA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
The Hon. F. V. MPONJI, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour; Representative of the Government of Tanzania on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser
Mr. F. P. MWANJISI, Assistant Labour Commissioner, Ministry of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. H. O. KIPILE, Federation of Tanganyika Employers.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. A. C. TANDAU, Deputy General Secretary, National Union of Tanganyika Workers; Substitute Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers
Mr. D. ZIMBIHILE, Director of International Affairs, National Union of Tanganyika Workers. Miss T. EDWARD, National Union of Tanganyika Workers.
Mr. K. AMEIR, General Secretary, Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions, Zanzibar.

THAILAND

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Thien ASHAKUL, Deputy Director-General, Public Welfare Department, Ministry of the Interior.
Mr. Porn UDOMPONG, Chief of Labour Research and Statistics Division, Labour Bureau, Public Welfare Department, Ministry of the Interior.
EMPLOYEES' DELEGATE
Mr. Jayant ABIRARG.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Suvitya RAIVWONGSE.

TOGO

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Ombri PANA, Minister of Labour, Social Affairs and the Civil Service.
Mr. Jacques TOGBE, Civil Administrator.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Michel SAMAROU, Director of N.E.T.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Abdoulaye SALAMI, Controller, Post, Telephone and Telegraph Services.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
The Hon. Robert E. WALLACE, Minister of Labour.
Mr. L. P. E. RAMCHAND, Commissioner of Labour, Ministry of Labour.

Adviser
Mr. S. ALEXANDER.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. V. PEREIRA, President, Employers' Consultative Association of Trinidad and Tobago.

Adviser
Mr. T. B. HUGHES, Director, Employers' Consultative Association of Trinidad and Tobago; Director, Caribbean Employers' Federation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. J. M. HACKSHAW, Acting President, Trinidad and Tobago National Trades Union Congress.

Adviser
Mr. W. W. SUTTON, General Secretary, National Federation of Labour of Trinidad and Tobago.

TUNISIA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
Mr. Íhsan Sabri ÇAGLAYANOİL, Minister of Labour.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
Mr. Halit ÜNAL, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Necmi SARI, Chief, Research Department, Ministry of Labour.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. H. Fahir ALAÇAM, Permanent Delegate of Turkey accredited to the European Office of the United Nations and to the International Labour Office.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Sahap KOCATOPÇU, President, Confederation of Turkish Employers' Associations.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate
Mr. Mümtaz ALTINELLİ, Vice-President, Association of Employers in the Textile Industry; Member of the Executive Board, Confederation of Turkish Employers' Associations.

Adviser
Mr. Mennan OZGÜTÜRK, General Secretary, Association of Employers in the Textile Industry.

WORKERS' DELEGATE
Mr. Seyfi DEMİRȘOY, President, Turkish Confederation of Trade Unions (TÜRK-İS).

Advisers
Mr. Ziya HEPBIர, President, Turkish Petroleum Workers' Union.
Mr. Hasan TÜRKAY, Vice-President, Turkish Confederation of Trade Unions (TÜRK-İS).

UGANDA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE
The Hon. George B. K. MAGEZI, Minister of Housing and Labour.
GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Eldad John BASAZA-MPYISI, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Housing and Labour.
Mr. J. W. B. NYAGAHIMA, Labour Officer, International Labour, Ministry of Housing and Labour.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. M. S. OWOR, Senior Labour Officer, Ministry of Housing and Labour.

Adviser

Mr. B. B. GODDA, Senior Co-operative Officer, Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. James Mackay WALKER, Federation of Uganda Employers; Substitute Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. E. R. KIBUKA, Federation of Uganda Trade Unions.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Mikhail Mikhailovich MAKHINYA, Vice-Chairman, State Planning Commission.
Mr. Mikhail Denisovich POLYANICHKO, Member of the College, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate


Advisers

Mr. Sergei Grigorievich BUTOVSKY, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Viktor Gavrilovich BATYUK, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Pavel Mikhailovich KUCHEROV, Manager, Kharkov Air-Conditioners Factory.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Evgeny Ilarionovich EFREMENTKO, Secretary, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Ivan Fyodorovich POIDA, Chief of Division, Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Aleksandr Sergeevich MALIKOV, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates

Mr. Afanasii Fyodorovich BORDADIN, Chief, International Relations Section, State Labour and Wages Committee, Council of Ministers, U.S.S.R.

Mr. Vladimir Glebovich SHIKUNAEV, Senior Scientific Collaborator, World Economics and International Relations Institute, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

Advisers

Mr. Vasili Ivanovich KHORIN, Deputy Director, Central Union of Consumers' Associations of the U.S.S.R.
Mr. Sergei Dmitrievich CHEREMUSHKIN, Chief of Section, All-Union Agricultural Scientific Research Institute.
Mr. Semyon Aleksandrovich IVANOV, Principal Scientific Adviser, Law Institute, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences; Editor of the Journal Soviet State and Law.
Mr. Vladimir Aleksandrovich LYSIKOV, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.


Mr. Zoya Petrovna IVANOVA, Scientific Adviser, Moscow State Institute of International Relations.
Mr. Viktor Petrovich SMIRNOV, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

Mrs. Nina Ivanovna PLIPLICHUK, Senior Economist, International Relations Section, State Labour and Wages Committee, Council of Ministers, U.S.S.R.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Vasiliy Vasilevich POLYAKOV, Director, Moscow Carburettor Works.

Advisers

Mr. Grigoriy Matveevich LOZA, Member of the Presidium, V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences.
Mr. Erik Panteleimonovich PLETNEV, Doctor of Economic Sciences.
Mr. Pyotr Yakovlevich USIKOV, Head of Sector, All-Union Agricultural Scientific Research Institute.

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Mr. Pyotr Timofeevich PIMENOV, Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Advisers

Mr. Georgii Eliseevich KANAAY, Assistant Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.
Mr. Vladimir Aleksandrovich KOROLOK, Principal, Moscow Higher Institute of Workers' Education.

Mrs. Lyubov Petrovna LAZAREVA, Chief of Sector, International Section, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.
Mr. Igor Leonidovich CHUYEV, Senior Consultant, International Section, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Mr. Igors Mikhailovich KRUGLY, Consultant, International Section, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE

Mr. Adwar SALAMA, Minister of Labour.
GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Hussein KAMEL, Director-General, Foreign Labour Relations Department, Ministry of Labour.


Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. El-Sayyed Salaheldin AYOUB, Counsellor, Foreign Labour Relations Department, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Mohammad El-SAID Mohammad KHAIRT, Secretary to the Minister of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Mohammad Ali RIFAAT, Member of the Board of Directors, Federation of Industries ; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Hussein Aly ORPHY, Chairman and Managing Director, El Nasr Tobacco and Cigarette Company.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Ahmed FAHEEM, President, United Arab Republic General Federation of Trade Unions ; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. Sayed Abdel Latif BOLTEIJA, Secretary-General, United Arab Republic General Federation of Trade Unions.

Adviser

Miss Gehad El DEMERDASH MOHAMED, Member of the General Trade Union of Petroleum Workers.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

MINISTERS ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE

The Rt. Hon. R. J. GUNTER, M.P., Minister of Labour.

Mr. E. THORNTON, M.B.E., M.P., Joint Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Denis Charles BARNES, C.B., Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Labour ; Representative of the Government of the United Kingdom on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Conrad Frederick HERON, O.B.E., Under-Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Substitute Representative of the Government of the United Kingdom on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers

Miss Winefred Evelyn COOMBS, Executive Officer, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Michael William DRAFER, Principal, Ministry of Power.

Mr. George FOGGON, C.M.G., O.B.E., Labour Adviser to the Ministry of Overseas Development.

Miss Barbara GREEN, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Charles Peter SCOTT, C.M.G., O.B.E., Permanent United Kingdom Representative to the European Office of the United Nations.

Mr. William SLINGER, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Health and Social Services, Northern Ireland.

Miss Tessa SOLESBY, Deputy Permanent United Kingdom Representative to the European Office of the United Nations.

Mr. Brewster Joseph SURREIDGE, C.M.G., O.B.E., Adviser on Co-operatives, Ministry of Overseas Development.

Miss Marjorie May SWAN, Executive Officer, Colonial Office.

Mr. Matthew WAKE, Principal, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Claude Edward HILL, Head of the Marketing Development Department, National Farmers' Union.

Mr. Richard Geoffrey Dennison HOUGHTON, C.B.E., Industrial Relations Adviser, Dunlop Rubber Company Limited.

Miss Agnes Cowan MASTERTON, Education Officer, National Federation of Building Trades Employers.

Mr. Cecil Charles Dudley MILLER, International Assistant Secretary, British Employers' Confederation.

Mr. James Howie MITCHELL, Deputy Director-General, Industrial Relations, National Coal Board.

Mr. Roy William WATSON, Head of Labour Division, National Farmers' Union ; Member of the Council and of the General Purposes Committee, British Employers' Confederation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE

Lord COLLISON, C.B.E., Chairman of the Trades Union Congress General Council ; General Secretary of the National Union of Agricultural Workers ; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers

Mr. Wilfred Blackwell BEARD, O.B.E., Member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress ; Secretary of the United Patternmakers' Association.

Mr. Edward James HILL, Member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress ; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths and Structural Workers.

Mr. William Ernest JONES, O.B.E., Ex-member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress ; formerly President of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Mr. Joseph O'HAGAN, O.B.E., Member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress ; General Secretary of the National Union of Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, Coke Workers and Kindred Trades.

Mr. Cyril Thomas Howe PLANT, Member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress ; General Secretary, Inland Revenue Staff Federation.

Miss Marian VEITCH, National Woman Officer, National Union of General and Municipal Workers.
LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS, ETC.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

The Hon. George L.-P. Weaver, Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs, Department of Labor; Representative of the Government of the United States on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. George P. Delaney, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, Department of State.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate

Mr. John F. Skillman, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, Department of Commerce.

Advisers

Mr. William H. Ayres, House of Representatives.

Mr. Adam Clayton Powell, House of Representatives.

Mr. Robert P. Griffin, House of Representatives.

Mr. James Roosevelt, House of Representatives.

Mr. Herbert W. Baker, Labor Attaché, American Embassy, Rio de Janeiro.

Mr. George H. Gooss, Assistant to the Director, Food-for-Peace, Executive Office of the President.

Mr. Roger W. Grant, Chief, Division of International Cooperation, Department of Labor.

Mr. Howard L. Hill, Economic Research Service, Department of Agriculture.

Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling, Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor.

Mr. John E. Lawyeb, Director, Office of International Affairs, Department of Labor.

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EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

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Mr. Edwin P. Neilan, Chairman of the Board, Bank of Delaware.

Mr. Robert W. Norris, Director of Corporate Relations, Philip Morris, Inc.

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Mr. Ralph Reiser, President, Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America.

Mr. Bert Seidman, European Economic Representative, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Mr. Miles C. Stanley, President, West Virginia Labor Federation.

Mr. Lester L. Zosel, Special Representative, International Affairs, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

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Mr. Victor Thombriano, Minister of Labour and the Civil Service.

Mr. Zacharie Baluma, Director of Labour, Manpower and Vocational Training.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

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EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

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VENEZUELA

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Mr. Giuseppe BOGLIETTI, Permanent Represent­
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Mr. Jan KABOUREK, Economic and Social
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Mr. Max A. BRAUDE, Director-General.
List of Members of Delegations, etc.

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Mr. MENON.

VICE-CHAIRMEN
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Credentials Committee

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CHAIRMAN
Mr. ZANETTI.

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Belgium : Mr. SCHYNs; substitute : Mr. HOULLEZ.
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Yemen: Mr. TAECICI.

Yugoslavia: Mr. POPOVIC; substitute: Mr. ILCIĆ.

Zambia: Mr. KALANGA.

Deputy Members

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Ethiopia: Mr. CHENG; substitute: Mr. NASE (Lebanon).

Lebanon: Mr. ABID ALI (India).

Togo: Mr. ALBEDA (Netherlands).
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**Chairman and Reporter**
Mr. AGUILAR MAWDSLEY.

**Vice-Chairmen**
Mr. VERSCHUEREN,
Mr. KAPLANSKY.

**Finance Committee of Government Representatives**

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**Chairman and Reporter**
Mr. TESEMMA.

**Vice-Chairman**
Mr. HILL.
## List of Members of Delegations, etc.

### Government Members

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<th>Country</th>
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<th>Substitute</th>
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### Observers

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Mr. KAZANTSEV (Belorussia)
Mr. LOVINA; substitute: Mr. MACARANAS (Philippines)
### List of Members of Delegations, etc.

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### Chairman

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### Vice-Chairmen

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### Committee on Women Workers

### Government Members

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<td>Mrs. GHANI-GHARBI; substitute: Mrs. SELIAM-MESLEM</td>
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<td>Miss STEPHEN.</td>
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<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Mr. VERHENNE; substitute: Mrs. COPÉE-GERBINET</td>
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<td>Mrs. BOULOU; substitute: Mrs. GWANULA</td>
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<td>Mr. NASR ; substitute : Mr. HABIB (Lebanon).</td>
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<td>Mr. George POLLOCK ; substitute : Miss MASTERSON (United Kingdom).</td>
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<td>Mr. SELVIG ; substitutes : Mr. AARVIG, Mr. OFSTAD (Norway).</td>
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<td>Mr. SALAM (Togo).</td>
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SECOND PART
VERBATIM REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OPENING OF THE SESSION

Mr. HAYTHORNE (Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office)—It is with much pleasure that I declare open the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

I should like to extend a warm welcome to the Ministers who are able to be with us and to all members of delegations. I should also like to welcome those who have come to participate in the opening of our Conference, in particular the representatives of the Swiss Confederation, the Canton and City of Geneva, the United Nations and the specialised agencies, as well as those who are here from other international organisations representing governments, employers, workers and others especially interested in labour and social problems.

May I express the hope that those of you who have attended earlier Conferences, as well as those of you who are here for the first time, will find your participation in this world assembly a stimulating and valuable experience.

Since we last met in this hall, four more States have joined the International Labour Organisation: Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen. I should like to bid a special welcome to the delegations of these, our new Members. Your entry into the I.L.O. family brings our number of member countries to 114.

During the past year, as Chairman of the Governing Body, it has been my good fortune to come to know the I.L.O. more intimately than in the past. I have learned more of its problems, its working methods and its achievements. Although the problems facing our Organisation in today's world are very real, my conviction has been strengthened, over the year, of the great capacity and potential for constructive action that resides in the I.L.O. The work carried forward since it was created 46 years ago is a matter of record. But the past accomplishments of the I.L.O. are as nothing compared with what we can hope to achieve in the years to come, if we use wisely and the opportunities our Organisation effectively offers.

The world of 1965, with its far-reaching scientific and technical advancements and the surge of economic and social development accompanying the emergence of vigorous new national States, is a vastly different place from the world of 1919, when the International Labour Organisation was created.

Today the I.L.O. has a new role to play. It must seek to aid its many new, as well as its older, member countries in speeding up the process of economic growth. Some may say that this new direction of I.L.O. activity is in conflict with its long-developed work in promoting improved working and living standards. But in fact the I.L.O., through its tripartite structure, can bring to its task of helping in economic development, the experience it has gathered in the past half-century in improving working standards. Thus it can ensure that economic growth and full regard for the necessity of sharing in the fruits of such growth go hand-in-hand.

In other words, the I.L.O. in stressing the need for economic development does so because of the human consequences of such development, including the rights of workers, their protection, their welfare, and their fair rewards, as well as because of the key importance of the human contribution to such growth in the first place.

This new role for the I.L.O. is larger and more profound than anything our founding fathers dreamed of, and it means that the role of the I.L.O. needs to be redefined with greater precision—in relation to other international organisations concerned with economic and social development, in relation to regional bodies, in relation to bilateral programmes, and in relation to the needs and wishes of workers, employers and governments. We are still seeking the proper balance between the I.L.O.'s traditional activities and its new endeavours. Studies, research, pilot projects and evaluation are determining the types of operational programmes that can be most effective.

Two years ago, we in this Conference received a valuable and significant report from the Director-General of our International Labour Office which set forth the new challenges with which the I.L.O. is faced, and suggested ways of meeting these challenges. We then began our discussion on the I.L.O. programme and structure. We continued this discussion last year. A resolution was adopted asking the Governing Body to analyse the suggestions made in the debate, and to press forward with appropriate action.

During the past year this work has indeed moved forward. A Governing Body Working
Party on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. has produced a first report, which will be before you for consideration during the discussion in the plenary session on the Director-General's Report. This first report seeks to clarify the programmes the I.L.O. should follow in the field of human resources. The Conference, I know, is deeply interested in this examination, as are the Governing Body and the Director-General, and I hope to have the opportunity to say more on this first report of the Working Party later in the week. A subsequent report will be devoted to other major I.L.O. programme areas. One of these is concerned with labour relations and social institutions. Another covers the more traditional I.L.O. field of conditions of work. Here it is necessary to evaluate past I.L.O. activities and generate more vigorous means of achieving such goals as shorter hours, safer working conditions and adequate social security.

Finally, the Working Party must consider the type of I.L.O. structure that will be most conducive to attaining the objectives of these major programmes.

An important event during the past year was the holding of the Second African Regional Conference in Addis Ababa, beginning on 30 November 1964. That Conference, which was well attended by governments, workers and employers from African countries, represented a serious attack on basic problems of economic and social development in Africa. In the discussions there was a strong emphasis on a united approach among the countries of this continent as it moves ahead vigorously with its economic and social development. His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellassie I, set the tone of the Conference in a moving address. The I.L.O., he said, "can teach us that reason and responsibility are essential, and that irresponsible and arbitrary actions which ignore the legitimate interests of others are to be shunned".

In this same vein, we must surely continue to keep our focus on the basic human problems concerning mankind in the development of our economies and our world society. It is not our task here to air political considerations, no matter how important they may appear to each of us.

Those of you who were not privileged to be at the Conference in Addis Ababa may have learned that we did in fact manage to concentrate there on practical problems of immediate concern to our own Organisation and to the countries directly affected. I am sure this contributed greatly to the success of the Conference.

Members of this Conference will be pleased to learn that His Excellency, Getahun Tesemma, Minister of National Community Development of Ethiopia, who served with much ability and friendliness as President of our regional conference, is to be here at this Conference.

There has been a steady increase over the year in the number of ratifications of Conventions. The fact that many ratifications have been of Conventions dealing with discrimination and human rights will be particularly encouraging to members of the Conference.

Yet another step of potential importance during the past year is the decision taken as recently as last Saturday at our Governing Body to authorise the Director-General, just as soon as the Italian Government has ratified the proposal, to commence the new International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training at Turin. This could well become a milestone in the life of the International Labour Organisation. It is the hope of the Governing Body and, I am sure, of the Conference that the Centre will help in a practical way to meet the need faced in all countries in the world today for increased technical competence in our working force. Many governments, employers' and workers' groups, and other bodies, have already responded to the request for voluntary contributions to the support of this unique international centre, where much-needed instructor training will be carried out in those fields of training where the shortages are greatest. This assistance, and particularly that of the Government of Italy, is greatly appreciated. It is to be hoped that further voluntary contributions may be made to this imaginative new venture. They will not only provide tangible support to Mr. Paul Bacon, the Director, and to the members of his staff, but will also help to ensure that the Centre will make its maximum contribution in this highly important field of technical training.

At this present session of the International Labour Conference we have before us a number of specific tasks. First, we have the Director-General's Report. Part II of this Report outlines the work of the Organisation during the past year, while Part I sets forth for our consideration a further analysis of major I.L.O. programme areas. Your observations on Part I of the Report will be of particular interest and value to the Working Party on programme and structure to which I have already referred. Another report which the Director-General has laid before us is a study on apartheid as requested by last year's Conference.

We shall be considering the budget for the I.L.O. for 1966. For the first time this budget exceeds $20 million—a sum which, when coupled with the money the I.L.O. will have at its disposal from other United Nations sources and elsewhere, will bring its total annual expenditures to over $35 million.

We shall continue the work, begun last year, of drafting suitable international instruments on young workers in mining. We shall be reviewing again the way in which I.L.O. instruments are being applied by member countries. We shall expect to complete the discussion begun last year on the increasingly important role of women workers in a changing world.

At this session of the Conference we shall also be discussing two other subjects of wide interest to member countries: agrarian reform, viewed particularly from the standpoint of its employment and other social aspects; and the role of co-operatives, especially in developing countries. Both those subjects are important in economic development and hold out much promise for strengthening democratic institutions and principles.

Once again we shall be discussing resolutions which have been submitted to the Conference,
Although the number of these is considerably smaller than in recent years. Finally, I should like to say that one of the encouraging signs today as we begin another Conference is the new vitality that is emerging in our Organisation. The tremendous needs of working men and women in the world have long been recognised. We now have a growing sense of confidence that our Organisation can make a real and vital contribution in helping to meet these needs. We also have a growing confidence that it is possible for mankind to develop institutions that can cope in a positive and constructive manner with the vast economic and social problems facing our world. We can be profoundly grateful that this recognition is emerging, and that there is a steadily increasing will to take effective action.

The I.L.O. is in a particularly strategic position, as a tripartite body with universal membership, to give practical expression both to the determination of the needs of men and women throughout the world and to the establishment of sound policies and programmes designed to meet them. This is a solemn responsibility which demands the best efforts of all of us in the days and years ahead.

ADDRESS BY MR. TARCICI, GOVERNMENT DELEGATE, YEMEN

Mr. HAYTHONE (Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office).
—I now call upon Mr. Tarcici, Ambassador of Yemen, to address the Conference.

Interpretation from French: Mr. TARCICI (Government delegate, Yemen)—On behalf of the people of the Arab Republic of Yemen and on behalf of the Yemeni Government, employers and workers, I should like to thank you for the very friendly reception you have just given my country on the occasion of its joining this great international Organisation. The very favourable attitude of this Organisation to my country was evident even before we actually joined the Organisation. In point of fact, I.L.O. assistance to Yemen has already been given for some time in the framework of United Nations technical assistance programmes.

As you know, a progressive régime was set up in Yemen just over two years ago; our new régime is constitutional and democratic and has as its aim the public welfare of our people so that our country may find its true place in the international community. Since the inauguration of this new era the Arab Republic of Yemen has no longer held aloof from this world community. On the contrary, now that the people have awakened, they want us to make up for lost time. We are becoming more and more aware of our mission as a Member of the International Labour Organisation. By joining this great Organisation, Yemen is not merely manifesting its desire for membership; it intends to participate actively in the implementation of the I.L.O.'s programmes and in the application of its fundamental principles. We shall adhere to the Conventions and Recommendations of a constructive nature which have been worked out at the various International Labour Conferences with a view to promoting the welfare of all.

Yemen will also do everything in its power in favour of the workers so that they may enjoy in dignity and freedom the material and spiritual benefits to which they are entitled. We are convinced that without the workers' help nothing constructive can be achieved. Without total respect for the rights of workers there can be no social justice, no balanced and harmonious development, for a country with modern and progressive aspirations such as Yemen always will be, and must be, dedicated to the steady increase of its Gross National Product. This is unfortunately true that my country is something of a latecomer in benefiting from the experience of this Organisation and the results of its debates. Nevertheless, we feel that there are great avenues yet to be explored. Our caravan will have many halts to make before we attain the principles of full social justice that are set forth in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. In building up new institutions in our country we have undertaken to base these on social justice and equity for all our citizens in order to ensure the same economic opportunities for everybody. I need not remind you that in our democratic Constitution freedom to work and freedom of speech hold pride of place.

We are not blind to what is being done in various parts of the world against the sacred rights of workers as stated in the Constitution of the I.L.O. and the Declaration of Philadelphia. We in Yemen will do what we can to redress the balance and to reduce the injustices that are being perpetrated against the working class in different parts of the world. Our country will support the measures taken by the I.L.O. to put an end to all forms of discrimination in the field of labour. Any kind of forced labour is, of course, an insult to our society and to the principles of our Organisation. We shall endeavour to eliminate all such injustice from our modern world and Yemen will endorse any measures adopted by the I.L.O. to this end.

In closing my first speech thanking you for your welcome, I feel it incumbent upon me to recall that in the southern part of my country, which is still occupied by the imperialists and still under the imperialist yoke in the tradition of the last century, the workers are being oppressed. For carrying out their legitimate duties against colonialism, which has lasted too long in Aden and the occupied southern part of our country, the workers and trade union leaders are having to undergo the most inhuman treatment, treatment which is contrary to the principles of the I.L.O. The resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations are being ignored and the missions that were decided upon by the Committee on Decolonisation have not been able to penetrate into the occupied zones. These anti-social and anti-labour manifestations greatly hinder the full implementation of the principles of our Organisation, and I think this Conference should devote particular attention to this problem. For this reason I believe that this very alarming situation deserves more than a passing reference in this brief speech of thanks which I am making in response to your kind words of welcome.
ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. HAYTHORNE (Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office)—We shall now turn to the first item on our agenda—the election of the President of the Conference.

Mr. BELIGAMMANA (Government delegate, Ceylon)—I have great pleasure in proposing the candidature of Mr. Hashim Raza, Government delegate, Philippines, for the Presidency of this Conference.

The Asian members of the Government group have agreed by a majority vote to support his candidature. This decision was taken mainly on the principle that every country within a region should have an opportunity to serve in this high office. I have every confidence that our candidate would serve this Conference as President in a manner acceptable to all, for Mr. Pacis has had considerable experience of the working of the I.L.O.

Mr. SALAMA (Minister of Labour, United Arab Republic)—It gives me great honour and pleasure to nominate Mr. Hashim Raza, Secretary, Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare of Pakistan, to be the President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. Mr. Raza is very well known to all of us and to the I.L.O.

Before his present post he has served his country in the last few years as Chief Secretary of the Government of East Pakistan, Acting Governor of East Pakistan, Secretary of the Ministry of Rehabilitation and Works, and Secretary of the Ministry of Information and National Reconstruction. In the I.L.O. Mr. Raza was the leader of the Pakistan delegation to the 46th Session of the International Labour Conference held in June 1962 and Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Conference, and was also Vice-Chairman of the Fifth Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O. held in Melbourne, Australia, in 1962. He is at present the representative of his country on the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and Chairman of the Committee on Standing Orders and the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

It is because of this long and esteemed history and experience in his country and in the I.L.O. that I have the pleasure of nominating Mr. Raza to preside over this session of the Conference. I am confident that this nomination will meet with the unanimous approval of the Conference.

Mr. CHENG (Employers’ delegate, China)—As an Employers’ delegate from the Republic of China I fully second the delegate from Ceylon in his nomination of Mr. Pacis, Government delegate, Philippines, as the President of this Conference. I am sure he is most capable and that, with his capability, our Conference will be successful.

Interpretation from French: Mr. LARAQUI (Government delegate, Morocco)—It is for me, as delegate of the Kingdom of Morocco, a great honour to speak before this august assembly which once again will consider the problems of labour and the retraining of manpower in a world where science and technology are taking giant strides forward, thus lending correspondingly high purpose to our work and our tasks.

It is therefore a great pleasure for me to propose the candidature of Mr. Raza. I will not go into the biographical details, which are well known to you all. Mr. Raza is a specialist in labour questions. He has a keen social conscience, and, above all, a great love for the working man, the mainspring of progress and technology in the world. It is for this reason that I call on you to support his candidature.

Mr. HAYTHORNE (Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office)—Two nominations have been duly moved and seconded for the Presidency of our Conference.

Mr. NASR (Employers’ delegate, Lebanon)—I am sorry I have to take a few minutes more of your time, and I am sure all of you will feel with me that it is a very unpleasant task to speak on this occasion where two candidates, honourable, capable delegates from two Asian countries, are competing for this honourable task of serving as the President of the present session of the International Labour Conference.

If I were to speak, as did those who had the opportunity before me of introducing them, on the qualities of both, on the importance and esteem of their respective countries, I would take too much time, and I think you know most of it so I do not need to repeat it. However, I am faced with a dilemma, and it is the one which we were faced with last year on a similar occasion. I think that dilemma last year was solved through some basic qualities that were shown by Mr. Hashim Raza, the honourable delegate from Pakistan. I would suggest that it was through his self-restraint, his unfailing effort to ease our work, his sense of sacrifice for the good of many, his co-operation and his fairness in his attitude that last year we had a chance to get out of a similar difficulty. I personally feel committed from last year to vote for Mr. Raza for the Presidency this year; but it is not only because of that commitment that I call upon my friends and fellow delegates to elect him, but because I think he has those qualities that, as far as I am concerned, are the qualities necessary for the successful running of this Conference.

Mr. HERNANDEZ (Workers’ delegate, Philippines)—As Workers’ delegate of the Philippines, I stand here today to second the nomination of a countryman of mine with legitimate aspirations to election to the Presidency of this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. I refer to the candidature of Ambassador Vicente Albano Pacis, the Philippines Envoy and Plenipotentiary and the Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations and the other international organisations in Geneva. I can say without hesitation and without fear of contradiction that the trade union movement of the Philippines, along with the rest of the workers who are still unorganised in our country, is solidly behind the candidature of
Mr. Pacis for the Presidency of the International Labour Conference.

Mr. Pacis rose from humble beginnings to a position of honour and prestige in my country, the Philippines, because of his dedication to duty, his efficiency and his undying obsession with amity and understanding among individuals and nations. Throughout his public career he has exhibited the hallmark of a fair and just leader of men. He had his baptism in the public service as a journalist and professor. In both fields he acquitted himself creditably. As a journalist he rose from being a mere reporter to become the editor and publisher of one of the Philippines' most prestigious dailies. As a teacher and professor he started as an instructor in one of our universities, to become the Vice-President of the University of the East, one of the most respected institutions of higher learning in my country.

It is in recognition of his success in both these fields that our Government drafted him into our foreign service.

As a journalist and as an educator Mr. Pacis was known far and wide in our country as one of our leading thinkers and administrators. He attained such an enviable reputation because of the fine traits which he has carried with him as an envoy to Geneva. In thought as well as in his relations with capital, industry and labour, he has applied the principles of fairness and justice. Having been reared and bred in a highly democratic society, he adheres to the tenets that the least governments exist with the consent of the governed; that government is the best government; that governments exist with the consent of the governed; and that therefore it is the task of governments to provide for the well-being, the happiness and the progress of their people.

I could go on reciting here reasons which make us feel that Ambassador Pacis is fully qualified for the position of President of the International Labour Conference. Just to cite to you a few of his qualifications as an educator, Ambassador Pacis was professor of journalism at the University of Santo Tomas, one of the oldest universities in my country; he was professor of political science of the University of the East from 1950 to 1958; he was Vice-President of the University of the East—the second largest university in the Philippines with an enrolment of 50,000—from 1960 to 1963; he received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Illinois and his Master of Arts degree from the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Pacis was correspondent of the Associated Press in Washington, D.C., from 1927 to 1932; he has been city editor of the Manila Tribune; he was evening editor of the Graphis, now a leading weekly news magazine; he was also the editor of the Philippines Herald; and he was executive editor and general manager of the Ramon publication.

In the field of international service Mr. Pacis was Director of Public Information in the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation in Bangkok from 1958 to 1960.

In Government service he was a foreign affairs officer in 1948 and was press secretary to the President of the Philippines from 1948 to 1950. He was appointed Minister in 1961 and became Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in 1963. In his present position he has been, since early 1964, the Philippines Permanent Representative, accredited with full powers, to the European Office of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organisation, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Meteorological Organisation and the Universal Postal Union.

I therefore strongly urge and appeal to you to support the candidature of Ambassador Vicente Albano Pacis for the Presidency of the International Labour Conference, and to consider electing him to this prestigious office through which the Philippines will contribute something substantial to the success of this Conference.

Mr. HAYTHORNE (Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office)—In the circumstances it is necessary now to proceed to a vote. This will take the form of a secret ballot. There may be others who would like to speak but I would like to suggest that we proceed with our business as quickly as we are able to and, in the circumstances, I would suggest that we proceed now to the vote.

I would like to ask Mr. Aguilar, Government delegate of Venezuela, and Mr. Parodi, Government delegate of France, both of whom have formerly served as Presidents of our Conference, to come to the rostrum to serve as returning officers.

I would just like to describe briefly how we shall proceed with the vote. A ballot paper, on which the names of the two candidates are written, is now being distributed to each delegate. When the delegate's name is called he will kindly come to the rostrum and drop his ballot paper into the ballot box after he has crossed out the name of the candidate for whom he does not wish to vote, leaving only the name of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote.

If there are no queries I shall ask the Clerk of the Conference to proceed to call the roll.

(Mr. Aguilar and Mr. Parodi take their seats on the platform.)

(A vote is taken by secret ballot.)

Mr. HAYTHORNE (Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office)—The result of the ballot is as follows: 272 votes for Mr. Raza; 84 votes for Mr. Albano Pacis; two spoiled ballots. I therefore declare that Mr. Hashim Raza is elected President of the Conference and would ask him to please come to the rostrum.

I would like to thank Mr. Aguilar and Mr. Parodi, on your behalf, for acting as returning officers.

(Mr. Raza, Government delegate, Pakistan, is elected President and takes the Chair.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The PRESIDENT—Mr. Chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Director-General, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, may I ex-
press at the very outset my gratitude for your kindness in bestowing upon me the great honour of the Presidency of this august Conference. I am particularly grateful to Mr. Anwar Salama, Minister of Labour of the United Arab Republic, for putting my name forward and to Dr. Abdelkader Lariqui, Ambassador, Government delegate, Morocco, and to Mr. Marwan Nasr, Employers' delegate, Lebanon, for seconding the proposal. The kind words that have been spoken about me by my friends have touched me greatly, and I assure you that I shall endeavor to prove myself worthy of the confidence that has been reposed in me. I earnestly hope that I shall enjoy the fullest cooperation of my fellow delegates, including my friends from the Philippines, in the discharge of the heavy task that has been put on my shoulders.

I consider my election as a tribute to my country, Pakistan, which has, since its founding in August 1947, been making sincere contributions towards world peace and achieving the great objectives of the I.L.O.

I warmly welcome to this session of the Conference the members of various delegations, particularly those of Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen, which have joined this Organisation since our last session and whose entry has brought the number of the States Members of the I.L.O. up to 114. During the past two decades, the membership of this veteran international organisation has increased twofold and every year new member States are joining this great family with fervour and with hope. There is still a large section of the world population which is not represented in this forum but I hold a firm belief that in the not-too-distant future all the peoples of the world will be represented in this Organisation.

I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to appeal to the Government of Indonesia to reconsider its decision to withdraw from the I.L.O. and to rejoin it.

We are meeting here at a time when the political atmosphere of the world is not serene. There is much tension in some regions, which threatens world peace. It is, however, very gratifying to note that in a world torn by conflict and on edge with fear and suspicion, the I.L.O. is marching on against the real enemies of mankind—poverty, hunger and social inequality. The extent of its success in this crusade no doubt depends upon the support of the member countries for the ideals and objectives of the I.L.O. As for my own country, the social policies, programmes and activities of Field-Marshal Ayub Khan and his party are entirely in conformity with the aims and objectives of the I.L.O., and these policies and programmes are being pursued as vigorously as our resources permit. His Government has already declared that its policy in the field of labour will be based on I.L.O. Conventions and Recommendations ratified by Pakistan. I may mention that since her independence in 1947 Pakistan has ratified as many as 13 Conventions besides accepting the obligations under another 15 Conventions ratified by the Government of India before independence.

My country's labour policy aims at minimizing the chances of friction between the workers and the employers. It encourages the parties to get together as often as possible to iron out their differences before these assume alarming proportions. The Government has reiterated in its declared labour policy its faith in the principle of collective bargaining through representative and responsible trade unions. During the period from 1959 to 1962 the pace of labour legislation in Pakistan has been unprecedented. While the Industrial Disputes Act, the Trade Unions Act and the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act were amended, new legislation, namely the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) Ordinance, the Road Transport Workers Ordinance, the Minimum Wages Ordinance, the Plantations Labour Ordinance, the Apprenticeship Ordinance, the Coal Mines (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance and the Employees' Social Insurance Ordinance, were enacted.

This month marks the successful completion of our Second Five-Year Plan. It is a major turning point in my country's history because during these five years our faltering economy has been transformed into a flourishing one. I am glad to say that almost all the important targets have been either achieved or exceeded. During this period we have been able to break the population barrier for the first time and our income per head of population has increased by about 3 per cent. per annum. The average annual growth rate of the gross national product for this period is about 5 per cent., which is twice the growth rate of the population. In agriculture, the planned targets were achieved two years in advance.

An important feature of our planning is that the structure of our economy is gradually transforming itself from an agricultural to a semi-industrial pattern; I suppose that is true of all the developing countries of the world. Industry, which was virtually non-existent in Pakistan at the time of independence, speedily found a place of its own in our national economy. It is expected that the contribution of industry to the gross national product will increase from 7 per cent. in 1949-50 to 13 per cent. in 1964-65, whereas that of agriculture will decline from about 60 per cent. to 48 per cent. during the same period. Our economy is thus becoming progressively industrial and its preponderant dependence on agriculture is diminishing. As a result of the growth in industry the country is also becoming progressively urbanised. During the last 15 years the population of urban areas has more than doubled, and now about 15 per cent. of our people live in cities as against 10 per cent. in 1950. The progressive industrialisation of the economy is also reflected in the employment pattern. The increase in jobs in the non-agricultural sector is proceeding at a rate much faster than in the agricultural sector.

Whatever we have been able to achieve is the result not only of our own efforts but also of the generous help and assistance given by the developed nations of the world and the international organisations like the United Nations and particularly the I.L.O. This is true of all developing countries which are endeavouring to improve the lot of their people, yet we are still far away from the desired goal. The problem of poverty changes its pattern in every generation, and constant and ceaseless
efforts are required to meet its challenge. The gaps between the haves and the have-nots are still apparent. To bridge this gulf is a gigantic task which calls for the collective efforts of the developed, the developing and the underdeveloped countries. The I.L.O. has a very creditable record of service in this field, hence the expectation that it will surpass its own record as the years roll by.

It is heartening to see that the I.L.O. has increased its operational activities in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, which are in great need of international assistance.

We also appreciate this stress on the decentralisation of the work of the I.L.O. in order to tackle regional problems more effectively.

The Conference has been discussing at the last two sessions the question of the programme and structure of the I.L.O. and, as pointed out by the Director-General in his very able Report, there was a broad consensus of opinion in respect of some questions, especially those relating to the major objectives and programmes of the I.L.O., and rather sharp differences of opinion in respect of others. You must have noticed with satisfaction that there was a substantial measure of agreement on the choice and content of those major I.L.O. programme areas such as human resources development, labour relations, trade union development, the growth of sound social institutions, and conditions of life and work. It has been rightly stated by the Director-General that "these are three facets of its activity where the I.L.O. has accumulated considerable experience." These points on which there was wide agreement during the debate at the last two sessions of the Conference have now been placed before the Conference for confirmation. This year the Conference will adopt international standards on the questions of employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds, and employment of women with family responsibilities. It will also discuss important questions like agrarian reform and the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. The Office has prepared valuable documents on all these questions, which will enable the delegates to consider these matters in their right perspective. I am sure that the discussions in the Conference will bring fruitful results.

Distinguished delegates, my friends, I once again thank you all for the honour you have done me and my country; and I pray to God for the success of this Conference.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)
SECOND SITTING

Wednesday, 2 June 1965, 5.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Raza

ELECTION OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS

The PRESIDENT—The first item of business for this afternoon is the election of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference and I call upon the Clerk of the Conference to read the nominations put forward by the groups.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—

The nominations for the Vice-Presidents of the Conference are as follows:

Government group: Mr. Gurinovich (Byelorussia).
Employers' group: Mr. Andriantsitohaina (Malagasy Republic).
Workers' group: Mr. Sánchez Madariaga (Mexico).

The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, I declare the proposals adopted.
(The proposals are adopted.)

APPOINTMENT AND COMPOSITION OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—The second item on the agenda is the appointment and composition of the Selection Committee. The Clerk of the Conference will read the proposals communicated by the groups.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—

The proposals for membership of the Selection Committee are as follows:

Government members:
Algeria.
Australia.
Brasil.
Bulgaria.
Canada.
China.
Ecuador.
France.
Federal Republic of Germany.
Gabon.
India.
Italy.
Japan.
Lebanon.
Liberia.
Mali.
Mexico.

Pakistan.
Peru.
Poland.
Tanzania.
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom.
United States.

Employers' members:
Mr. Bergenström (Sweden).
Mr. Erdmann (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Ghayour (Iran).
Mr. Ghali (Tunisia).
Mr. Gonzales Blanco (Brasil).
Mr. Martínez-Espino (Venezuela).
Mr. Mishiro (Japan).
Sir George Pollock (United Kingdom).
Mr. Rifaat (United Arab Republic).
Mr. Wagner (United States).
Mr. Wajid Ali (Pakistan).
Mr. Waline (France).

Deputy members:
Mr. Campanella (Italy).
Mr. Chinai (India).
Mr. Donayre Barrios (Peru).
Mr. Fennema (Netherlands).
Mr. Georget (Niger).
Mr. Gibson (Australia).
Mr. Hallsworth (Canada).
Mr. Kocatopçu (Turkey).
Mr. Recalde (Argentina).
Mr. Richmond (Kenya).
Mr. Verschueren (Belgium).
Mr. Walker (Uganda).

Workers' members:
Mr. Abid Ali (India).
Mr. Boermann (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Borha (Nigeria).
Mr. Bouladoux (France).
Lord Collison (United Kingdom).
Mr. ben Ezzedine (Tunisia).
Mr. Faupl (United States).
Mr. Hernandez (Philippines).
Mr. Kaplansky (Canada).
Mr. Möri (Switzerland).
Mr. Sánchez Madariaga (Mexico).
Mr. Sissoko (Mali).

The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, I declare these proposals adopted.
(The proposals are adopted.)
NOMINATION OF THE OFFICERS OF THE GROUPS

The PRESIDENT—The third item is the nomination of the Officers of the groups. The Clerk of the Conference will read the names of the persons who have been elected Officers of the various groups.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—
The groups have elected their Officers as follows:

**Government group**:
- **Chairman**: Mr. Øksnes (Norway).

**Employers' group**:
- **Chairman**: Mr. Waline (France).
  - **Vice-Chairmen**: Mr. Ghayour (Iran), Mr. Martinez-Espino (Venezuela), Mr. Rifaat (United Arab Republic), Mr. Wagner (United States).
- **Secretary**: Mr. Lagasse (International Organization of Employers).

**Workers' group**:
- **Chairman**: Mr. Möri (Switzerland).
- **Vice-Chairmen**: Mr. Hernandez (Philippines), Mr. Sissoko (Mali).
- **Members of the Bureau**: Mr. Abid Ali (India), Mr. Beermann (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. Bora (Nigeria), Mr. Bouladoux (France), Lord Colison (United Kingdom), Mr. ben Ezzedine (Tunisia), Mr. Faupl (United States), Mr. Kaplansky (Canada), Mr. Heyer (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions).
- **Secretary**: Mr. Heyer (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions).

The PRESIDENT—The Conference takes note of these appointments.

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

Thursday, 3 June 1965, 4.15 p.m.

President : Mr. Raza

FIRST REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE ¹: SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION

The President—Our agenda comprises consideration of the first and second reports of the Selection Committee. I call upon Mr. Menon, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the first report.

Mr. MENON (Government delegate, India; Chairman of the Selection Committee)—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the first report of the Selection Committee, the text of which was distributed this morning to the delegates.

This report covers the election of the Officers of the Selection Committee and contains proposals concerning the setting-up of Conference committees, the discussion of the Director-General’s Report, a suggested arrangement for more negotiation, and suggestions regarding the Conference quorum.

I may be permitted to draw the special attention of the Conference to the proposals concerning the quorum, the purpose of which is to ensure that the Conference quorum is realistically determined at all times on the basis of the number of delegates actually present at the Conference. The Selection Committee unanimously recommends the Conference to put the proposals into practice on a provisional basis. I may be permitted to submit that they call for some discipline on the part of all the delegates, both in registering promptly and claiming their admission cards from the Information Desk, and also in notifying the Clerk of the Conference in writing of their departure if they have to leave before the close of the session.

The report also contains a recommendation to invite three international workers’ organisations to be represented at the Conference by observers, and recommendations concerning the participation of these and other non-governmental organisations in the work of certain committees of the Conference, the appointment of the Drafting Committee of the Conference, and the appointment of two members to the Appeals Board panel. The Employers’ members of the Selection Committee took no part in the decision on the last-mentioned subject.

¹ See Appendix I, p. 473.

I commend the first report of the Selection Committee for the consideration and approval of the Conference.

The President—The report is now open for discussion. If there are no comments, I take it that the Conference adopts the report.

(The report is adopted.)

SECOND REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION

The President—I now request Mr. Menon, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to submit the second report orally.

Mr. MENON (Government delegate, India; Chairman of the Selection Committee)—I have the honour to submit, orally, to the Conference the second report of the Selection Committee.

The Selection Committee met this afternoon to consider the composition of the committees which the Conference has just decided to set up by the adoption of the proposals in the first report.

The Selection Committee proposes that the membership of the committees should be as follows:

- Resolutions Committee: 123 members: 66 Government members, 24 Employers’ members and 33 Workers’ members.
- Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations: 96 members: 56 Government members, 12 Employers’ members and 28 Workers’ members.
- Committee on Employment of Young Miners: 78 members: 35 Government members, 18 Employers’ members and 25 Workers’ members.
- Committee on Women Workers: 125 members: 60 Government members, 25 Employers’ members and 40 Workers’ members.
- Committee on Agrarian Reform: 127 members: 66 Government members, 25 Employers’ members and 36 Workers’ members.
- Committee on Co-operatives: 153 members: 72 Government members, 33 Employers’ members and 48 Workers’ members.
In accordance with normal practice, a system of weighted votes will be applied in respect of all these committees in order to maintain equality of voting strength between the groups.

The Finance Committee of Government Representatives will be composed of one Government representative for each State Member represented at the Conference.

The names of the members of each of these committees will be published in an appendix to the second report of the Selection Committee.1

I ask the Conference to approve these proposals in order that the committees may make an early start with their business.

The Selection Committee further proposes to the Conference that the Credentials Committee should be composed of three members, as provided in the Standing Orders of the Conference, as follows:

Government member: Mr. Zanetti (Switzerland).
Employers’ member: Mr. Poulsen (Denmark).
Workers’ member: Mr. Bolin (Sweden).

I also commend these proposals for the approval of the Conference.

1 See Appendix I, p. 476.

The President—The report is now open for discussion. Since there does not appear to be any objection, I declare the report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

Nomination of the Officers of the Groups

The President—I now call upon the Clerk of the Conference to make an announcement concerning the nomination of the Officers of the Government group.

The Clerk of the Conference—At its meeting held this morning the Government group completed the selection of its Officers as follows:

Government group:

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Ali Keke (Chad).
                 Mr. Mekis (Hungary).
Secretary:      Mr. Udompong (Thailand).

The President—The Conference takes note of these appointments.

(The Conference adjourned at 4.30 p.m.)
APPEALS CONCERNING COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

The President—Before passing on to the business on today's agenda, I should like to inform the Conference that I have received a number of appeals concerning the composition of committees and that, in accordance with the procedure established by the Conference on 8 June 1959, I have forwarded these appeals to the Chairman of the Appeals Board.1

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL: DISCUSSION

The President—We now come to our business for this morning, the opening of the discussion of the Report of the Director-General. I call upon Mr. Haythorne, Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and Chairman of the Working Party of the International Labour Office on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O., to introduce the first report of the Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O. to the Conference, to which delegates may wish to refer when speaking on the Director-General's Report.

Mr. Haythorne (Government delegate, Canada; Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; Chairman of the Working Party of the International Labour Office on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O.)—The first report of the Working Party of the Governing Body on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O., to which I referred at the opening of the Conference on Wednesday morning, has already been distributed to delegates.2

As Chairman of this Working Party, I have been asked by the Governing Body to introduce the report to the Conference and to make a few general observations on our work to date.

It was anticipated at our Governing Body meeting last week, just before the beginning of the Conference, that Mr. Bergenström and Mr. Kaplansky, as the spokesmen for the Employers' and Workers' groups respectively, might also add some observations on the report. After consultations among us they have asked me, in order to save the time of the Conference, to present the report to you on behalf of the Working Party as a whole. In doing so, I want to thank them for this trust they have placed in me and also to express my sincere appreciation to them both for the excellent contributions they have made to our Working Party.

On behalf, then, of our Working Party and of the Governing Body as a whole, I should like to say first that we regard the task on which we have embarked as both a timely and important one for our Organisation. Rapidly changing world developments make an examination of the I.L.O.'s basic purposes, programmes and methods particularly urgent at this time.

There is, I think, little doubt or uncertainty about the broad aims and objectives of the I.L.O. They can be broadly stated as the improvement of employment and working and living conditions throughout the world. What have not been so clearly stated, or as well understood, are the ways in which those objectives may be expressed through programmes relevant to contemporary national and international needs.

Programmes for the I.L.O. must be determined in relation to the over-all tasks which face mankind. In our Committee we are conscious that in developing the I.L.O.'s part of these total world tasks we must have a co-ordinated approach, otherwise there is a tendency for specialised international, just as for national, agencies to regard their own particular interest as valid with little or no reference to the broader context in which we must all work.

The Working Party is thus seeking to avoid any such isolated, unco-ordinated and wasteful effort. Rather are we seeking to be positive and constructive in our approach and to work with other bodies in the international field. That is one of the principal reasons we decided early in our work, when we first met in February, that we must define first the major I.L.O. programme areas in this wider context of the total problems facing mankind today before we turned our attention to the appropriate structure needed to implement effective action in each field.

We also felt that, by determining first the broad programme areas and then turning to the instrumentalities required to give practical

1 See Appendix X, p. 687.
expression to them, there was less danger of perpetuating outworn methods than if the emphasis had been placed first on particular techniques. The latter approach could easily have resulted, we feel, either in maintaining the status quo for its own sake or in developing new types of machinery before we had really reached agreement on what are the essential tasks of the I.L.O. in today's increasingly complex world.

As you will have noted from the first page of the report before you, our Committee consists of eight Government members, six Employers' members and six Workers' members, selected by each of our three groups in a manner which has given representation to different regions of the world, different stages in economic development and different forms of social organisation.

As a background for our work, the Committee not only had the excellent reports presented by the Director-General to the last two sessions of the Conference but also a summary and a detailed listing and analysis of the proposals presented by delegates on those two occasions.

We also had a summary of the communications received from governments and employers' and workers' organisations concerning those proposals, which were submitted to all member States following our Governing Body meeting last November.

As you will have observed, the summaries of these more recent communications relating to the proposals on human resources as a major programme area are presented as an annex to the first report of the Working Party. I should perhaps add that, in addition to the replies from the countries which are mentioned specifically on these pages, some more general replies have been received from other countries.

As you can see, the documentation before the Working Party was comprehensive, and we are very grateful to the Office for the extensive work it did in sorting out and analysing all the ideas that last year's session of the Conference had asked the Governing Body to study, and which the Governing Body in turn assigned to our Working Party.

The Committee began its substantive work with an examination in depth of the development and utilisation of human resources as a major programme area.

The need for such a programme was first reviewed. In this regard I would call your attention to paragraph 18 of the report where it is recognised in the final sentence: "... that the development and utilisation of 'human resources' are decisive factors in economic expansion and, in consequence, in social progress." In the same paragraph you will notice that it is realised that, if people do not have the skills needed to use natural resources, and the capital and equipment which must accompany them—if they are not productively employed, if they do not participate actively, freely and in a responsible manner in the tasks of development—it will be very difficult to achieve economic and social progress. That is true of all countries but, as the report notes, it applies particularly in the case of those with developing economies.

I should also like to quote paragraph 19 in this regard. "19. The role which human beings can play in the process of development will be enhanced if living and working conditions are improved, if standards of living are made more satisfactory and if a greater degree of social justice is attained. This is necessary to stress the other fundamental aspect of human resources policy, namely that the ultimate objective of development is human fulfilment. A policy for the development and utilisation of human resources therefore implies recognition of the right of each person to obtain employment, to enjoy the fruits of the production to which he has contributed, and to develop his faculties to the fullest extent." I am sure you will all agree that this means that adequate attention must be paid to leisure as well as to working hours.

The Committee then turned to a consideration of objectives in the human resources field. You will note that in addition to those which the I.L.O. proposed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as appropriate for the United Nations Development Decade, the Committee examined in detail the specific I.L.O. objectives in the development and utilisation of human resources. These are set forth particularly in paragraphs 23 to 27 of the report.

This led the Working Party logically to an examination of the scope and content of human resources as a major programme area. Four important programmes within the major programme area are set forth. The aims and scope of these four programmes, you will note, are each discussed in turn beginning at paragraph 34. I shall not dwell on them but I should like to call them to your attention as important tasks closely related to points that are presented in the Director-General's Report to the Conference.

The Working Party then examined the whole range of methods of action at the disposal of the I.L.O. for the implementation of these programmes. This involves among other things the active participation of employers' and workers' organisations in formulating and implementing programmes on human resources at both the national and the international level. This part of our discussion, as delegates to the Conference will appreciate, brought us inevitably to a consideration of practical procedures which have been, or need to be, developed. It also touched on some of the more general questions of structure which the Working Party will be going into more thoroughly at a later stage in its work.

As will be noted, the Working Party had an initial discussion on priorities. This is a matter which is recognised as highly important and it is one to which we shall be returning. As you will note, the Working Party will continue its discussion of major programme areas at future sessions. We shall then turn to the second part of our work—namely the examination of the structure of the International Labour Organisation.

You will be pleased to know that the general spirit in the Working Party is excellent. This is true not only within each of the three groups but also among the groups. Our discussions have proved to be both stimulating and con-

1 See Appendix X, p. 685.
structive. All members are aware of the difficulty and importance of this assignment. This has undoubtedly contributed to the liveliness and thoroughness of our discussions. There has also been outstanding cooperation on the part of the Director-General and other members of the Secretariat and this has helped us greatly in our work.

In a world of rapid change the I.L.O. cannot and must not allow itself to be out of step or left behind in the march of history. Rather must our Organisation be out in front grappling with the difficult and complex problems of our day in the labour and social fields. The Working Party is determined to help in this task to the best of its ability and, I assure you, will welcome with much interest any observations any of you make concerning our work.

The President—I am sure you would like me to convey your thanks to Mr. Haythorne, Mr. Bergensström, Mr. Kaplansky and all their colleagues on the Working Party for this thorough and thought-provoking report. This report has been introduced at the very beginning so that delegates, as I said before, may take into account the points made in the Working Party's report when they are commenting on the Director-General's Report.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. Silva Torres (Minister of Labour, Venezuela)—First of all, if I may, Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you personally in my own name as the former holder of the portfolio which is now my own on your brilliant election to the presidency of the Conference.

The Government of Venezuela, sharing as it does its people's desire for international solidarity, comes to this as to all preceding sessions, not only in order to meet its commitments as a Member of the I.L.O. but also to take this opportunity of participating in the fruitful dialogue between those who have the honourable but arduous task of directing the destinies of their nations and those who, as managers or workers, constantly assist in increasing the national income and maintaining the atmosphere of peace and concord which alone can permit mankind and civilisation to survive.

None can deny that the traditional approach to social problems is no longer appropriate to the events of today—events which are both powerful and dangerous because of their irresistible force and their surprising multiplicity. Accordingly, no one can deny the utility of the I.L.O. as an invaluable instrument for the construction of a future world which will transcend the many difficulties still hampering complete social justice and international peace.

The presence in this Organisation of our three great sectors which contribute to the production of goods and services, the gradual diminution of the importance of frontiers, races and ill-feeling from the past, the facility with which new ideas can spread today, the social sensitivity which now accompanies any examination of the complex field of human relations and, lastly, the I.L.O.'s capacity for renewal and adjustment to the new requirements which more than ever characterise its future—all this makes the Organisation not only an ever-open forum in the search for understanding but also the most powerful and the most suitable means of attaining a new life without the birth pangs becoming terrible convulsions which can endanger the very existence of civilisation.

As far as my country is concerned, I can say quite sincerely that we are doing all we can to meet our obligations, since we know that nothing can be achieved at the international level to improve the position of the working man and to reach the goals fixed by the I.L.O. unless each member State makes its exceptional effort to give the I.L.O., solid and effective moral, material and spiritual support.

In our case this is being done with the urgency which reflects full awareness of our requirements, our resources and our capacity to advance and progress. Venezuela today has not only a people which struggles for balanced growth, to reach higher levels of living, to find formulas which will enable it to progress without the twin dangers of complacency and violence; it also has a Government of democratic origin, of democratic feeling, as its achievements show, and of democratic understanding because it knows that it must offer the people the possibility of achieving freedom from several centuries of poverty, backwardness and colonialism while still respecting human rights and freedom without which it cannot fulfil its historic destiny.

To carry out the task entrusted to it by popular vote, the Government of Venezuela has been obliged to struggle against forces which are sometimes imponderable. Inveterate vices, vested interests, the lack of vision of some social groups, the lack of discipline in others, and above all the aggressive attitude of the extreme right and the extreme left, which although not numerically large evidently aim at subverting public order and at liquidating our democratic institutions and replacing them by the traditional common dictatorship, which Venezuela and its people will never tolerate—these all make up a negative background which unfortunately delays the achievement of our programmes and the attainment of the goals which the Government has set in the economic and social field.

Nevertheless we must be optimistic, not only because of the results we have already achieved but also, and mainly, because of the support which the working people and the responsible community are giving and will continue to give to the President of Dr. Raúl Leoni (the former holder of the portfolio which is now my own), within which three great democratic parties and a valuable group of independent politicians have assumed responsibility.

We are not unaware that a very important principle is that of facing problems and not trying to evade them, although it would be easier to adopt the attitude of a politician who always promises everything but never fulfils his promises. All the same we prefer the rocky road of realities because we consider it is the only one that will make it possible for us to act constructively. Thus, we acknowledge that in our country unemployment and underemployment are very serious problems. We know that while the right to work is embodied in the
National Constitution, it is very often not a practical reality for the head of a family who may justly aspire to that right. We are also aware, however, that the process of industrialisation and the reform of the productive agricultural structure of our country have met with a constantly growing success, thereby making for a growing increase in the labour market and a gradual decrease in unemployment at a rate which makes it possible for us not only to cover the natural growth of the labour force, but to decrease the rate and the cumulative backlog of underemployment and unemployment.

In this field we should call attention to the effort recently made in Venezuela to find a solution to the various secondary problems which face unemployed youth. This was recently demonstrated in a concrete manner by the holding of a study seminar where particular stress was laid on certain measures, which will be short-term and medium-term measures, to offer and adequate solutions to these very serious problems.

The problem of unemployment in Venezuela, as in all developing countries, is to cope with the very serious factor constituted by lack of skilled manpower. A large number of workers are unskilled and therefore unable to take advantage of the real opportunities of employment. This hinders the process of economic development whenever new manpower needs in a growing industry cannot be properly satisfied. Therefore we are making every effort to increase the existing services provided by the National Employment Training Institute, with a view to preparing the workers adequately within the framework of true manpower planning services which we hope eventually to achieve thanks to the very valuable contribution of the technical experts of the I.L.O.

We should like to make reference now to the efforts our Government is making to set up from January next year an employment service as envisaged in the Employment Service Convention, 1948, which was ratified by Venezuela last year. To this end, and with the support and technical collaboration of the I.L.O., we are proceeding to modify the limited manpower service which the Ministry of Labour has been maintaining up to the present in order to make way for a modern structure which will make it possible for us in the near future not only to offer the workers direct information as to existing employment opportunities but to carry out the corresponding research, and to make provision for vocational training, re-adaptation and retraining of workers for new activities, and, finally, provide plans for economic development on an adequate basis of information and statistics on available manpower and the degree of skill of such manpower, and indicating the future possibilities of this labour force, in the light of the new requirements which are constantly emerging.

In the field of social security I should like to inform this assembly that during the course of this year the National Congress of my country will approve a Social Security Act which will place it on the same level as the more advanced countries. In response to the principle of the extension of the system of trade union plurality, the new Act will apply to the whole of the national territory, to all the workers, and will cover a larger number of risks or needs, including invalidity, old age, death, family responsibilities, and, subsequently, involuntary unemployment, when we have the employment service in full operation. The legislation has been worked out in accordance with the standards set by the I.L.O., and in this planning we have had the benefit of the extraordinarily valuable contribution of an I.L.O. technical official, one of the most outstanding figures in this difficult and complex field.

We continue to believe that the workers should have access to management bodies within undertakings where public capital predominates, and that they should be given effective means of accumulating savings. To this end the National Congress is discussing proposed legislation which will make this representation available to the workers, and another Bill will be presented by the Government with a view to setting up a workers' bank. Here again we have had very valuable assistance from the technical staff of the I.L.O. We also believe it is now necessary in Venezuela to introduce a radical revision of the present Labour Act with a view to incorporating some of the invaluable contributions made through the system of collective bargaining, which in Venezuela has yielded most fertile and valuable results, thereby leading to a gradual improvement of conditions of employment and the achievement of objectives particularly dear to the hearts of all who love social justice. In this new law we shall also include the agricultural workers of Venezuela, thus putting a final stop to former discrimination, which continues even today because of regulations which no longer correspond to the importance which this sector has taken on in the general pattern of national production. When this new Labour Act comes into force we may be in a position to ratify the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 and at the same time overcome the obstacles to effective application of the Right of Association (Agriculture) Convention, 1921, which Venezuela ratified in 1944.

In the democratic spirit which presides over Venezuelan public life, the free play of labour relations has greatly prospered, with particular reference to the trade union movement and to the employers' associations which have always enjoyed the enthusiastic collaboration of the Government. No political prejudice, no reservation of an ideological character, hamper the legal recognition and full operation of the employers' and workers' organisations, since activities increase every day and give shape to a dynamic flexible social democracy which is the pride of our country. You should know that in Venezuela we apply and encourage the system of trade union plurality and therefore have many trade unions, federations, and confederations. In these organisations employed persons of all political beliefs operate without any interference by the authorities which might be interpreted as a restriction of freedom of association. Last year alone 884 new collective agreements came into operation, and together with those in existence there are more than a million-and-a-half workers. This shows the vigorous nature of our labour relations and the impulse which the Government gives to
direct negotiation between the parties under the guidance of our new social legislation.

To achieve all our goals, some of which I have mentioned already, and to avoid hesitating or failing in our policy of linking economic development with social progress, to maintain a balance which will ensure stability in our national life, my Government has been obliged to initiate a process of gradual change in the structure of our national labour authorities so as to make the Ministry of Labour a suitable dynamic tool in the service of a government policy commensurate with the high degree of progress of our country.

We are glad to see on the agenda of the Conference the question of the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. We have in each case referred to the assistance received by Venezuela from the I.L.O. In such important fields as the employment service, manpower training, and social security the I.L.O. experts have made a very thorough and basic contribution which we acknowledge and for which we are very grateful. But we believe that this assistance must be increased with the same priority and at the same rate as the programme of development in our country.

Since the Government of my country is very anxious to cover a great deal of ground very quickly and to achieve the objectives, both short-term and medium-term, to which I and many other people have referred, particularly in the fields where official action has received support and collaboration both from the private sector and, particularly, from the workers themselves, we are sure that we will continue to receive the permanent stimulus which we get from each generous contribution from the I.L.O., from each word of advice from its efficient technical staff, and from each word of encouragement from its Directorate. Today more than ever before we are convinced that the I.L.O. is the base from which Archimedes would have been able to move the world.

We are extremely anxious to break new ground, and new channels now will make opportunities available to the little man, to the underprivileged, so that he will no longer be the object of exploitation by the powerful. We wish to create an atmosphere of peace where freedom will make a man realise that his presence in the world is not an expression of a circumstance created by natural forces alone, but is rather a matter of destiny which God has allotted to him, having made him in his image and in his likeness.

Mr. AMOA-AWUAH (Minister of Labour, Ghana)—It gives me great pleasure to have the opportunity of addressing the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. I wish, first of all, to convey to the delegates and the officials of this Conference the sincerest greetings and felicitations of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana. I wish also to congratulate you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and the Government and people of Ghana on your election to the presidency of this august Assembly. I am confident that under your guidance this Conference will attain success.

I should like also to extend a hand of welcome to the Republic of Zambia on joining this family of nations dedicated to the promotion of peace and social justice throughout this troubled world of our time.

A year ago the Declaration concerning the policy of apartheid was adopted by acclamation at the 48th Session, calling upon the Government of South Africa to recognise and fulfil its undertakings to respect the freedom and dignity of all human beings, irrespective of their colour, and making a pressing appeal to all to apply in concert all appropriate measures to lead the Government of South Africa to renounce its inhuman policies. The special report of the Director-General gives a clear indication that the Government of South Africa has no intention of responding to the call of humanity. It has not even replied to communications addressed to it by the Director-General on this burning question.

What, then, are the reasons for this arrogant and intransigent attitude of the Government of South Africa? Have all member States of this Organisation who gave their solemn pledge to the Declaration honoured that pledge?

Member States are fully aware that no amount of diplomacy, no amount of persuasion has so far moved Verwoerd and his henchmen from the course they are pursuing. Apartheid represents the gravest threat to peace since Hitler and Mussolini sought to impose their racial doctrines upon the human race. In condemning it, therefore, we should take note of the fact that the time has come when we should take all positive measures to eliminate its existence from the earth. In the name of humanity, in the name of the suffering millions of Africans, I call on this Conference to insist that all member States implement the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa adopted by the last session of the Conference.

Let us now turn to Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The brutalities and injustices of Portuguese administration in Angola, Mozambique, and the so-called Portuguese Guinea are flagrant violations of all human values, and are an anachronism. The rights and opportunities which the Portuguese settlers arrogate to themselves and enjoy in these territories are denied to the indigenous Africans. The plight of the Africans represents a story of woe, misery, hardship and slavery because they want social justice and the right to pursue both their material well-being and cultural development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity. If there is no place for South Africa in this Organisation how can we allow Portugal to continue its membership of this Organisation, which is the symbol of social justice throughout the world? The atrocities of Portuguese administration in Africa cry aloud for redress. Portugal stands in the way of African freedom, and I call upon this Conference to take strong measures and action within this organisation to ostracise Portugal from this Organisation, to compel it to change its obnoxious policies in Africa and to give the people of its colonies the opportunities necessary for self-determination.

Among other matters, the Director-General
has indicated to the Conference that the cooperation of the International Labour Organisation in regional activities within the United Nations system, and mainly with the regional economic commissions, had been supplemented by continued practical cooperation with regional organisations in the Americas, Europe, Africa and Asia. While this is laudable, it is the view of my Government that, at this time when Africa is on the threshold of a continental union government, the International Labour Organisation should extend its cooperation to the Organisation of African Unity and especially its Economic and Social Commission. In this connection, my delegation notes with satisfaction the exchanges between this Organisation and the Organisation of African Unity. It is my fervent hope that the administrative structure will be completed in due course for the type of relations desired. An awakened Africa in this era of the Organisation of African Nations system, and mainly with the regional activities, necessity, entail the total mobilisation and responsibility to do the best in her power to fight for the free development and happiness of her population, and remains unshakeable in her conviction of the need for international cooperation free of all interference and free from the evils of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In supporting the views of the Director-General on the problem of the utilisation of human resources, I should like to say that, like many progressive nations, it is the declared objective and primary concern of my Government to raise the standard of living of Ghanaians through the promotion of economic and social development projects, which will, of necessity, entail the total mobilisation and effective utilisation of all natural and productive capacities and resources, including both man-and-woman-power and the development of the potentialities of youth in national reconstruction, which is of strategic importance. Ghanaian women are therefore accorded every opportunity to participate fully as workers, wives, mothers and citizens in the economic, social and political life of the country in their own right and on an equal basis with men.

In the field of social security, quite apart from the provisions of the Workmen’s Compensation Act, which provides for the payment of appropriate compensation to workmen for injuries suffered in the course of their employment, the Government of Ghana has quite recently enacted legislation establishing a Social Security Fund to provide for payment of superannuation, invalidity, survivors’ and other benefits. For the first few years, the scheme will work as a compulsory, contributory provident fund, and later be transformed into a pension scheme.

At this stage I must say that the Government and people of Ghana acknowledge gratefully the assistance received from the I.L.O., first for the advice of the chief of the Social Security Branch, and later for having made available to them the services of an expert to advise not only on the establishment of the scheme and the preparation of the necessary legislation, but also on training Ghanaian officers to administer the scheme.

Two years ago my Government gave an assurance to the Governing Body at its 154th Session that the Government of Ghana would, at the appropriate time, and, in the light of trade union development, ratify the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87). As the industrial climate of the country has now become stable and both the employers’ and workers’ organisations have fully grasped their responsibilities and appreciate their role in building the country, my Government has seen its way clear to remove those restrictions and controls which it considered necessary to impose to regulate labour-management relations. I am therefore happy to announce that my Government has now ratified Convention No. 87 and taken appropriate action to make its provisions effective. I am sure that those international trade union bodies which are using the non-ratification of this Convention by Ghana as a weapon to disparage the good name of Ghana will now understand and appreciate that there is a way of doing things and that the due procedure and machinery of government is such that time and negotiation with the parties concerned yield the best results to the satisfaction of all.

Allow me to touch upon the African labour movement and its representation at this Conference. Is it not an anomaly that, in this Conference, some African workers should be represented by interests of non-African origin? Surely you will agree that the most appropriate labour organisation which must represent and speak for all African workers is the All-African Trade Union Federation, dedicated to African unity and committed to work within the framework of the Organisation of African Unity, a representative body of all the independent States of Africa. This is the view of my Government, because African workers can no longer accept the situation where other international trade union bodies are their mouthpiece. Africa today wants to assert her own personality in her own right and express her own being. Africa is on the march and has reached the age of political maturity and can no longer accept the patronage of any country or organisation in any field. Furthermore, she refuses to accept the imposition of incompetent and neo-colonialist agents as leaders of her labour movement. The I.L.O. should, therefore, follow the course of history and bow to the “wind of change” by according category “A” consultative status to the All-African Trade Union Federation instead of observer status, as we find here today. There is every justification for this request, since the A.A.T.U.F., unlike the African Trade Union Confederation (A.T.U.C.) and other African labour organisations, is neither affiliated to nor indirectly represented here by other labour internationals.

At the 45th and subsequent sessions of this Conference, my Government pointed out the need for the reorganisation of the I.L.O. in the light of modern developments in the world, particularly in Africa, and the beginning has been made in this direction but it is the view of my Government that the appointment of Africans to higher posts at the headquarters in Geneva and the Field Offices in Africa should be accelerated to reflect the true picture of Africa in the Organisation.
Furthermore, my Government would be pleased to see the African Advisory Committee accorded the status of an autonomous regional organisation with sufficient power to direct I.L.O. affairs in Africa and to control the Field Offices. The remote control exercised from Geneva has outlived its usefulness and does not satisfy present needs. The I.L.O. should therefore adapt itself to modern requirements.

Again, it is the view of my Government that in the light of the rapid social, economic and political changes taking place in the world, particularly in the developing countries, the structure, organisation and functions of the I.L.O. need some fundamental changes in order to bring it abreast of the times. To justify its existence and its relationship with its Members, I suggest that this Conference authorise serious study and research by a committee of experts into this matter to determine the role and scope of the functions of the I.L.O., with particular reference to the developing countries.

The realisation of the political, social and economic aspirations of every nation depends on the conscious participation in efforts being made towards this end by all groups or individuals in that nation in an atmosphere of absolute freedom, peace and happiness. On the international scene, this further creates the basis for international understanding and cooperation which is a prerequisite for peaceful coexistence and the promotion of global ideals of the progress and well-being of humanity for which this Organisation stands. Our adherence and strict observance of the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Philadelphia and the ideals of this Organisation as the only institution capable of promoting the equality and dignity of man will generate our confidence in it. It is my hope therefore that this Organisation will develop with a great sense of vision, mission and goodwill towards all its Members, determined to achieve a world without conflicts and tensions. Let us therefore build this Organisation into a strong instrument of service, peace and progress of humanity irrespective of colour, race and creed.

I would conclude with an expression of the wish of my President and the Government and people of Ghana for the success of this Conference.

Interpretation from French: Mr. SAFI (Minister of Labour, Algeria)—It is with all the warmth born of friendship and esteem that I would first of all like to address to you, Mr. President, sincerest congratulations on the occasion of your election to the highest functions at this Conference.

May I also, in the name of the Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and on behalf of the people of Algeria, convey the warmest greetings to the delegates to this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

The Report of the Director-General has been studied by us with particular attention. It is a comprehensive Report. The various subjects that are suggested for study open up unlimited prospects as far as the activities of the International Labour Organisation are concerned. The gap between us and our objectives seems to have been strikingly reduced and I would like to address to the Director-General our most sincere thanks on that account.

There would be no point in my elaborating at length on the work of the I.L.O. during 1964-65; nevertheless, I would like to draw attention to some of its multiple, varied and positive activities. First of all, I would mention the amendments to the Constitution of the Organisation, which represent a valuable step forward towards the objectives which the I.L.O. has set itself. Then I must mention the efforts made in the field of technical co-operation and workers' education, which for Algeria, as a developing country, are a vital factor in our policy of economic progress and full employment.

Nevertheless, while the efforts made in these fields are commendable and appreciable, the I.L.O. should increase still further its aid and should focus its attention on ways and means of achieving its programmes. Among other things, it should provide for an increase in the volume of credits allocated and should consider new methods of recruiting experts with a view to adapting the practices followed up to now to the realities of our time.

I should like to stress how much we welcome the setting-up of the Working Party intended to assist the Director-General in his difficult but exciting task of studying the problem of revising the programmes and structure of the Organisation, and to state that we have great hopes for the success of its activities.

The Algerian Government, which I have the honour of representing, believes that the International Labour Organisation's major concern should be the preparation of a programme which would take due account of the rapid evolution of the developing countries, of their new needs, and of their determination to speed up the process of economic and social emancipation. Algeria is an example of this new dynamism. It would be to the advantage of the developing countries to profit as quickly as possible from the experience acquired by the I.L.O. in the fields of production, vocational training and the social advancement of workers. We believe that a more flexible approach would be conducive to the effective achievement of all these aims.

It is also our wish to see in the Governing Body a faithful reflection of the Conference, bearing in mind the changes which have occurred in the international situation. The I.L.O. is like that of the United Nations, is growing steadily; it is approaching that universality which we desire with all our hearts. In this connection, I should like to state how much we welcome the accession to membership of Zambia, Malawi, Malta and Yemen. This increase in the membership of the Organisation further emphasises the urgent need for certain readjustments which would ensure a fairer representation of the various regions of the world both on the executive bodies and throughout the whole structure of the Organisation.

In the same line of thought, the International Labour Organisation would benefit from strength-
ening its action by developing its relations with the regional political bodies, such as the Organisation of African Unity. Closer ties would permit better co-ordination and would pave the way to a new approach, particularly as regards the question of experts. Since the conditions of development are peculiar to each region it would be desirable to encourage the development of experts and the organisation of more numerous and more frequent seminars and courses in the countries concerned. Such improvements appear to us to be highly desirable.

I have permitted myself to go into these matters because I have noticed with pleasure the Director-General’s constant concern with gearing the activities of the Organisation to the changes that have occurred in the world situation and to the increasing importance of economic and employment problems in the developing countries.

For its part, Algeria, as a Member of the Organisation, is determined to work for the success of any new policy that would lead to social justice and to peace.

My country, which in a few weeks’ time will be celebrating the third anniversary of its independence, can claim to have contributed, albeit modestly, to the strengthening of our Organisation by inaugurating a policy that is in line with the ideals to which we have subscribed. This policy is illustrated by the establishment of a self-management system, which respects the dignity of the worker by placing him in the position of both producer and manager at the same time. We may state that we have achieved unquestionable progress in all fields. I would mention, among others, workers’ education, the improvement of the status of women—which is so essential to the progress and development of every society—occupational safety and health. This last-mentioned question has been given our special attention, and a national week on occupational safety and health was organised recently throughout Algeria with a view to making all workers aware of the hazards involved in their work and to changing their mental attitude in this respect.

We have started a policy of workers’ education with a view to improving the knowledge of the workers and at the same time enhancing their sense of dignity as men, as producers and as managers.

We should like all social progress to be complete; in other words, it should extend to all workers—those in the towns and those in the countryside—in every aspect of their individual and family life, and especially at the site of their activities. This policy of social advancement could be planned and implemented only in an independent country.

It is difficult to envisage such a policy within the framework of a colonial system based on the exploitation of man by man, on racialism and racial discrimination. In this connection we should like to congratulate the Director-General on his special report concerning the policy of apartheid. We should increase still further our vigilance and find more radical means of bringing our struggle to a successful conclusion and of suppressing, once and for all, those retrograde forces which are a denial of the most elementary principles of human rights.

How great would have been our joy if our brothers from Angola, from Mozambique, from so-called Portuguese Guinea and from Southern Rhodesia had been here with us.

It is our responsibility to study seriously the situation of these countries and of others which are still under the yoke of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, such as Palestine, whose people are still the victims of intolerable injustice.

I could hardly end my remarks without assuring you of Algeria’s determination to contribute to the success of the work of this session, because we know, as do all who are here, that underdevelopment, just as much as political conflict and military intervention, represents a threat to peace and to justice, in other words, to freedom itself.

Mr. MUNDIR (Minister of Labour and Social Development, Zambia)—President Kaunda and the people of the new Republic of Zambia send their good wishes to this august Conference on joining as a new nation.

I am privileged to lead this first tripartite delegation to represent the Republic of Zambia as an independent member State of the International Labour Organisation, and it is with honour and a pleasure to participate in this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

It is also my privilege to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of this session of the Conference, and to pay tribute to the qualities which you possess and which are admirably suited to this high office.

I wish at the outset to reaffirm the adherence of my Government to the noble principles of the International Labour Organisation, as set out in the Declaration of Philadelphia. My Government is committed to a policy for the rapid elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease, the creation of conditions conducive to balanced economic advancement, and the introduction of measures to stimulate employment, particularly in the rural areas, all of which are necessary to realise our basic aim of social progress for all our people, with special reference to those in the lower income groups, be they wage earners or subsistence farmers.

I look forward with great expectations to the fulfilment of these policies to secure the advancement of all the people of Zambia, and I am fortified in the knowledge that, now that my country has been welcomed into the great I.L.O. family of nations, there is a vast reservoir of good will and experience which we can rely upon.

The Report of the Director-General which is before this year’s session of the Conference is, I feel, of vital significance to all of us but especially to developing countries in that it marks, in many ways, the initiation of new ideas, new methods and new projects which will enable the Organisation to meet the challenge of changing conditions. These signs of adaptation to the many “winds of change” augur well for the future, particularly as they have been proposed and, in some cases, already implemented against a background of critical
reappraisal of the Organisation’s structure and programme during the past two years. In a world which contains so many divergent political, social and economic structures, it is indeed an achievement to have already obtained a certain broad measure of agreement on the action to be undertaken in the major programme areas.

Bearing in mind the resolution adopted by last year’s Conference concerning programmes of technical assistance and other activities of the I.L.O. in Africa and other developing regions, with particular reference to the future role and function of regional advisory committees and regional conferences, the special problems associated with the implementation of international labour Conventions and Recommendations in African countries, the need to adapt future I.L.O. programmes to the special needs of developing countries, and the desirability of a greater degree of decentralisation of the activities of the I.L.O., it is gratifying to note that the new Field Department has been established with a sufficiently flexible structure to permit future decentralisation and is being strengthened to ensure closer collaboration with the specialised needs of developing countries such as my own. In addition, the setting up of a regional liaison office in Addis Ababa will undoubtedly strengthen the operational structure of the I.L.O. in Africa, without detracting from other universal, as opposed to regional, activities. There is, I think, a strong feeling of agreement that the basic aim of the International Labour Organisation—the improvement of working and living conditions of all the peoples of the world—remains intrinsically unassailable, but the manner in which this aim can best be achieved requires re-examination from time to time. The present appraisal of the programme is a praiseworthy attempt to ensure that a new impetus is given to the major activities which are likely to prove the best investment, but the problem of allocating priorities where limited resources are called upon to supply ever-increasing demands is indeed a difficult one.

In common with many others, my Government subscribes to the choice of the three major I.L.O. programme areas as set out in the Director-General’s Report. In the areas of activity included in “human resources development” my Government has laid plans, both long-term and short-term, which have certain fundamental objectives in this field. These objectives are to increase production from the country’s own natural resources so that the standard of living of the whole population may be raised; to diversify production, so that the copper-mining industry, while continuing to expand its production, will come to occupy a less dominant position in the over-all economy, and to provide Zambians with the education and the training that will enable them to play the leading role in all the processes of production and in all the spheres of economic activity. It follows that, initially, emphasis must be placed on expansion of the agricultural industry to create opportunities in the rural areas, particularly when one is aware that roughly three-quarters of the population of Zambia are still winning what livelihood they can from the land. There must also be a supreme effort to raise the people of the country to higher levels of education, skill and knowledge in the shortest possible time.

I am conscious of the difference between the formulation of development plans and the practical achievement of their objectives, but my Government is confident that, despite the formidable economic difficulties which have to be overcome, these objectives can be attained. We feel confident that our tasks in national development are made easier by the support given to our efforts by all sectors of the community and we are encouraged to look to the future with confident expectation, in the knowledge that the accumulated experience and expert knowledge in these identical fields of activity may be made available to us through the International Labour Organisation.

In the second division of activity, that of the development of social institutions, I must admit to being a protagonist of the “new” concept, in developing countries, of organisations which represent sectional interests identifying themselves with the national effort of economic development and thus, in my view, serving in the long run the best interests of their members. My Government is particularly anxious to see in Zambia the formation of properly organised trade unions under progressive and enlightened leadership, playing their proper role in the development of sound labour relations. I am hopeful that in this particular field some practical assistance may be forthcoming from the I.L.O. in the establishment of a labour college which, it is hoped, will make available certain courses of training for trade union members. I am of the opinion that trade unions in developing countries in Africa must not, of necessity, slavishly copy the structure and concepts of their counterparts in the more developed regions of the world. Let us by all means take advantage of the experience gained in other countries but, at the same time, let us develop and create the institutions which are best suited to the peculiar needs and problems of our African countries. To this end, my Government has introduced legislation which is aimed at the establishment of a strong, independent labour movement, free from external influence and thus able to serve the best interests of the workers of Zambia. In my view, it is of vital importance that workers throughout the continent of Africa should be afforded protection of this nature so that they do not become the pawns of international politics, with the inevitable sublimation of their interests in the ideological struggle which is being waged in Africa today.

Turning to the subject of the status and conditions of workers, the vital importance of this sector of I.L.O. responsibility cannot be overemphasised, and it is fitting that under the internal reorganisation of the International Labour Office the Conditions of Work and Life Department should be charged with the formulation of programmes designed to promote and improve the conditions of life and work of workers everywhere. In considering this task, there immediately springs to mind the intolerable travesty of justice existing within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa in this sphere where, by their abhorrent policy of apartheid and their pro-
jected programme whereby "Bantustans" may be created, the Government of that country makes a mockery of all the principles which this Organisation is designed to defend. The special report of the Director-General indicates that, far from there being any relaxation in the apartheid policy, new legislative action has tightened its hold. I would appeal therefore to this Conference to marshal every force at its disposal which may assist in any way to reinforce the sanction of public opinion against the hateful oppression of the workers in the Republic of South Africa. The Government of the Republic of South Africa takes no part in this Conference, and indeed has no place in this Organisation, the principles and treaties of which it consistently chooses to disregard. Bearing in mind the instruments for the amendment of the Constitution adopted by the Conference at its 48th Session, my Government is anxious to learn when ratification of those instruments by member States will permit the Conference to expel the Republic of South Africa from membership, and urges the Organisation to consider this step as a matter of great urgency.

The Government of Zambia also formally requests the International Labour Organisation to expel Portugal from this Conference as a sign of disapproval of Portugal's repressive legislation and oppressive treatment of African workers in her African colonies.

It is the hope of my Government also that the British Government will do all it can to give workers in Rhodesia independence during this year so that they will be represented at this Conference next year as an independent State.

With regard to the status and conditions of workers in Zambia, my Government is deeply conscious of its heavy responsibility and has recently prescribed improved minimum rates of pay and better conditions of service for many workers in rural areas who hitherto enjoyed no statutory protection. New legislation is to be introduced soon in Zambia which will provide improved conditions relating to leave and contracts of employment and which will replace the existing outmoded legislation.

The introduction of a national social security scheme is being examined, and recent amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance make provision for the inclusion of a larger number of employees within the state scheme of insurance and provide for the payment of benefits in certain cases. A manpower survey is in progress which will be of enormous assistance in assessing accurately the skills required for the many tasks which lie ahead. We are also mindful of the need to protect workers in the fields of occupational safety and health, and the vast complex of our copper-mining industry, in co-operation with the Government, has earned a high international reputation in these important aspects of management.

I am pleased to see that the Working Party of the Governing Body will consider the most effective way in which the Industrial Committee system can make its maximum contribution within the over-all long-term programme of the Organisation. I feel that a developing country can well benefit from the accumulated experience of such committees, provided the problems and special circumstances of the developing country are realistically assessed and evaluated.

The future role of the Organisation in the field of standard-setting must inevitably be adjusted to changing conditions, and the coordinated solution proposed by the Director-General can, I feel, be implemented without the relegation of this basic task of the Organisation and without any sacrifice of fundamental principles. The plea for flexibility in new international labour standards was made by a number of speakers at last year's session of the Conference and I would only repeat the importance of appreciating this vital need in the rapidly changing circumstances in which the Organisation functions.

In conclusion, I would reiterate my country's desire to play its full part within the framework of the I.L.O. and to make whatever contribution it can towards the achievement of the fundamental principles of the Organisation. Not a year has yet passed since we achieved our independence, but already we have ratified 17 Conventions, which is not merely a very encouraging example but, rather, a challenge to old Members.
of the International Labour Office so that its action programme may faithfully reflect the requirements and priorities of each country. This involves reorganisation of the regional services in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, unity of purpose and the participation of experts from the regions concerned.

In the case of my country, the policy of imitation and standardisation which formerly prevailed led to the illusion that the grave social problems stemming from underdevelopment could be solved by over-complex labour legislation not based on the analysis of the real needs of the country; the approach failed. Therefore we are now consolidating our labour legislation in a code which is in course of elaboration by a committee composed of representatives of the executive, the legislature, employers and workers. The urgency of the problems facing us compels us to ask for the immediate decentralisation of the International Labour Office. This decentralisation must be all-inclusive—that is, it must apply to its organisation, its programme and its expert personnel—so that the I.L.O.'s contribution may be more effective, immediate and realistic.

The International Labour Office is committed to assist us and must make the maximum use of the economic resources available to it by means of fruitful investment. Hence the urgency of eliminating waste due to the non-integration of programmes, excessively long voyages by experts, proliferation of conferences and meetings, improvisation of missions, for many of these do not give satisfactory results owing to lack of knowledge of the language and mentality of the peoples directly concerned.

In our own case, we require a definition of fundamental objectives based on an order of priority corresponding to the needs of our continent and our country. We desire to have a body of high-level Latin American experts involved in our problems and aware of our idiosyncrasies. We aspire, lastly, to authentic programming of the contribution which the I.L.O. must make in Latin America.

I agree with what the Director-General says in his Report regarding the delimitation of the main programme areas of the I.L.O., development and utilisation of human resources, labour relations, social institutions, conditions of life and work, because they are just the fields in which, as Minister of Labour, am seeking to promote action by reorienting the Ministry of Labour towards wider fields, breaking with the narrow view that labour relations mainly concern disputes.

I feel that the ministries of labour of the developing countries are and must be the basic instruments in the whole process of economic and social development in which we are involved—bodies concerned with the human being in his dual role of creator and beneficiary of the progress which we must achieve. As can be appreciated from the written report which I have submitted to this Conference, the objectives pursued by the Ministry of Labour of Peru are: the organisation and creation of sources of productive activity in relation to the existing unemployment and under-employment and to make available productive and freely chosen jobs for the whole of the popula-
tion and assistance, with special emphasis on housing and agricultural and consumers' co-operatives.

Finally, I should like to say that Peru has fulfilled its commitment to report to the I.L.O. on the application of the Conventions which it has ratified as well as its commitment to pay its contribution as a Member of this Organisation.

I hope that in the course of the discussions which we are beginning in these first days of the Conference there will prevail a practical spirit which will make it possible for us to reach conclusions which will truly facilitate the task to which we have all set our hands—that is, to provide a solid illustration and example of the great aspirations for peace, progress and social justice and the conviction that very little will be achieved in the way of laying foundations for the realisation of these aspirations if we do not intensify the action of the International Labour Office as regards aid to the developing countries through concrete social projects which must receive the technical aid and the economic assistance which are indispensable to their implementation and which will reflect a clear understanding of the legitimate aspirations of our peoples.

Mr. BECKER (Workers' delegate Israel)—Mr. President, first of all may I take this opportunity to congratulate you on having been elected to the most honoured post in this 49th Session of the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

The Report presented by the Director-General is this year a comprehensive summary of a year of fruitful I.L.O. activity and a source of inspired guidance for the future—it is also a profound review of the complex of basic problems with which our world is wrestling in the social and economic fields.

This year of 1965 has been declared, as we all know, International Co-operation Year, and thus we find as one of the main issues to be discussed at our Conference the "role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries". And this is no mere coincidence, for there is a connection between the designation of the year and the title of this item on our agenda.

Just as co-operation within the national framework creates a sound basis for the development and prosperity of the State, so international co-operation is a primary condition for the progress of mankind as a whole. Just as the co-operative serves as an efficient instrument for the advancement of backward groups at the national level, so international co-operation should serve as a means for narrowing the gap between affluent nations and impoverished ones. Just as co-operation is a means for the sensible utilisation of natural resources, and for a more just distribution of their fruits, so international co-operation serves to draw the utmost advantage from the constantly increasing power of science and technology in the service of all the people of this world in their battle against the sworn enemies of the entire human race—hunger, disease, want and ignorance.

We live in a period of great changes caused by scientific and technological development which reflect on the human way of life and work. The I.L.O., founded at the end of the First World War with the aim of furthering the cause of peace by bringing progress to the masses, must adapt itself in this decade to the social and economic changes which determine the progress of human society and the preservation of world peace.

This is perhaps the only international organisation which cannot ignore the possibility of daily occurring structural changes when planning for any given period of time.

I would dare to say that the real challenge for the I.L.O. is therefore its ability to cope with these constant changes, which affect elements which by their very nature should retain their stability.

Economic interdependence between the nations of the world is ever intensifying and becoming a permanent fact in our life in every part of the globe. The economic realities at the national level within each State are interwoven with the economic realities of all of them together at the international level. The test of the I.L.O. will be its ability to come to grips with these problems, utilising its capacity for large-scale international action.

I support the view expressed by the Working Party on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. that the Organisation should continue to define principles of universal application, but adapt its programmes and techniques to the specific conditions and stage of development of every individual country.

This interdependence is of special significance against the background of the widening gap between the developed countries of this world, on the one hand, and the developing countries on the other hand, notwithstanding the flow of aid from the former to the latter, and despite their vast efforts in favour of development.

Experience has shown that economic efforts alone do not suffice to extricate human masses from their state of want. The obstacles to their progress and enrichment lie in numerous interconnected spheres—customs, tradition, mentality, social order—and in order to overcome these, comprehensive and profound attention must be devoted to all of them. The great majority of the needy are concentrated in rural areas, and do not keep pace with progress. The increase of agricultural productivity is a necessity and special attention must be given to projects of agrarian reform as one of the most vital conditions for rural development. The citizens of the highly developed countries must show a deeper understanding of the needs of their fellow-men in the developing countries, the background to their lives, their attitudes and aspirations.

As was rightly mentioned in the Report of the Director-General, the abundance of natural and human resources and the supply of capital and equipment do not alone ensure national development. Only an ever-increasing number of skilled workers and, no less important, the free and active participation of an organised labour movement in the tasks of development, will bring social and economic progress to their country.

The aid-giving countries must accustom
themselves to regarding development problems not from their own angle but from that of the countries receiving the aid. Only then will their assistance achieve its proper aim.

And furthermore, let us desist from dividing the world into the recipients of aid and those who grant it. The truth is that he who receives is able, in various stages and different ways, to give as well, and, what is most important, whoever gives is also in need of aid and assistance in certain fields and thus also becomes a recipient.

Of great importance is that section of the Report dealing with the tasks that must be carried out by the trade unions and the employers' associations in economy-development processes, through co-operation in social and economic planning at the national level, and its translation into reality. In my country this principle is going to be adopted, and we are at this very time engaged in working out plans for the establishment of a special institution in which the Government, the General Federation of Labour (Histadruth) and the employers will participate with a view to coordinating their economic and social activities. So that even here, as in all the other fields to which we direct ourselves, we encounter the magic formula of co-operation.

Only last month a seminar on "The Role of Co-operation in Economic and Social Development" was held in the Histadruth's Afro-Asian Institute for Labour Studies and Co-operation, under the joint auspices of the I.L.O. and the Institute for Trade Unionists and was attended by Government officials and employers' representatives from 21 countries who had just completed ten weeks of studies at the I.L.O.'s International Institute for Labour Studies here in Geneva. Our Afro-Asian Institute itself serves as a centre for instruction and training of people, especially from the young States and developing countries, in the fields of constructive trade unionism and co-operation.

I come from an area that is considered underdeveloped, and which is second to none in its need for the operation of this formula. Half a century ago our country was in a pitiful state, industry was simply non-existent. We had no mineral or any other natural resources.

Facing these basic disadvantages, we soon found out that co-operation is one of the most useful ways of recruiting and utilising to the utmost our limited material assets and manpower. When one tours our country, one comes across co-operative forms in all branches; co-operation has become one of the main assets of today's economy.

Co-operation between the peoples of the Middle East—all of them without exception—is a question of life itself for our area. Such co-operation, by putting an end once and for all to the sterile political conflicts which upset the lives of its inhabitants, will open a new era, one of united struggle for the conquest of nature and the vanquishing of its blights for the benefit of all those who live there.

I strongly believe that the strength of the Middle East does not belong only to its great past, when it served as the cradle of civilisation: it is my firm conviction that the countries of the Middle East can make an important contribution towards the progress in the world when they live in peace with each other.

Mr. LOVINA (Employers' delegate, Philippines)—Mr. President, I wish to repeat on behalf of the Employers' group, the congratulations on your election as President of the Conference.

Once again we are gathered here to review our activities for the past years and to discuss new measures for the improvement of labour. In going over the Report of the Director-General, we feel a great pride in being Member of the I.L.O. because it has shown once again its adaptability to the needs of the developing countries.

The complete reappraisal of the programme and structure of the I.L.O. with a view to adapting them to meet adequately the growing needs of a changing world as reported by our Director-General is a move in the right direction, for which we of the developing countries are most appreciative. I am sure this move will keep the I.L.O. in step with and even ahead of major economic developments of far-reaching consequences to the standards of living of many people around the world.

I point in particular to the co-operation and assistance extended by the I.L.O. to the recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. I cannot overemphasise the significance of that Conference to developing countries, but by now all of us must know its implications. For in that Conference a most encouraging and happy event occurred. The industrialised countries were made to realise the needs of developing countries in the field of international trade through the united appeal of developing countries for the stabilisation of the world prices of their primary products, and the need of increasing imports of manufactured products from the developing countries without the industrialised countries demanding trade concessions in return.

It is our high hope that the measures explored will be implemented and we trust that the I.L.O. will continue to give its assistance and support in the implementation of those recommendations adopted by the Conference on Trade and Development that call for I.L.O. action.

I wish also to commend the efforts of the I.L.O. on the industrial development and productivity projects of the developing countries. We certainly appreciate the I.L.O.'s realisation of the contribution industrialisation makes to the improvement of the standards of living of the working population of developing countries and of its impact on their social and working conditions. We further hope that the I.L.O. will continue, as its main concern, its present activities in the field of vocational training, management development and small-scale or cottage industries, which the developing countries are now building up to accelerate their economic progress.

Two items on our agenda at this session also refer directly to economic development, namely: "Agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects" and "The role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries".
In this connection permit me to say that only last year my country adopted a Land Reform Law abolishing tenancy and providing for the purchase of landed estates in excess of 75 hectares for distribution to the tillers of our land. This is a bold programme, calculated to solve once and for all our tenancy problems. This measure adopted by my country is a milestone that has broken the chain of tenancy servitude which has shackled our land tillers for many centuries. We have a Land Authority that will see to the transfer of ownership to the tillers of the land, production and marketing of more abundant crops and the availability of credit for farm equipment, materials and fertilizers. Under the Land Reform Law, a Land Bank is also created, which will finance the acquisition of landed estates for division or resale to small landholders. This should be one more proof of our concern for labour and our strong advocacy of the principles of the I.L.O.

In order to spread the co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries, my country has 223 consumers' co-operatives, 42 industrial co-operatives, 865 credit unions, a co-operative society, two co-operative federations, 32 service co-operatives and 546 agricultural co-operatives. To serve these co-operative organisations we have the distinction of having a co-operative bank, in the real concept of co-operatives, called the Philippine National Co-operative Bank. This must be a first in co-operative history; correct me if I am wrong.

It is our pride that whenever the I.L.O. scans the world horizon for any progressive labour measures and institutions, my country, the Philippines, however small it may be, can always be counted among I.L.O. Members who are actually implementing such measures and supporting the goals and aims of I.L.O.

Today, the Philippines also has outstanding laws on minimum wages, an Industrial Peace Act, known as our Magna Carta of Labor, a Workmen's Compensation Act, Women's and Child Labour Laws, and others.

As we go over the agenda of this session, we read a study on the role of women and another on young workers and that our Government will continue its concern for the working masses. I am pleased to state that my country has also provided ample safeguards and protection for our women and young workers and that our Government will continue its concern for the welfare of labour in the Philippines. The present Administration is definitely committed to the improvement of labour conditions in my country and I can safely say this because I belong to the Administration, which is run by the same party that supported me as Secretary of Labor from 1948 to 1950 when my country saw the enactment of the progressive labour measures designed to improve the lot of our working masses. I apologise for casting modesty aside, but in referring to my party and myself my sole intention is to show our efforts in adherence to the principles of the I.L.O. and our concern in its activities, which we view more than ever with interest and continuing support.

I have commended in particular the I.L.O.'s concern with the economic development of the developing countries and I would like its major activities to be focused there because of the interaction of economic forces on the standards of living of the working masses and of all the people.

Allow me to cite a very recent instance in my country which should prove the need to focus I.L.O. activities on economic development problems and to muster all the forces of labour towards these problems.

The Filipino worker, like his counterparts in the highly industrialised countries, now enjoys a guaranteed minimum wage, shorter hours of work, overtime pay, job security, maternity privileges, vacation and sick leaves, insurance, housing and salary loans, medical attention and hospital benefits, retirement pay and gratuities, profit sharing, better working conditions and other fringe benefits. But even with all these privileges and benefits, our working masses are still experiencing difficult times.

This is the result of rising prices and a tight money situation brought about by the continuous experiments of some economic and financial liberalism in my country. My government had to alleviate the hardships caused by such economic problems by increasing very recently the minimum wage laid down in our laws by as much as 50 per cent. (I repeat, 50 per cent.) and yet this is not enough. Because of the immediate impact of this increase in the minimum wage, many of our business and industrial firms will either have to lay off some of their workers or face collapse. Because of the tight money situation, corresponding measures will have to be undertaken by my Government to relax credit in order to assist and enable commercial and industrial firms to adjust to the new costs and increases, otherwise the new increase in the minimum wage will boomerang against labour in the form of more unemployment. This is going to raise prices still more, which means our workers will need more wages to keep up with the rising prices, and I hope it will not become a vicious circle that knows no end, to the destruction of our economy. Here, therefore, is a clear example of economic and labour interaction which must not be overlooked in I.L.O. activities.

I strongly urge and recommend, therefore, that we continue to direct the activities of the I.L.O. towards the economic problems of the developing countries.

After all, the solution of unemployment problems and the raising of the low standards of living of the workers, especially of the less developed or underdeveloped countries, lies in the economic development of these countries.

Moreover, concentration on economic problems will provide a great opportunity for labour and management to work together for what is good not only for themselves but for all people everywhere. There is no better occasion for representatives of government, employers and workers to sit together for the discussion of a common problem than in the I.L.O.

I submit that this session of the Conference can, as did all other sessions in the past, make an important contribution to the discussion of these and other challenges to expanding trade, investments and economic growth in the developing countries.

The discussions and activities of the I.L.O. thus concentrated on economic problems will
once again demonstrate that the mutual interests of labour and management outweigh their differences and that mutual understanding must guide joint action. Certainly we will find in our discussions of these areas many frontiers for common action.

In so doing, it will not be said that labour is oblivious and does not accept its responsibilities in the problems of the economy. It is time for labour to come forward and have its views more formally co-operated with and effectively considered in economic planning and development, both at the national and the international level. I.L.O. conferences can provide the forum for candid opinion for the crystallisation of fruitful suggestions.

This recommendation does not, of course, presuppose that we should lose sight of continuing labour-management problems and the protection of workers' rights and benefits. Certainly, we can work out an agenda for both. I also very much regret that continuing labour-management problems in the structure of the I.L.O. aimed at maximising efforts in a wide variety of situations and at mobilising more fully and effectively its resources to cope with the immense problems which confront it in the fulfilment of its mission. Its regional approach coincides with the trends in various parts of the world towards regional economic co-operation.

This points to the great assistance and wonderful co-operation of the I.L.O. in our problems in the developing countries, for which we wish to express our deepest appreciation to the Officers, the Director-General and technical staff of the I.L.O. To them, we say: Congratulations—and may they keep up the good work.

Interpretation from Nyanja: Mr. CHIWANDA (Minister of Labour, Malawi)—Mr. President, first I should like to add, to those who have greeted me on your election as President and to thank you for your kind words of welcome to the delegation from my country.

During the 1964 Session of the Conference a delegate drew attention to the fact that Malawi had achieved its independence on 6 July and expressed the hope that Malawi's representatives would take part in the deliberations of this year's session of the Conference. I am sure that you and my fellow delegates here will understand how very proud I am to have the honour of addressing you today as the representative of the State of Malawi, which next month celebrates its first anniversary as an independent country.

In all, we plan the expenditure of some £44 million—a tiny amount as compared with that spent every day elsewhere in the world on human follies which benefit none and achieve nothing in terms of human progress.

Entirely novel projects in Malawi include the expansion of pulpwood plantations in the northern region, the setting up of a pulp mill and the expansion of Turkish tobacco production. Agricultural education and training is being given emphasis by the construction of an
agricultural training centre; an existing farm institute is being expanded and another started. Their principal aims will be the improvement of crop production, home management, standards of nutrition and the encouragement of youth activities in support of agricultural development.

We have another important national asset which I have not so far mentioned, the renowned beauty of our country and its lakeside areas. Tourists are welcome to Malawi and to make their visits more enjoyable we have continued the development of the national parks and the Chongu Game Reserve. Tourists also need good hotels and easy and efficient communications, and the extent to which these needs are being met is under expert examination.

In spite of signs of increasing industrialisation, Malawi is likely to remain very largely an agricultural country; it is therefore upon the production of its hundreds of thousands of farmers that the economy and indeed the whole production of its Government depends. I am glad to say, however, that the general pattern of trade is showing greater activity than formerly, and industrial development is reflected in the new project for sugar production, which will provide employment for over a thousand people and lead to a saving of £500,000 per annum in foreign exchange because of the high transport element in the present import cost. This is the largest single enterprise yet embarked upon in Malawi and the area of rich and productive soil in the Lower River, known to be the most suitable for sugar production in Central Africa, was never developed in this fashion until our country obtained control of its own affairs under the leadership of our Prime Minister.

One further project which I should like to mention offers further promise for extensive agricultural development. This envisages the development of the Lower Shire Valley; it is hoped that the very helpful report prepared by a United Nations team of experts on this project will result in the allocation of provision from the United Nations Special Fund for a large pre-investment survey of the whole Shire Valley. There is great hope that the successful completion of this project will provide the catalyst needed to break up old-fashioned ideas of subsistence farming and land tenure, and replace them by an enthusiasm for modern, intensive methods of cash-crop cultivation, and for well-ordered land settlement on economically sized plots, served where necessary by irrigation. It is hoped that a pilot scheme may be started even while the survey is still under way, and that in due course the beneficial effects of the project may spread their influence throughout all agricultural areas of the country. Road improvements are already well under way; classroom capacity in schools throughout the country increased by 600 in secondary schools in 1964; by late 1965 the University of Malawi will have received its first students and the construction of the new Polytechnic Institute will be complete.

I have mentioned the importance to us of the land. The present system of land tenure is an essential prerequisite to agricultural development, in itself a dynamic, all-embracing and vital process in our economy and the life-blood of our existence, as a progressive nation, if we are to provide maximum long-term social and economic benefits for our people. Since experience in developing countries which are dependent upon their agricultural economy confirms that farming based upon economic units of land is the only sound basis for national survival and prosperity, it follows that the correct use of the land in the best interests of the people is essential. My Government has therefore introduced legislation to ensure this, enabling it to develop schemes designed to improve and intensify the rate of agricultural production by modern means of irrigation, the development of hydro-electric power, and so to produce and diversify the number of crops for export.

In accepting the obligations entailed in membership of this Organisation, my Government is fully conscious of the high ideals which motivate the I.L.O.'s awareness of the need for international co-operation; namely the achievement of social justice and a peaceful and harmonious universe. The means by which the I.L.O. can best pursue these ideals in meeting the growing needs of a changing world has been the subject of wide discussion at the last two sessions, and the Director-General's Report admirably focuses attention on the priority areas of future I.L.O. activity agreed by the previous session of the Conference: namely the development of human resources; labour relations and the growth of social institutions; and living and working conditions. I have tried to demonstrate that my Government is conscious of the need for national planning; it also warmly welcomes the I.L.O.'s awareness of the need for international planning designed to assist the progress of the underdeveloped countries. In order to ensure that assistance reaches the International Organisations and other countries by way of financial or technical aid is used to the best advantage, my Government has established at ministerial level a National Development Council, with the responsibility for ensuring that our five-year Development Programme ending in 1969 is fully co-ordinated and implemented.

My Government wishes to pay tribute to the generous help it is receiving to finance this programme of development. We are grateful also for the help which we are receiving in other directions, notably in the provision of medical staff for our health services, and in the expansion of our educational facilities. With such help, existing educational, cultural and social institutions are being maintained and enabled to extend their influence. For the same reason we are likewise grateful to those international trade union organisations who are providing financial support in education and advice toward the development of sound and responsible trade unions in Malawi and the growth of effective industrial relations procedures in the industrial and commercial spheres. It has been encouraging to me as Minister of Labour to receive recently from a representative of such an organisation an expression of gratitude for the position and assistance it received from my Government in fostering the development of the trade union movement. The trade union move-
negotiated agreements with employers based on voluntary collective bargaining procedures. In recent years, therefore, the Government has had to rely on statutory wage-fixing machinery to protect persons working in the industrial and commercial sector of the economy. A wages board and six wages councils are at present responsible for the continuous review of wages and other conditions of employment throughout the country. The main aim of this machinery is to intensify crop production through better-controlled farm units, and to conserve the land for the best forms of agricultural usage, together with the needs of a growing population and a larger number of persons with secondary education, will in the future increase the demand for industrial and commercial employment. Certain areas of the country, particularly in the southern region, are already densely populated and the incidence of the population in and under employment is already growing. A far greater number of our people have in the past sought employment in the more highly industrialised neighbouring territories where they have acquired a high reputation for their industry, skills and behaviour. These territories may not continue for very long to provide opportunities for employment to the same extent as in the past and every effort must therefore be made to diversify and open up fields of employment for the many thousands who will be relying on a cash wage for their subsistence. This in itself poses problems which have not yet been fully assessed. A census of population which will be carried out in the second half of 1966 will provide a clearer indication of the extent of the population increase both in terms of the natural increase and the numbers who may by then have returned from other territories, and of the numbers who form the industrial, commercial and administrative labour force in the country. Like all underdeveloped territories, Malawi has an inadequate supply of persons with professional, technical or industrial skills; however, with continuing assistance from other countries in the provision of scholarships and bursaries for overseas study in subjects which cannot in the immediate future be provided within Malawi; with the commencement of training at sub-professional and technical levels at the Polytechnic Institute later this year; and with the introduction of well-organised schemes of apprenticeship in various industries, we can say that our problems in this field have been faced, if not yet overcome, though many of these projects are already at an advanced stage of planning or execution.

I have attempted to give a brief description of the problems with which our comparatively small but intensely vital country is preoccupied at this moment in time. We welcome, as explained in the Director-General's Report, the establishment of the new Field Department and regional organisation, since this should improve the I.L.O.'s knowledge of regional and even national problems. It should also accelerate the orientation of technical operations if the criteria adopted by the Director-General in planning the organisation of the Field Department are followed, in particular that "the total programme of the I.L.O. should truly reflect the needs of the people in each country". We in Malawi are already indebted to the I.L.O. for the assistance of a statistical expert in preparing a programme for a scheme to measure changes in the cost of living and its effect on minimum wage standards and for the opportunity to participate, and indeed to act as hosts, in Malawi, to one of the regional courses in labour administration organised last year in East and Central Africa for the training of labour officers.

My Government wishes me to convey to the Organisation its gratitude for this past assistance and to reaffirm that, though small in geographical area and in population, and relatively modest in economic achievement, it is concerned to take part in the furtherance of the principal aims of this Organisation. One of these, the achievement of social justice for all men, recognised as a fundamental right for all human beings, is of supreme importance to peoples in the underdeveloped areas of this ever-changing universe. The present disparity between the socio-economic levels of the highly developed countries and those that are now described as underdeveloped is such that only emphatic and sustained effort by the I.L.O. and similar organisations, and the necessary resolutions from this Conference to ensure that countries most greatly in need are accorded priority in programmes of research and assistance, will have the desired effect of reducing the gap.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. SOLÁ (Minister of Labour and Social Security, Argentina)—First of all, Mr. President, I should like to express my congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of this Conference. A year ago I had the honour of attending this representative assembly of the world of labour and had the honour of expressing the opinion of my Government and my country with respect to its adherence to the basic principles which make up the very raison d'être of the international organisations, that is the will of the nations to live together in peace and solidarity, and the aspiration of peoples to achieve a better world. I should like to endorse again the profound conviction of my Government that the International Labour Organisation is one of the most suitable instruments of the community of nations to achieve these high objectives; that is why the Government of the Argentine Republic wanted its Minister of Labour to be present at the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

Today, as then, we should like to repeat our approval of the efforts which the Organisation
has been making to contribute to helping the peoples of the world to receive the benefits of a civilisation which is constantly accelerating in its progress. These efforts are shown by permanent and fruitful labour in various fields, as is well indicated by the Report which the Director-General has submitted to this Conference.

Nevertheless, in spite of the work which has been achieved, there is still a long and hard road to be travelled. The conditions of injustice, poverty and privation which so distressed the illustrious statesmen who founded the Organisation still exist with varied intensity in widespread regions of the world. Even more than this, we must realise that new burning problems constantly arise in a world which is in permanent and accelerated evolution. It is logical, therefore, that concern be devoted to speeding up the task and redoubling the efforts which we make towards achievements which will be constantly more and more positive, in our universal desire to achieve higher levels of economic development and social well-being.

The Report of the Director-General has interpreted these desires and summed up the areas of agreement in the points of view expressed in the last two sessions of the Conference, and has centred its attention on the analysis of those three sectors of the activity of the Organisation which deserve our main consideration: that is, development of human resources, development of social institutions, and living and working conditions. We should like to praise the work, the new orientations which have been proposed, and the new structuring of the Office, aimed at enhancing its ability to carry out this widespread programme for which it is responsible.

With reference to this last aspect, we applaud the establishment of the Field Department and its decentralisation in the three regional services for Africa, Asia and the Middle East, and Latin America. We agree on the need for a further decentralisation of the activities of the International Labour Organisation in this field, as we also agree on the need for intensifying the co-ordination of programmes, the general control of policies to be followed and the necessary technical reorientation. At the preceding session of the Conference we expressed one concern, a concern which we repeat today: the International Labour Organisation must not wait until the governments, workers and employers bring their problems here to the Conference, but rather the Organisation must go to find the problems right in the countries, in the regions where they arise and find them, and propose solutions dictated by the circumstances peculiar to the case.

This restructuring of the Office so as to devote adequate attention to regional problems is a logical consequence of the decentralisation of its services. A matter which, we consider, must be pointed out with particular stress, and which, in our opinion, is the real purpose of the regionalisation which is being promoted, is that it corresponds to a concrete reality which the Office recognises.

The bureaucratic dispersion of its services is secondary; the essential point is that the new material reflects the reality which leads us to alter the structure of the services.

The regional communities have a great number of very clear-cut fields and very clear-cut personalities, and their development and evolution make up the synthesis which results from meeting common problems and instituting adequate procedures for solutions to these problems.

These communities make a distinct and definite picture in the general panorama of the world and show the failure of plans of a universal tendency when they have to meet the concrete realities of the various regions.

This reality not only requires special investigation of the problems particular to each regional community but also the formulation of common solutions based on a sociological analysis of the facts.

Therefore, international action must be guided by such requirements on a realistic economic, social, political and cultural plane as will permit the achievement of positive results and the affirmation of an international system to meet regional needs. For my Government, that is the true philosophy which must inspire this process of regionalisation.

In common with all countries, and especially those which, like our own, are in course of development, we are concerned and interested in human resources. In this field no one denies that development is not only a problem for economists for, in the last instance, it depends fundamentally on the quality and quantity of the manpower as well as on the extent to which the various sectors of the population understand, participate in and support the achievement of development policies. Thus my Government gives firm support to the development programme as an integral, all-inclusive system, including the economic as well as the social aspects. On this point we should like to declare emphatically that just as it is evident that there can be no improvement in social well-being without economic development, just to the same extent there can be no economic development of a continuous nature without a parallel rise in the levels of social well-being.

Since economic and social development is a common task, its success depends basically on the active and fair collaboration of the various sectors concerned, which must be based—and on this point we fully support the opinion of the Director-General—"on a frank dialogue between the State and different organised social groups, a dialogue inspired by mutual understanding, by mutual respect for each others' autonomy and freedom of action, and by a determination to reach agreement".

The Director-General pointed out that in his opinion, it is governments, in view of the preponderant part which they play in the whole process of economic and social programming, which are in the best position to stimulate the development of social organisations and make them participate efficiently in the work of general construction. That is so, and it means also that the various social groups must understand the purpose of the regionalisation and the higher interests of the community the impatient claims of one sector, the uncontrolled desire to obtain advantages or maintain special privileges to the detriment of the legitimate aspirations of the rest of the country. It is a basic principle
that you cannot do without an honest desire to make a proper contribution to the task of all. There is no question but that the process of successfully carrying out democratic planning of development involves responsibilities, to a greater or lesser extent, for all sectors of a country. Above and beyond the logical discrepancies of interests and points of view there exists for all the duty of finding points of agreement regarding a common task of planning and carrying out the development of the nation.

In this undertaking the workers and their organisations have a leading part to play. Hence it is necessary to have strong, responsible and representative trade unions which express the free will of the workers and are independent of any governmental, political or other kind of control. This idea reflects my Government's approach to the problem of institutionalising the workers' movement in my country. The statutory schemes which have been in force for 20 years, with the exception of only two, provides for privileges to be given to the most representative unions which practically make them the only effective unions, and it constructs trade union life as a pyramid at the top of which there can be only one organisation representing all the workers at the national level. This system which the present Government has inherited, and of which we do not approve, doctrinally speaking, is nevertheless the reality of the moment. We therefore maintain the system and apply and will apply it honestly until an improved arrangement can be found after thorough discussion. However, this does not mean that the present trade union structure, enjoying as it does powers conferred on it by the law for social reasons, is to be converted into an instrument for action or agitation at the service of political or ideological groups. We are aware that this view may not be shared by those who live under a system of trade union diversity with equality of rights. Our case is different. One should not forget that the most representative union is converted by statute into the only representative of the whole occupational group. Nor should it be forgotten that the law tolerates only one trade union confederation with full power to speak for all the workers of the country.

This being the case, to enable party politics to enter the trade union structure would be to accept the absurdity that in a representative democracy, where the political opinions of citizens can be broadly disseminated through the parties, workers who are also citizens but who differ from the political approach of their own leaders have no other recourse than to permit the organisation which they have joined, and to which they contribute, openly or secretly to follow political currents which they themselves reject or oppose.

It is a different thing to prevent the trade union movement, seeking as it does the economic and social progress of the workers within the existing statutory and institutional framework, from seeking in the great national, political objectives. To do this, however, it is necessary that the unions should maintain their independence and should not engage in imprudent action which can compromise their unity, their continuity of action and the effectiveness of the high social functions which the modern community confers upon them.

Similarly we believe that it is necessary to combine the efforts of employers and workers on the basis of a social pact under which each side should agree on its powers and duties. This would prevent sterile tension and friction and enable national problems of interest to both sides to be solved in a spirit of peace and tolerance.

My Government considers that such an agreement is essential if a national economic and social council is to be established and to serve efficiently as a channel by which all groups in the community can participate in development planning and execution.

The practice of tripartite co-operation at the national level has been started in Argentina with the establishment of the National Minimum Wage Adjustment Board. This body, which has legislative functions, since its decisions on wage matters are binding throughout the country, has been in regular operation for a year and represents a significant step and a valuable experiment for future arrangements in this field.

We said a year ago from this platform that economic and social planning will be democratic only if it has the assent of the majority, and we added that this assent cannot be achieved if the working man does not feel that his aspirations are understood, his rights protected and his minimum needs satisfied, and unless he is convinced that he has a fair share in the product of the common effort. These ideas are still the conviction of my Government and are essential elements in our social policy.

My country, like all those which have not yet reached full development, is faced with economic and financial difficulties of a complex character which are hard to overcome. All the Government's energies are concentrated in an effort to solve these problems and find fundamental solutions which will enable the future to be faced with confidence.

In this task results are being obtained which mean a positive improvement in our workers' conditions of life. Indeed, although we have for 20 years been suffering from inflation which affects the cost of living, we can say with satisfaction that last year real wages reversed the trend of the previous two years and increased by over 6.8 per cent. At the same time the rate of unemployment fell by 35.2 per cent. in the chief industrial zone of Argentina. In the rural sector the extension of minimum wage arrangements and family allowances practically doubled the income of farm workers. These achievements strengthened the economic recovery now in course in Argentina; employment rates are rising and the gross national product has increased by 8 per cent. Recently we established a family allowances fund for dockworkers which will be administered by the persons directly concerned and this will extend the family wage system to a significant degree.

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it extends to commercial, industrial and agricultural workers, public employees, teachers, and many others.

In this way I have endeavoured to inform the Conference of the work done in our country in the past year in putting into practice the principles which have guided our social policy, thus contributing, together with the efforts of the other countries, to laying the foundation for improved social welfare in a free, peaceful and democratic world where there will no longer be any fear, ignorance or privation.

Interpretation from French: Mr. MWALU (Government delegate, Congo (Leopoldville))—First of all, Mr. President, I should like to extend to you the warmest congratulations of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo on the occasion of your election to the presidency of this Conference, and my best wishes for your success in this task.

It is with deep emotion that I thank the International Labour Organisation for giving me the opportunity to describe the concerns and achievements in the social field of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which I have the honour to represent on behalf of our Prime Minister and Minister of Labour who, otherwise engaged, greatly regrets not being able to attend this Conference.

Since my country achieved independence, very close ties and frank co-operation have developed between the I.L.O. and the Congo, and we welcome this. Two years ago the Organisation was faced with the need to reorganise its structure and programmes in order to adapt itself to the extraordinary evolution of the modern world and to the ever-more complex tasks it had to undertake on behalf of the developing countries. The resolution on the programme and structure of the Organisation adopted by the Conference on 9 July 1964 reflected our directives in this regard.

I should like to express to the Director-General of the International Labour Office my Government's satisfaction with the Report which he has presented to us this year. Our warm congratulations and thanks go also to the staff of the Office who have helped to provide us with comprehensive and very good documentation.

The Second African Regional Conference in Addis Ababa enabled us to formulate, in regard to the African Continent, views that reflect the needs peculiar to us. We are happy to benefit from the fund of knowledge accumulated by the I.L.O. in all the vast fields that relate to the problems of labour, but, in order to be fruitful, this experience must be adapted to our practical problems, which require to be defined within the framework of the realities and prospects of the African Continent. It is not necessary to say that the methods and means to be applied must be carefully studied.

We also appreciated during the Conference in Addis Ababa the statements of the African representatives, who, by providing information respecting their countries, contributed greatly to the success of the work of the Conference.

The African contribution within the Governing Body is not small either, and I am sure that it will grow further in years to come. I note with satisfaction the importance attached by the Director-General in his Report to greater representation of Africa not only within the Governing Body itself but also in the administration and personnel of the Office. I should like to welcome the appointment of Mr. Abbas Ammar to the post of Deputy Director-General and of Mr. Tevoedjre to the post of regional co-ordinator. We are convinced that the decision to fill responsible posts on the basis of equitable geographical representation of the member States of our Organisation will emphasise its universal character and thus lead to the more effective application of our various principles on a world scale.

In addition, the wish expressed by the Director-General, aware as he is of the extent of the tasks entrusted to the Office, to decentralise its programmes and policies, is a sign of the speeding-up of the assistance of the Office in resolving our problems. It seems to me to be indispensable to give regional conferences and regional advisory committees more opportunity to establish—with the assistance of and in agreement with Office experts—the order of priorities at the regional level, or even at a national level, in the light of our needs and social problems and of the results of technical co-operation programmes. Moreover, it would seem proper that at each session of the regional conferences and the regional advisory committees there should be an item on the agenda permitting a general discussion on the scope and results of the principal technical co-operation programmes carried out in the region concerned. The adoption of such procedures would permit the drawing up of concrete programmes better adapted to the needs of each area and would make the activities of the I.L.O. more realistic in our regions.

The preparation and implementation of these regional programmes should, however, be co-ordinated at the highest level in order to ensure the unity of the aims our Organisation pursues.

Furthermore, it is indispensable in practice that our Organisation and Office find fresh formulas for co-operation and co-ordination of their activities with those of the other specialised agencies of the United Nations. We know that a real effort has been and is continuing to be made in this regard, but we cannot help regretting that sometimes the specialised agencies of the United Nations waste part of their energies in useless and unproductive competition instead of finding from the outset a friendly formula for co-operation and collaboration, to the greater advantage of the nations they are helping.

The problem of the development of human resources in connection with economic development has received our special attention. We are convinced of the need to integrate ever more closely policies and programmes for the development of human resources with plans for economic development. Such integration can only be achieved through close co-operation between governments, trade unions and employers' organisations.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), conscious of the importance of this collaboration and the excellence of the aims pursued, has provided, in its Constitution
dated 1 August 1964, for the setting up, along­side the central and provincial authorities, of economic and social councils composed of rep­resentatives of the principal economic and social sectors of activity. These councils have the task of studying the main problems in this field. They must be consulted by the legis­lature, and they give their views on every plan, every programme and all draft legislation of an economic or social nature.

Any legislation adopted without consulta­tion of these councils is null and void except in urgent cases specifically provided for. In addition the councils may, on their own initia­tive, call the attention of the Government to reforms which they think might promote the economic and social development of the coun­try. They may assign one of their members to state before the legislature their views on any draft legislation submitted to them.

These constitutional measures have been taken in response to the Office’s desire to pro­ mote the development of social institutions. They are aimed at extending and strengthening the role of truly representative employers’ and workers’ organisations, which will thus be able to play an active and constructive part in the development of the community and in improving the conditions of the worker both in the undertaking and in the community. The im­plementation of this programme and the achievement of its objectives imply the need for additional training for those persons who, at all levels, are directly concerned with labour­management relations, so that they may be better equipped to assume their responsibilities, the complexity of which is ever-increasing.

Within the framework of its policy of the free development of trade unions, the Demo­cratic Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) has organised free elections within the various undertakings so as to enable the workers to choose their union representatives. About a dozen unions were competing for the votes of the workers. To complement the Government’s action, we would welcome the active participa­tion of the Office in helping our unions to train their personnel. An expert of the Office came recently to study this problem on the spot. We hope it will soon be possible to draft a pro­gramme of action and that the execution of this programme will be not long deferred. Soon a law will guarantee trade union freedoms and will replace the requirement of prior approval, which was the rule in the colonial era, by a simple declaration.

If I stress the need for training union per­sonnel, it is because I wish to emphasise the importance of training and preparation of the workers in general. I think that inadequate occupational training is a major cause of under­development. In this field we are faced with a crushing burden.

I congratulate the Office on the occasion of the coming inauguration of the Turin Centre, which will be a major contribution to the whole problem of vocational training. We would like to thank the member States which have made a financial contribution to this fine undertak­ing. I hope I may be able next year to increase the modest contribution of my country to the Centre.

In the Congo the I.L.O. has already provided us with dynamic assistance in organising voca­tional training centres for office workers and automobile mechanics. The success of these centres and the appreciation expressed by em­ployers show that this formula is a good one and that this initiative should be broadened. Act No. 206 of 29 June 1964 set up the National Vocational Training Institute to co-ordinate all activities in this field. We would like to appeal to the I.L.O. and specialised agencies of the United Nations and the Special Fund so that means may be provided to speed up this whole action. The programme undertaken is highly productive and fits very harmoniously into the over-all development plan that has been sug­gested for our country by an international com­mittee of experts of the European Economic Community within the framework of the assistance given by the European Develop­ment Fund.

We would like to implement a genuine strategy for the development of human re­sources, for we believe that economic expansion must serve the achievement of social aims. Through constitutional measures we have affirmed our determination in this field and we believe that thereby we are implementing the policy recommended by our Conference. The labour inspectorates will shortly be re­formed under special legislation, and a national employment service and labour tribunals will be set up. However, it would be useful if experts from this Office could draw up a coherent programme with a view to co­ordinating these various activities. This would lead to a true programme for development of social institutions.

This brings me to international labour standards. I am fully aware of the great value of these standards, which are the best guarantee that our action will be effective, but we must recognise that several of these standards, conceived by and for highly indus­trialised countries, are poorly adapted to the present situation in developing countries. This prevents us from ratifying certain Conventions and applying certain Recommendations, which inhibits the promotion of our social institutions. It would be highly desirable if the proposals of the Working Party set up within the Governing Body could shortly be given practical effect.

Before ending, I would like, on behalf of my Government, to thank the Office for the enlightened and dynamic assistance of its experts who have helped us to perfect our social legislation and to speed up our develop­ment. Thanks to their help we have this year proclaimed a new law on hire of services, and regulations to implement it will shortly be issued. Further Bills have been signed regarding collective agreement and the settlement of labour disputes. Furthermore, as I have already said, studies and Bills have been prepared which will lead shortly to the establish­ment of a national employment service with placement offices at the national and provincial levels and a seamen’s placement office, and to the organisation of labour courts. The statutory provisions concerning the powers of the labour inspectorate have been amended and a former administrative law inspectorate will be specially established by ordinance under the general civil service regulations. Finally,
the laws on hours of work have been amended, and a Bill concerning representation of personnel in state or semi-state enterprises and of teachers is before the Government. This constitutes an important addition to our Labour Code. Experts from the Office have since 1960 been organising advanced training courses for labour supervisors and inspectors. A vast programme of rural integration and promotion within the co-operative movement is being carried out in various regions of the Congo. These activities of I.L.O. experts are of very great importance to us for we know that all our development efforts depend on the successful participation of the rural masses.

Finally, I would like to make a pressing appeal to all the countries represented here to support the efforts of the Government of the Congo with a view to establishing order, the rule of law and of peace. The workers of my country have been the innocent victims of too many political disputes imported and aggravated from abroad. It is thanks to the efforts of all the peoples of goodwill that we will be able to put an end to the sufferings of our people and improve their lot, which is the primary ideal we have been pursuing since we attained independence. I hope the countries still suffering under the burden of colonialism and apartheid will soon attain independence and be able to join our Organisation and sit in our midst.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)
FIFTH SITTING

Friday, 4 June 1965, 3 p.m.

President : Mr. Rosy

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. ISMAIL (Minister of Information and Labour, Sudan)—Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on behalf of the Sudanese delegation on the confidence bestowed upon you by your election to the presidency of this Conference.

It gives me great pleasure and honour to convey to you, in the name of the revolution of October the 21st, which has changed the course of history in my country, the greetings of the people and Government of the Sudan. The Sudan has been subjected, during a considerable period of time, to a military dictatorship that confiscated liberties and distorted the true image of the Sudanese people, who are known to be truly democratic and basically socialistic. Forces of evil and imperialism conspired to maintain the military régime for a period of six years of corruption, economic deterioration and denial of social justice to the Sudanese people.

This was the situation until the “miraculous” October Revolution took place. People have since differed in explaining the phenomena of this unique revolution. The question has been posed as to how an unarmed people, deprived of the freedom of organisation and combination, could do away with a military dictatorship disposing of all kinds of armament and supported by imperialistic countries.

The answer to the question, it appears to me, is inherent in the nature of the people who brought about this miraculous revolution, a characteristic shared by all people affected by the historic awakening to the “wind of change” that swept over all nations after the Second World War.

The correct explanation of the phenomenon of the October Revolution is, in short, the total rejection by the people of any form of oppression or compulsion and their determination to safeguard the dignity and freedom of man. It is my belief that this explanation is true for most of the people’s revolutions that took place in the period following the Second World War.

History has proved, and the experience of nations has shown, that any government that does not place the dignity and freedom of its people first and foremost is doomed to failure and oblivion. The spirit of the October Revolution had for a long time been engendered in the hearts and minds of my countrymen, in individuals and groups, until the 21st of October, when the first spark that kindled the conflagration started from the campus of Khartoum University. Unanimous and immediate response from all categories of the nation was evident. The political strike declared in Khartoum was promptly carried out throughout the country.

The ingenious weapon of political strike devised by the Sudanese people has succeeded in defeating the weapons of destruction and oppression.

The six years of harassing experience of compulsion and oppression undergone by my people compels me to address all nations from this rostrum and request them to consider carefully and ponder deeply before recognising any military coup designed by adventurers to do away with democratic parliamentary rule. I am keen and anxious that other nations should be spared the bitter experience imposed upon us by the force of arms. I am also anxious that the benefits of true democracy which have been regained by the Sudanese nation should not be denied to any other nation. My country is now enjoying the benefits of democracy and freedom; the elections of our Constituent Assembly are almost complete; the Assembly is to convene during the second week of this month to elect a parliamentary government and to lay down a democratic Constitution for the country.

Having given this quick survey of the Sudanese revolution I would like to mention briefly the charter of this revolution, which was drawn up as a true representation of the people’s demands and has been put into effect by the transitional Government of which I have the honour to be a member.

The national charter in question contains the following nine principles:

1. To put an end to military rule.
2. To bestow liberty and freedom on all people, e.g. freedom of the press, and the right of free expression of opinion and free association and combination.
3. To end the state of emergency and to abolish all laws which hinder the practice of freedom in all parts of the country where there is no danger to the disturbance of the peace.

4. To secure independence of the judiciary.

5. To ensure the independence of the University.

6. To set free all political detainees and prisoners, both civil and military.

7. To commit the transitional Government to support a foreign policy resisting colonialism and military pacts.

8. To establish a High Court of Appeal of not less than five judges to take over the judicial and administrative duties of the Chief Justice.

9. To set up a committee to draft new laws which are relevant to our traditions and customs.

Thru you observe that these principles of our charter are identical in their content and implore with the principles and rules of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, which centres around the maintenance of human dignity, peace, and the freedom of man. It was, therefore, a major duty of the Revolutionary Government to maintain freedom of association and organisation as laid down by your eminent Organisation. In its endeavours to maintain social justice the Revolutionary Government has taken steps to combat unemployment by the immediate execution of productive schemes, thus providing welcome opportunities for employment. This is in addition to extending agrarian reform to the private sector, by applying the principle of equal partnership which is practised in the schemes in the public sector. The public sector, I would mention, owns all the major utility service units, and over 95 per cent. of the irrigated and cultivated land. The Government is anxious that all people engaged in agriculture, who represent more than 80 per cent. of the economically active population, should receive the same treatment as those engaged in government schemes, i.e. 50 per cent. of the produce of the land should go to the cultivator and the other 50 per cent. to the owner of the land who also provides irrigation. This is a time-honoured tradition among the people living along the Nile Valley.

Our great Gezira scheme of over 1 million acres for cotton is run on this basis of equal sharing; the additional crops of durra and wheat grown in the Gezira are a bonus to the tenant. In all other government schemes—an aggregate of another 2 million acres—this principle of equal sharing is observed.

Work is now diligently progressing on the clearance of the area around the Roseries Dam, which is to be completed early next year. The area to be cleared and irrigated by this dam is 1,800,000 acres. In this area it is planned to grow crops other than cotton, for the sake of diversification, and so as not to depend on cotton as the sole cash crop.

There are extensive opportunities and lucrative possibilities in the Sudan, but, as in the case of other developing countries, we need technical assistance, particularly from the International Labour Organisation, to enable us initially, and primarily, to develop our economic and human resources. I am therefore pleased to find in the Director-General's Report an enormous stress on the development of human resources, through training in different aspects aiming at the acceleration of the economic development of the countries concerned.

I also observe with relief the great concern of the Director-General regarding the workers' conditions of service in the different fields of economic activity, which proves the enthusiasm of the Organisation in the implementation of its Constitution in which it is stated that lasting international peace cannot be achieved unless social justice is secured and humane conditions of service are adhered to throughout the world.

I sincerely believe that these principles will be given the careful discussion they merit by the respective committees of this Conference. I only wish to point out strongly and repeatedly that the mission of this Organisation and the work that it performs, here in Geneva, will never reach the deprived countries which need these services unless the Organisation endeavours enthusiastically to implement the resolution it adopted on decentralisation; that is by the establishment of some of its permanent offices in other continents and in underdeveloped areas. Frequent regional conferences should be held to investigate the problems of each area in the area itself, so as to achieve practical solutions to the producers' problems and to make an honest endeavour to implement the principles of social justice embodied in the Constitution of the Organisation.

You may have observed that I have tried to stress in my speech our absolute belief in the dignity of the human being and his unquestionable rights, as a foundation for international peace and an insurance for the realisation of social justice in general. You may also have observed that this principle constitutes the deep theme of our revolution in the Sudan, as well as of the peoples' revolutions the world over.

On this understanding I condemn any challenge to, or degradation of, human dignity; and on the same understanding I request this Conference to condemn the policy of apartheid, forced labour and the violation of human rights, which is practised by the Republic of South Africa, Portugal in its colonies, and by the British in the occupied Southern Arabian regions.

Therefore, this Organisation should have the right to deprive any Member from participating in this Conference if it has been proved that his Government practises racial discrimination or forced labour or endangers human dignity in any form.

Interpretation from French : Mr. PANA (Government delegate, Togo)—Before speaking on the Report of the Director-General, which deals this year with the main sectors of the programmes of the I.L.O. and of international labour standards, both on behalf of my Government and personally I should like to congratulate the President most warmly on his election to the highest office of this Conference.
With regard to the first point in the Report, I have noticed with considerable satisfaction that the Director-General highlights the need for a closer association of human and economic progress and economic expansion must advance together and that universal effort is required in order to achieve such harmony.

Only a few days ago at the opening of a trade union seminar in my country I said that employers are often a little too inclined to see only the financial aspects of problems, whilst the workers are inclined to consider only the social aspects. At that time my country is starting its first economic and social five-year plan we believe that it is essential that all human resources be fully used. I therefore completely approve of the Director-General's statement that in the developing countries it is necessary to explore the best policies of employment, to improve manpower and to "concentrate on the training of certain key sections of the population who can make the biggest contribution to economic development". However, to perfect the knowledge of manpower will hardly help if such skilled manpower can find no market for its services. There are certain States where the differences in the various educational and vocational systems might lead to a situation where some countries could temporarily lend teachers or doctors; others could provide building or engineering technicians; and others could provide non-skilled labour. This would depend on bilateral agreements between these States and would call for prior study of a joint programme of economic and social development.

But I also think that the I.L.O. should study the problems of complementary manpower on a regional level, bearing in mind the complementary nature of economies, especially when adjacent countries are not grouped within a single regional organisation.

Therefore, in order effectively to gear human resources to economic expansion, the International Labour Organisation should study the manpower needs of each State, at all levels from the engineer to the labourer, in the light of the geographical situation of countries—especially when they have common frontiers—and, even more, the resemblance or the diversity of their economic activities.

The I.L.O. must of course be able to rely on our co-operation; indeed, it can do nothing if the countries which a few years ago were called underdeveloped and which are now called developing countries do not desire economic and social expansion. I should like to address myself to the problems of human resources and economic development specifically. I think it would be harmful, indeed dangerous, for the young developing countries to speak of competition from the point of view of production, but it would be desirable to agree on the complementary aspects of our national economies. My Government has understood this. We have set up a joint study committee with our neighbour Dahomey, which will tackle problems with a view to finding joint solutions both economically and socially. I think that on the national level we should not ask for the assistance of the I.L.O. with regard to the training of personnel and the organisation of co-operatives, etc., in other words for the solution of our economic and social problems, until we have reached agreement on the programme suggested by the I.L.O. at regional level. Then, knowing what we are and bearing in mind our output possibilities, also knowing what each of us needs in terms of technicians—skilled or unskilled manpower to meet our needs—we might present coherent programmes to the I.L.O. so that it may help us to coordinate our human and material resources.

If we are firmly decided to follow the path that we assigned to ourselves on joining the United Nations, we cannot manage economic and social problems from a solely national angle. We must help one another, rich countries and poor countries; the harmonisation of international relationships depends on the solution of these economic problems and, above all, the human problems. That is why I attach so much importance to the question of racial non-discrimination.

Togo engages in no discrimination as regards either wages or social security benefits; that is why we condemn the policy of forced labour, as practised in certain countries like the African territories administered by Portugal, and we make a personal appeal to the authorities in those countries to give up these inhuman policies. We would ask the International Labour Organisation, through the Director-General, to do everything in its power to put an end to such practices, which represent a deliberate violation of the Constitution of our Organisation.

With regard to social institutions and the role they should play in the development of the resources of a country, I quite agree with the Director-General when he says that the task of economic and social development should be carried out with the active participation of all interested parties and that this participation should be based on a frank dialogue between the State and different organised social groups, a dialogue inspired by mutual understanding, by mutual respect for one another's autonomy and freedom of action and by a determination to reach agreement.

That is why it would be most desirable if we could organise joint seminars which would be attended by workers and employers, for both are in need of appropriate training.

I thought that it might be useful to insist on this point, which I regard as most important, because there is no doubt that the participation of the employers and workers in the planning of a national economy can hardly be effective unless both groups have become aware of their responsibilities, that is to say unless they put the common benefit before their private advantage.

I think that it would be desirable for the I.L.O. to pay attention to the problem of the joint education of the employer and the worker in the developing countries with a view to improving labour-management relations.

Concerning the I.L.O.'s programme as regards conditions of life and work, I think that no part of it should in any way be reduced. I do not think that one can, in my opinion, give the assistance of the I.L.O. in this regard as a secondary question—and this seems to be so implied in the Report—" the adapta-
tion of working conditions and the working environment to local conditions and to the living habits and qualifications of the labour force.

Further research and discussion in this field would be of great use to the countries of the so-called uncommitted countries, because the solutions which will be found will greatly affect economic expansion and social progress.

As regards the second point of the programme, I think, together with the Director-General and most member States, that it is necessary to set up a permanent committee to review obsolete Conventions and Recommendations, it being recognised that this committee could in no case amend the standards and fundamental rights that are laid down in the Conventions and Recommendations.

Mr. MAGEZI (Minister of Housing and Labour, Uganda).—Before I avail myself of this opportunity you have accorded me to address this world forum I wish to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on your election to the presidency of the Conference. Your election demonstrates the confidence the delegates have in your esteemed person and I trust that your wide experience will guide the deliberations of the Conference to a successful conclusion. This is a great tribute to your personal qualities and an honour to your country.

It is a pleasure to me to convey to you and the distinguished delegates warm greetings from the Government and people of Uganda, and their wishes for a successful Conference.

I wish also to congratulate, on behalf of my Government and the people of Uganda, our sister countries Zambia, Malta, Gambia and the Republic of Yemen on attaining independence and becoming full Members of this Organisation. It is my conviction that the bigger this Organisation becomes the more it gathers momentum to spread its influence into national laws and practices throughout the world in the cause of social justice.

Once again we are assembled here in a tripartite Conference to strengthen and promote the deliberations of this august international body whose objectives are designed to promote lasting world peace based on social justice. I trust that my colleagues will agree with me that we are as brothers and sisters in a family to solve those problems which are common to us all. With this objective we shall rise in solidarity to fight ignorance, disease and poverty, wherever they exist; create confidence among men of all nations; struggle unreservedly for complete extermination of the inhuman policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa; and eradicate colonialism in Angola and the Portuguese territories of Mozambique and Guinea, where a reign of terror prevails. When I say this I really mean it. I noticed this morning the delegation from Portugal laughing whenever African delegates spoke here about Portuguese policies in Africa. I insist that this is a matter which should not be treated with laughter. It is our duty to assist in liberating our brothers who are being subjected to white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia. In this connection I wish to make a special appeal to all delegates at this Conference to use their utmost influence with the Rhodesian Government to abandon its threat of unilateral seizure of independence and to expel half-a-million citizens of Malawi and Zambia working in that territory if Britain applies economic sanctions. Such action of seizing independence is unconstitutional and in this Organisation we cannot regard it as a light matter. In this sense, this Organisation should resolve in no uncertain terms to impress upon the British Government that Britain has an inescapable responsibility to ensure that the liberty of over 4 million indigenous Africans is not sold in the interests of preserving the human ties of kith and kin in Rhodesia.

We have before us important items on the agenda for discussion: the Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa; the Director-General's Report, Parts I and II; the employment of young persons in mines of all kinds; the employment of women with family responsibilities; agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects; and the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. Some of these items have been discussed in this hall.

As regards the policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, I publicly declare that this régime is deplored by Uganda and is regarded as a threat to world peace. It calls for attention and action by those countries which sincerely advocate humanitarian policies so as to save the lives of millions of people who are subjected to the yoke of tyranny and brutality. This problem is not new to this Organisation's deliberations. In 1963 the proceedings and success of the 47th Session of the International Labour Conference were marred by controversial issues over the attendance of delegates from South Africa at this Conference. Uganda, in agreement with other peace-loving nations, was forced to withdraw from the Conference. The Republic of South Africa, instead of abandoning this abhorrent policy of apartheid, decided to withdraw from this Organisation. Probably she thought that the move was a wise one and that it would put an end to the matter. In 1964 this matter was discussed, and as a result a declaration concerning the policy of apartheid of the Republic of South Africa, and Instruments Nos. 2 and 3 of 1964 for the amendment of the Constitution, were adopted by this Conference. I am glad to announce that the two instruments have been ratified by Uganda.

As a result of the Declaration adopted last year we now have before us the Special Report of the Director-General on the application of the Declaration. The report is illustrative and instructive. It highlights the past and present evils of the policy of apartheid, and I should like to congratulate the Director-General on this excellent report, despite the practical problems, such as the absence of reports or replies from the authorities of the Republic of South Africa. However, the report fails in one aspect, namely that it appears to be theoretical in so far as it proposes that the solution to the problem is the establishment in South Africa of a society which respects the freedom and dignity of all human beings, irrespective of
It is the wish of the Uganda Government to implement development programmes. It should be made clear that no authority on this earth can enslave the minds of people indefinitely. It is therefore for this Conference and the Governments of States Members to consider political, economic and military measures to supplement the Director-General’s proposals. I do not consider it will serve any useful purpose to refer this matter again to the Governing Body for further analysis as this would only turn this Organisation into a debating society.

I now turn to Part II of the Director-General’s Report where, in the Introduction, he points out that during the past two years the I.L.O. has been engaged in a complete reappraisal of its programme and structure with a view to adapting them to meet adequately the growing needs of a changing world and in order to adjust its methods of approach to the requirements of a wide variety of situations. It will be recalled that many speakers at the 47th and 48th Sessions of the Conference indicated that there was need for this reappraisal of the programme and structure of the Organisation to meet these needs necessitated by the growth of the Organisation and development programmes in the developing countries.

In Part I of his Report the Director-General has informed States Members of the establishment of 11 technical and servicing departments in which the various activities of the International Labour Office have been regrouped under sufficiently broad and yet precise categories, and mention has also been made of the creation of three administrative units embodying the above categories. We have also been informed of the regionalisation and decentralisation of I.L.O. activities and programmes in the various regions. I am glad to note that the Director-General has seriously considered and taken steps to implement the resolutions of the African Labour Ministers’ Conference held in Cairo in December 1963 and subsequently reiterated at the 47th and 48th Sessions of the Conference indicated that there was need for this reappraisal of the programme and structure of the Organisation to meet these needs necessitated by the growth of the Organisation and development programmes in the developing countries.

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gone a long way towards improving relations between employees and employers. An Industrial Court has been established to supplement the existing arbitration machinery. A Trade Union Act was passed in the Uganda National Assembly a few days before my departure for this Conference. This aims at improving the administration of the trade unions, and establishes the right of registered trade unions to recognition, thereby giving protection to the workers as provided under the relevant Conventions, and provides for the operation of the check-off system.

Finally, on behalf of the Government and people of Uganda I wish to assure you once more of our confidence in this Organisation and the United Nations and to pledge our support for the principles for which they stand. Again, I wish your deliberations every success.

Mr. HERNANDEZ (Workers' delegate, Philippines)—Allow me at the outset, in my capacity as Workers' delegate from the Philippines, to extend to you the heartiest felicitations and warmest greetings from the Philippine Trades Union Council in particular and Filipino workers in general. The workers of the Philippines are watching with breathless anticipation the things we do here, what measures we deliberate upon and what programmes and policies are evolved. To the workers of the Philippines the resolutions and Recommendations that will be approved during this annual Conference of the I.L.O. will go a long way towards improving their lot in the face of the problems that confront them in the pursuit of higher standards of living, better working conditions and the attainment of peace.

I am happy to say, after looking over the Report of the Director-General, that the Filipino workers will not be disappointed. The Report of the Director-General is a comprehensive document; it is very enlightening; it specifies in detail the problems that face us and the solutions that might be applied thereto. I am particularly struck by that portion of the Director-General's Report which pertains to living and working conditions because I am quite impressed by the manner and the style in which the matter is presented. I quote from the Report: "As a result of increased concern with urgent problems of economic and social development, the Members of the Organisation have stressed the needs of developing countries in respect of human resources development and the strengthening of basic social institutions. This does not mean, however, that the wide range of questions I have raised in my Reports to the last two sessions of the Conference concerning the status and conditions of the worker should be neglected. What is important is that in all activities of the I.L.O. careful attention should be given to assisting developing countries in laying the foundations upon which rapid economic growth and social progress can develop in a balanced way."

I have gone to the length of quoting this portion of the Director-General's Report because what he said therein is of vital concern to the Philippines. I believe it is applicable not only to the workers of emerging countries in Asia and elsewhere. Our workers are beset by multifarious problems—problems which at other times and in other areas would have been enough to drive workers to dejection and desperation.

As a result of an underdeveloped economy, which is a carry-over from the past colonial status of our country, opportunities for employment have been quite low; naturally, wages likewise are low, for the worker, from a desire to hang on to something which enables him to support his brood, will accept starvation wages. Because of the imbalance of trade, commerce and industry have been quite timid, notwithstanding the vast quantities of raw materials available to us.

This year the wage floor has been raised by legislation from 4 to 6 pesos a day, which is equivalent to a 50 per cent. wage increase. At first sight this appears to be a great boon to the workers but after the enactment of this law many managements started policies of retrenchment. This amendment to our new minimum wage law has been seized upon by anti-labour employers as a convenient excuse to carry on their war of attrition against the trade movement. Notwithstanding this, the trade union movement in the Philippines has been holding the fort valiantly against anti-union machinations. But sometimes this valorous action has been frustrated by the lack of full consciousness on the part of many workers as regards unionism. Many of the workers find it convenient, at the prodding of anti-labour bosses, to be fence-sitters. The task of organisation, therefore, has occupied many labour organisations in my country—a project which, in addition to other factors, accounts for the low state of union finances.

It can be seen from the foregoing that there is soundness and validity in the observation of the Director-General that in the emerging countries such as the Philippines there is a supreme need for strengthening the basic social structure as a precondition of the laying of "foundations upon which rapid economic growth and social progress can develop in a balanced way."

It is a basic truth that we live today in precarious times. Everywhere there is the unsettling clash of ideologies, overt and covert. Everywhere there is the competition of the drive for power among individuals and among nations or groups of nations. Everywhere there is the awesome threat to means of livelihood posed impersonally by population explosions. And it must be recognised that because of the unprecedented advances in the scientific and technological fields we all live under the horrifying shadow of mass annihilation.

All these frightening conditions of our time should impel us to reappraise our positions. In the context of our struggle based on ideologies that call for social emancipation, the direction of change has to be towards social justice for the masses of the poor in many lands and especially in emerging nations. We have to enlist in our cause the vast dormant strength of the millions of poor if we are to have more dependable reserves than the rival ideologies can command. And we can only awaken the millions to a sense of their identity and drive the masses by giving them concrete and substantial stakes in the social and economic order of peace and plenty that we are trying to build. Once
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of an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in
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recognised in the report on the activities of the
Turkish workers' associations have been
done this successfully. I feel that it is my duty
able to make use of the rights they have ac-
and the Turkish workers' associations have been
tion adopted by the Grand National Assembly
state a lockout are fully applied. The legisla-
ment has really taken concrete form; the

the political and social fields, which in turn
depends on a healthy and stable economy.
If, in any given country, the relationships
between capital and labour are not established
in accordance with the principles of social
justice, if the interests of an individual—such
as those of a simple worker—are not safe-
guarded with the same respect as the major
interests of society, then efforts towards
establishing within that country political and
social peace are doomed to failure.
We are convinced that stable governments
or independent trade
unions.
I am happy to be able to state here with
satisfaction and pride that the Turkish worker
and the Turkish workers' associations have been
able to make use of the rights they have ac-
quired, not as dangerous weapons but as a
means of constructive sanctions, and they have
doing this successfully. I feel that it is my duty
to stress here the positive role and the under-
standing attitude of the employers' associa-
tions, which have made it possible to achieve
this happy result.

If I have brought up this aspect of the prob-
lem it is in order to make clear that the fact
that our labour has acquired much more liberal
rights has not given rise in Turkey to internal
complications or disturbances; it has not had
an unfaavourable effect on our rate of growth,
and has not even slowed it down; on the con-
trary, it has led to fruitful results in many
unions.

We can distinguish clearly from this Report
the signs of evolution and continuous progress
successfully shown by our Organisation from
one year to the next. This strengthens our
hopes of seeing universal labour problems
solved in a satisfactory way in the near future.
It is thus with confidence and with satisfaction
that I should now like to take up some of
the important subjects which my country finds
particular interest to it.

For more than a century the people of
Turkey have been endeavouring to develop
democratic institutions. To this end, the
proper functioning of any democratic system
depends on a very large extent on the existence
of an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in

Interpretation from French: Mr. CAGLAY-
ANGIL (Minister of Labour, Turkey)—First
of all, Mr. President, I should like to address
to you my most sincere congratulations on
your election to the presidency of the 49th Ses-
sion of the International Labour Conference.
There is for me great satisfaction in seeing a
distinguished representative of a friendly sister
country in this high post. I wish this session
of the Conference all possible success under
your enlightened leadership.
The Report of the Director-General, which
has been prepared with great clarity, and with
a remarkable breadth and depth of view, pro-
vides an excellent analysis of the problems
which have to be examined and solved by this
Organisation, taking into account the constant
changes in the world situation.
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depends on a very large extent on the existence
of an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in
and rules in this connection do not mean the levelling of all obstacles which lie in the path of attaining the objective we have set ourselves. If a social order finds a field of application contrary to its spirit and philosophy—that is, if the persons directly interested in, or responsible for, the application of the new order choose the wrong method of application and start off on the wrong foot by creating bad traditions—the new order can never achieve the objectives which it has set itself. Consequently, during this transitional period our most careful attention is turned towards preventing the creation of any method of application or the formation of any tradition such as would lead to unfortunate consequences in the future.

We are, of course, searching for new possibilities in this field. Thus certain measures, although they may be very modest, have already been adopted in Turkey to ensure harmony in the field of labour. I could cite, for example, the periodical meetings organised for the discussion of certain well-defined social and economic problems, in which the ministers concerned participate together with representatives of workers and employers. Moreover, a tripartite body at the national level has been provided for, to harmonise the relationships existing between workers and employers in line with the interests of the country. We also intend to set up machinery to adjust wages in the light of growing productivity.

Another subject touched on by the Director-General in his Report concerns the participation of the workers in the management of undertakings. An experiment in this field is being made in Turkey. A law, which has recently come into force, provides for the participation of workers in the management of state-controlled undertakings as well as in the various workplaces which depend on these undertakings. The necessary preparatory work is under way for the implementation of these provisions, and we hope that the results of this experience will provide us with very valuable information for their application to private undertakings.

I think it would be very helpful at this stage of our discussion to say a few words with regard to effective methods of collaboration and the provision of technical assistance, as referred to in the Report of the Director-General. This new social order which we are endeavouring to establish in Turkey has already been practised for many years in the many countries which are so well represented at this Conference, and for them this social order constitutes the basis of a solid and stable régime. These countries have not achieved the level of development at which they now find themselves without having experienced difficulties or even upheavals. They have thus acquired very considerable experience. One cannot improvise experience; it is the fruit of time and of events. That is why the States Members here present put all their hope in the International Labour Organisation to help the young States which have only recently undertaken their economic and social development. The developing countries, which like Turkey must achieve rapid development, must set their development plans to a given perspective, while stabilising the life of the working population in the new circumstances, must attach great importance to co-ordination and technical assistance for the achievement of good relationships between workers and employers in harmonious equilibrium.

We are coming into an era when all the States, and first and foremost the I.L.O., must become conscious of their solidarity and their responsibility for observance of the rights of workers, which have become a universal concern, rather than dealing with this question as if it were a matter for private concern. It seems to us that the I.L.O., as well as all the countries which take part in its meetings, must give close attention to all the questions discussed during the Conference, and think of them from this point of view and with this attitude.

Before concluding I should like to say a word or two concerning agrarian reform. We are fully aware of the importance to all the developing countries of rational programmes of agrarian reform. The discussions which have taken place, and which will be the subject of the conclusions which we will reach, will be a very valuable guide to all these countries including my own. Therefore, I should like to congratulate the I.L.O. most warmly on its decision to place this question on the agenda of this Conference.

Mr. LUBEMBE (Workers' delegate, Kenya)

—I wish, Mr. President, on behalf of the workers of Kenya and on my own behalf, to congratulate you on having been elected to the high office of President of this important Conference. I have no doubt that you will discharge your duties with honour and distinction, as you have done in many other activities.

Up to now the workers of Kenya have not accepted that South Africa has resigned from the I.L.O. I must at the outset express my gratitude at the decision of the I.L.O. to expel South Africa from membership of this Organisation. The decision was timely and it is my hope that similar decisions will be taken by all United Nations specialised agencies and by the United Nations itself. South Africa, which pursues policies which deny the majority of citizens of that country full fundamental rights, has no right, and does not deserve, to take its place in the comity of nations. So long as it pursues its race-hate policy of apartheid it deserves to be treated as an international delinquent.

The Report of the Director-General of the International Labour Office indicates clearly that the policy of apartheid is increasingly assuming despicable and abominable forms. We owe it to our conscience as human beings to fight against this disastrous policy of apartheid, and it is my hope that more energetic steps will be taken, if not to make the South African Government change its policy, then to bring it to heel.

I now wish to take this opportunity to deal with the trade union role in Africa vis-à-vis the economic realities of our continent. In the process of rehabilitating and reconstructing our economies we have come face to face with the reality that trade unions in Africa must do more than merely improve workers' conditions of service and wages. The trade union...
task in Africa, for a long time to come, will have to be to work in close contact with our governments, which are busily erecting new, viable political structures and socio-economic patterns which are relevant to our present stage of over-all national reconstruction. But while we acknowledge this role as being of singular importance we are conscious that such an involvement should not entail the loss of the workers' right to organise, to bargain collectively and engage in all such other activities aimed at bettering their lot. This aspect of trade union work is vital for the reason that it can provide an outlet for the feelings and aspirations of the workers. It is an old adage that workers with an unheeded grievance do not make good producers or good citizens, and the national economic reconstruction tends to stagnate instead of moving faster. It is because of this dual role that trade unions in Africa are called upon to shoulder that, at times apparent, contradiction which tends to puzzle our well-wishers elsewhere, who may not have had to shoulder such a role because their economy and political machinery were already at an advanced stage when they began to organise trade unions in their own countries.

The question may be asked whether this duality leads African trade unions not to identify themselves with similar organisations in other continents; whether the situation as it exists in Africa has no parallel elsewhere from which workers in Africa can draw a lesson. In our eagerness to harness our resources and to use them for ourselves, certain fallacies have become apparent. For instance, it is assumed in some quarters in Africa that workers' international solidarity and brotherhood are inconsistent with the tasks I have just outlined; that these unions ought to exist in isolation from good international organisations such as the I.L.O. and other such democratically based organisations. This is an attractive fallacy, but a fallacy none the less. Workers in Africa, as indeed in other continents, have in the past acknowledged the essential need for international solidarity and brotherhood which are traditional to workers' organisations. It is realistic to mention that the understanding could never be applicable were the workers of Africa to remain in isolation.

Africa is rich in minerals, agricultural prospects are more than bright and water resources are in abundance. We have space, we have manpower. We need a bigger and a good population. It is our aim to tap further our resources so as to make Africa play her proper role in the world in this respect.

The richness of Africa cannot be challenged by anybody. It has all the resources mentioned above. I challenge anybody to deny this. Were it not for her wealth, foreigners would not have to shoulder such a role because their economy and political machinery were already at an advanced stage when they began to organise trade unions in their own countries.

The Report of the Director-General has revealed many serious problems facing our women workers with family responsibilities, and the role of co-operatives. Women workers, mostly in developing nations, need great help. There are laws that were enacted before and who their friends are. We are not children; we are mature men and we know who our friends are and who are our enemies. The time has come for the developed nations to realise that the developing nations are not over-interested in their display of military might. Developing nations need economic growth and expansion to build themselves and to create jobs for their peoples. The developed nations will be serving the best interests of humanity if they employ for economic expansion projects in the developing countries the fantastic amounts of money they are now using for atomic and hydrogen bombs. The greatest enemies facing the human race are hunger, poverty and want and it is against them that the resources of developed countries should be employed, not for stockpiling weapons of mass destruction in the world. The developed nations should now realise fully that what the workers of Africa detest is to be told by foreigners who their enemies and who their friends are. We are not children; we are mature men and we know who our friends are and who are our enemies. The time has come for the developed nations to realise that the developing nations are not over-interested in their display of military might. Developing nations need economic growth and expansion to build themselves and to create jobs for their peoples. The developed nations will be serving the best interests of humanity if they employ for economic expansion projects in the developing countries the fantastic amounts of money they are now using for atomic and hydrogen bombs. The greatest enemies facing the human race are hunger, poverty and want and it is against them that the resources of developed countries should be employed, not for stockpiling weapons of mass destruction in the world.

The Report of the Director-General has revealed many serious problems facing our women workers with family responsibilities, the problems connected with agrarian reform, and the role of co-operatives. Women workers, mostly in developing nations, need great help. There are laws that were enacted before and these laws have become very poisonous to our women. I know of a law in a certain country which says that a woman must earn less than a man, but if a white woman is employed together with an African black man, the white woman gets more and the black man gets less. This is happening in Portugal, South Africa and other places. What this amounts to is this: because the law says a woman gets less and a man gets more, that white woman has become a man and the black man has become a woman. We use this law and we fight against it. In the economic and social progress of developing countries, the employment of young persons in mining is another big problem.
Of singular importance to us in Africa are the three facets in this report which pertain to the development of human resources; labour relations; trade union development, to which I have already made reference; the growth of sound social institutions and conditions of life and work. It is my ardent hope that the various committees which will deal with these problems will do so with a burning sense of urgency and purpose. These are not academic problems; they are problems which we are experiencing in Africa and in Asia and to which we need solutions immediately.

Lastly, I wish once again to call upon the President and my fellow delegates not to rest in the struggle to liberate our fellow workers who still live in bondage in South Africa, and in many other places. What is happening in Mozambique is really a burning issue that must live in the minds of all. Let us cry with one voice and declare that there can never be peace and security in the world as long as some of the world’s inhabitants are held in bondage, in slavery and are denied the fundamental human rights of which this Organisation is a living symbol.

Having said that, I hope that this Conference will find successful and complete solutions to these problems which I have mentioned.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. PACHO CARRILLO (Government delegate, Mexico)—The Mexican delegation, which I have the honour to lead, has been interested, pleased and impressed by the Report placed before the Conference this year in which the Director-General, fulfilling the promise he made at the close of the 48th Session, discusses the programme and structure of the International Labour Organisation. We congratulate the Director-General most warmly on the directness with which my country attends this Conference. The safeguards for the workers which have been the basis of all social legislation embrace the maximum working day, minimum wages, freedom of association and the right to strike, job security, social security and profit-sharing for the workers. My words have no other purpose than to indicate the goodwill, faith and enthusiasm with which my country attends this Conference. After all, if the I.L.O. aims immediately at improving the lot of the workers, there can be no doubt that its long-term objectives are justice, peace and brotherhood among all men and women who love freedom and democracy. Therefore, the Mexican delegation sincerely wishes that the I.L.O., having undergone this phase of reorganisation and procedural review, the necessity and importance of which we accept, will move on to full achievement of the high objectives which must ever inspire its future.

(The Conference adjourned at 4.45 p.m.)
THIRD REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE:
SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT—The first item on our agenda is the third report of the Selection Committee. I call upon Mr. Menon, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the report.

Mr. MENON (Government delegate, India; Chairman of the Selection Committee)—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the third report of the Selection Committee, the text of which has been distributed to delegates. This report relates to the participation of certain non-governmental organisations in the work of some of the Committees and to some changes in the composition of Committees. I commend the report to the Conference for adoption.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now open for discussion. If there are no comments, I take it that the Conference adopts the report.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL:
DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—The next item on our agenda is the continuation of the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. ADEDOYIN (Federal Minister of Labour, Nigeria)—Before I proceed to make my contribution to the discussion of the Director-General's Report I should like, on behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria, to congratulate you on your election as President of this Conference.

Since I took office as my country's Minister of Labour this is the first time I have attended this Conference. I am therefore happy and proud to have the opportunity of making my maiden speech at a time when the Organisation is undergoing a critical self-analysis in order to reorientate its programmes in the light of contemporary needs. Nigeria's loyalty to the I.L.O. and the principles for which it stands is well known and I can assure you of my country's continued support of this Organisation and its aims, objectives and aspirations for the promotion of social justice for all mankind and the upholding of the freedom and dignity of humanity.

This year's Report of the Director-General has crystallised many useful proposals of past years; it is an action report on matters concerning the programme and to some extent the structure of the Organisation. The Director-General has been able to redeem the promise which he made last year that he would formulate fresh and concrete proposals and ideas on these issues based upon the discussions during the past few years. My delegation is particularly happy to note that the Organisation has at last accepted the need for changes not only in its structure but also in its attitude to present-day problems. A world organisation of the unique character of the I.L.O. should give the lead in the field of social reforms, and there is therefore no doubt that the proposals to which the Director-General made reference in his Report will have a considerable impact on the social and economic development of many countries.

The needs of African countries present a challenge to this Organisation. There is, first, the desire of emergent African countries to eradicate race tension, which constitutes a potential danger to their peace and prosperity. We hold that this Organisation has a duty to see established in the area of every member State conditions in which social justice can be maintained in an atmosphere of freedom and human dignity; it has a responsibility, as well, to take the necessary action to promote conditions which will sustain this ideal. The I.L.O. owes it to all its Members to end colonial domination and exploitation in the political, economic and social fields.

My country, and indeed all independent African countries, is determined to see to it that countries which continue to keep Africans in thraldom and which pursue the inhuman policy of apartheid and similar discriminatory policies should have no place in this honourable Organisation. It was in the light of this principle that my country spearheaded the expulsion of South Africa from this Organisation. We feel that Portugal, which has been condemned by both the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity for violating the basic tenets of human rights, should not continue to take shelter under this Organisation. That is why my delegation welcomes the two amendments

1 See Appendix I, p. 485.
to the Constitution of the I.L.O. adopted by this Conference last year, which together empower the Conference to suspend from participation in the Conference any Member which has been found by the United Nations to be flagrantly and persistently pursuing a declared policy of discrimination which is apart from or to expel or suspend from membership any Member which has been expelled or suspended from membership of the United Nations.

Although these amendments, as the Director-General himself has pointed out, are by no means the end of effective I.L.O. action in this regard, it is necessary that the I.L.O. should continue with its efforts in this direction. A delay in following up the amendments with fresh measures can cause regrettable harm to the progress already made. The evils of social injustice and man's inhumanity to man should be fought in a relentless manner by this Organisation. It is a crusade and a jihad which demands sacrifice, determination and faith. I can assure you of my country's support at all times in this noble struggle to establish on our continent peace and prosperity through social justice and human dignity.

Another issue which is a disturbing factor to African development is the widening gap between the rich and poor countries of the world, between the industrialised and developing countries, between those which possess skills, knowledge and technology, and those which do not. This issue constitutes an actual and, in fact, a potential threat to world peace and a challenge to our Organisation. A realistic programme of action should deal with this phenomenon of our age if the technical and other development activities of this Organisation are to succeed. There are millions of men and women in Africa who need and desire the means to conquer starvation, disease and ignorance. Their lives portray Africa's lack of skills and equipment, and its poverty. Although many African countries have established industries, subsistence agriculture is still the chief occupation and the chief source of income of the majority of its inhabitants. We recognise the necessity for rapid economic development. We recognise that for real progress to be achieved agriculture and industry must develop and complement each other. We recognise as well that all this cannot be done without trained personnel, finance and technical knowledge. These are the areas in which Africa must look to the industrialised countries for help. It is the sphere in which the I.L.O. could make positive contributions.

In the past decade Nigeria has experienced a remarkable transformation in the economic, social and political fields. The leisurely pace of pre-war economy has accelerated, living standards generally have improved, educational facilities have expanded and every child is now assured of free primary education. In recent years, technical training and instruction in crafts have been introduced into the educational system. There is now an encouraging appreciation of technical and professional competence; a great deal of effort is being made to train and produce young people to cope with the requirements of our development. In spite of the five universities in my country, we are as yet unable to meet these needs.

In the field of human resources development, Nigeria has made significant progress. Because Nigeria's economic plans aim at more than just increasing productivity, because her concept of the goal of economic and social development is the freedom and uplift of the individual, our overseas costs on social services have occasionally to slow down the rate at which we increase our output of goods and services. As a result of this, we have at times been unable to satisfy all the conventional wants of our people. In order to maintain the tempo of progress Nigeria, like many other developing countries of the world, has expressed the need for outside investment, and the readiness to welcome it on favourable terms consistent with national sovereignty.

It is in this field that my delegation believes the I.L.O. can make a significant contribution and impact. The question may be raised how the I.L.O. can provide the capital needed when it is not a financial institution. Its practical and realistic action in such fields as the World Food Programme, vocational training, rural employment promotion, small-scale and handicraft industries and vocational rehabilitation provides a guideline to practical issues of development. There are many areas in Africa where these projects, if undertaken in a concerted manner, will create the infrastructure and favourable climate for investment. The experience and knowledge which the I.L.O. has acquired, for example in the field of small-scale industries and rural employment development, are such that could be used in a planned and directed manner in many African countries. An umbrella factory is not only to be provided for the handicapped but could be one of a series of small enterprises that will generate further capital development. One advantage of this approach is the opportunity it provides for the acquisition of skills so badly needed for economic development.

It is against this background that I would like to congratulate the Director-General for the bold step he has taken to create the new Field Department mentioned in his Report. My delegation is happy with this new development and believes that the Department can become an important organ for achieving in a more concrete form the objectives of the I.L.O. in regional areas.

We are glad that I.L.O. action in the field of development of human resources is principally directed at the problems currently facing developing countries. My delegation fully supports the general proposals made in the three major areas to which I.L.O. future action will be directed. It is significant to observe that on the agenda of this Conference there are two important technical matters which have direct bearing on employment promotion in rural areas, namely the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries and the subject of agrarian reform. At the risk of digressing slightly from the Director-General's Report, I would say that these items are of particular interest to my country for obvious reasons: we think that full support should be given to the co-operative movement as a vehicle for economic development, for it is a
form of economic organisation fully compatible with Nigerian tradition and social sentiment. We believe that through the co-operative movement the types of land ownership associated with the village clan and tribal system can be adapted to plantation-type agriculture. In this way Nigeria can combine the benefits of private African initiative and individual effort with the technological advantages of large-scale plantation farming.

The I.L.O. is at present undertaking in Nigeria a pilot project in the field of rural employment promotion. The objective is to tackle in a small rural area the multiple problems of rural employment in an integrated and multilateral fashion. This will involve simultaneous and co-ordinated action in several different fields for the best possible use of underemployed rural labour with a minimum contribution of scarce capital resources and a maximum reliance on the efforts of the local population. This project, which is the first of its kind in our area of the world, will provide us not only with the rural employment data essential for planning but also with the data-collecting methods needed. My Government hopes to use the methods and results of this pilot project as a basis for formulating rural employment policy on as wide a basis as possible.

My Government attaches great importance to this scheme because its economy is largely agricultural. I take this opportunity to thank the I.L.O. for the interest which it has shown and continues to show in this project which will provide a most useful guideline for the great benefit of member States in our region of the world.

While on this point, I should like to deal with another relevant issue which my delegation raised at the African Regional Conference in Addis Ababa last year. The problem of development committees, particularly in Africa, is of such a complex character, requiring for its effective handling a pooling of ideas, experiences and resources. Let me take an example, to which I made reference earlier, from the development of small-scale industrial projects. Here experiences in various parts of the world differ and there are many experts with different ideas and knowledge in this field. In grappling with this problem in an area of I.L.O. action, it would be of great benefit if at the planning stage there were a pooling of ideas by experts representing the member States. What we have in mind here is a body of experts representing the many and varied experiences in a particular project field to plan and determine the best way of initiating the project. This approach ensures more practical and reliable planning that can remove the usual initial difficulties arising from an under-estimation of initial obstacles. This is a co-operative and concerted approach to development which the I.L.O. is in a position to adopt, because of its unique character and the ideals for which it stands. It follows the pattern of Industrial Committees, which have played a significant role in the field of economic development.

Returning to the Director-General's Report, it is the view of my delegation that the I.L.O. programme of action for the development of social institutions has no inherent disadvantage. The only risk which may be involved in such a coherent and fully co-ordinated programme is that of sustaining a proper balance between the demands of the various services involved. However, the risk is of little effect when compared with the immense advantage which may be derived by closer integration of policies and the fuller utilisation of experienced personnel in the various services.

On the whole, the Report raises no issues of a controversial nature; this is confined to areas in which a large measure of agreement has been achieved during the past few years. The programmes of action are, to my mind, like a fine tool made by an able craftsman, which deserves to be put in the hands of a competent workman. The I.L.O. should therefore pay adequate attention to its staff recruitment policy, which must take account of the international character of the Organisation. It is most essential that the Secretariat should have an adequate number of Africans, confirmed in their membership, particularly in policy-making positions and in posts where they can help in the initiation, formulation and direction of policies, particularly on matters concerning African affairs. While this is consistent with the proposed policy of decentralisation of I.L.O. activities on a regional basis to meet the particular needs of member States, the centre of direction and policy should adequately reflect the aspirations of the various regions.

My delegation has always pointed out that a situation in which the policy-making hierarchy of the Organisation is dominated by a few States will not contribute to a relationship that creates a feeling and spirit of belonging. It is, in fact, capable of generating frustration. We realise and understand the historical development of the staff position which now exists, but we believe that a much more determined drive should be made to identify Africans with the Organisation. It does no credit to our Organisation, which is the oldest international body, to say that only two African States have only one each of their nationals in what may be treated as top posts. We wish to emphasise that, if recruitment is undertaken without political and other extraneous considerations but purely on the basis of skill and experience, there are many Africans of high calibre and repute who will do credit to this Organisation.

I am particularly happy at the opportunity which you have given me to make a humble contribution on behalf of Nigeria to the consideration of the Director-General's Report. I have found the exercise exciting and challenging. Nigeria's belief in, and acceptance of, the ideals and objectives of the I.L.O. are a matter of strong and religious conviction. We shall not cease to proclaim this conviction by words, deeds and action, in the hope that social justice and human dignity shall prevail in a world where there are still many who do not believe in the brotherhood of man.

Mr. President, may I in conclusion congratulate you once again on your election?

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. ROMEO GORRIA (Minister of Labour, Spain)—Once again I have the honour of commenting from this rostrum on the Director-General's Report.
I cannot conceal the fact that in so doing I feel a deep sense of responsibility which stems from two sources: first, the history of the I.L.O.; and, second, and above all, the vitality and high hopes for the future which it derives from the youthful vigour of new peoples who are now participating in international endeavour, and whose presence here, as well as on all fronts where the battle is being waged for a better future for all, my people happily welcomes.

To speak from this rostrum implies an obligation not only to feel and, indeed, to be in favour of coexistence among all peoples, but also to be fully convinced that there can be no real coexistence unless it be based on true solidarity, firmly rooted in the strict principles of social justice. In today's world words mean very little. The only admissible dialectic is that of actions. The words spoken here, and those with which the results of this gathering will be summarised, will carry little weight unless they reflect a firm determination to achieve positive action.

The desire for economic development, which is today a world-wide phenomenon in which hundreds of millions of men have placed their hopes, cannot be met unless social progress is at the same time pursued firmly and single-mindedly. The new frontiers of development are neither the result of a mere technical operation nor the product of government action alone. They can be conquered only with the co-operation of all the people. There can be no possible development unless the people are the principal and major protagonist, and unless all members of the community feel that they are participating in its achievement.

In our time it is no longer possible to speak of dormant peoples or of peoples who have not come of age. The peoples of the world are now fully awake to freedom, hope and the imperative need for social justice. They resent privileges, national or international, and they aspire to well-being through joint effort and a fair distribution of the advantages and gains achieved.

I believe that these general ideas, which I have expressed in the name of my people, are a necessary and integral element of our government policy. I shall try to illustrate them with reference to my own country, and in terms of the three major subject areas of the Director-General's Report.

In 1930 Spain had 23,844,000 inhabitants of whom 37 per cent. constituted the labour force, with 45 per cent. in agriculture. By comparison with these figures the following data, which refer to 31 December 1964, illustrate the change which has occurred in the structure of Spanish society: a population of 31,659,000, of whom 38.3 per cent. make up the labour force, which implies the creation of nearly 3.5 million new jobs. The numbers engaged in agriculture fell to 37 per cent. while the illiteracy rate dropped to 7.6 per cent. In 1964 the net increase in jobs amounted to 135,400 in industry and 112,000 in service occupations. In addition the numbers of workers in these two sectors received 176,000 workers formerly engaged in agriculture and the proportion of unemployed during the same year came to only 1.47 per cent. This brief description, I believe, is an eloquent commentary on the development of human resources in my country, particularly if one considers that these results have been built upon a principle which we regard as sacred—freedom of labour.

A good proof of our respect for freedom of labour—and I have no hesitation in affirming it—is that the frontiers of Spain are completely open not only for the 16 million tourists whom we hope to receive this year, but also for all Spaniards who wish to find better jobs in other countries and who can leave without any difficulty whatsoever. They too, by seeking new opportunities outside the country, contribute by their efforts, their brains and indeed by their sacrifices to the well-being of Europe.

In the field of social promotion, my country is now making an extraordinary effort. In addition to the 142,000 pupils registered in 1964 in the regular vocational training courses and centres, a sum of 500 million pesetas has been invested in the intensive vocational training of 40,000 adult workers in 161 different trades.

But in addition the kind of manpower planning advocated in the Report finds unique practical expression in my country through the Workers' Occupational Promotion Programme, which is now fully operative in 12 provinces and which will be extended to nearly all of the others in 1965. The aim of the Workers' Occupational Promotion Programme is to do away with peonage in Spain through the creation of 800,000 teaching jobs and the subsequent upgrading of skilled manpower to higher levels. We have refrained from investing in buildings and have confined ourselves to investing strictly in men, through a system of mobile teams who carry the teaching to the location of the men who are to be trained.

I need hardly say how proud I am of these achievements which are taking place in my country and to which the International Labour Office, which knows them well, has borne unique testimony, as have experts and distinguished visitors from other countries who have seen them at close range. More recently I have had the pleasure of receiving support and encouragement from the colleges and institutions of the Ibero-American community of peoples, who are particularly aware of vocational training problems since the demands which they face are much the same as those which concern us in Spain. I must proclaim that among our countries and in this field there is a determined desire to co-operate, to exchange experience, and to act jointly. In our view there can be no frontiers to sincere and open collaboration, and we have accordingly offered to countries within our community our full experience and our full resources to carry out any aid programmes. Our common destiny commands us not to advance separately but to plough our furrow together and pursue jointly, so far as possible, our common future.

Having given free rein to these fraternal feelings, I can do no less than draw the attention of delegates to the extremely important role which devolves upon the International Labour Organisation in providing for those member States which need its extensive assistance in any field, but more particularly in
The second topic dealt with in the Report is that of development of social institutions—a problem whose extraordinary complexity has surely not escaped my fellow delegates. In truth, the development of social institutions cannot be approached in today's world—and above all having regard to the expectations of society tomorrow, in whose structure we must adjust our thinking—to a spirit of punctilious respect for traditional patterns. We must show the boldness, the courage and open-mindedness to face squarely the demands of the future, even if this means at times renouncing formulas or ideas to which we were particularly attached.

I consider that development and social institutions are fundamentally rooted in the concept and structure of the undertaking, viewed as a community of interests. That is the major objective of our times. We are striving to solve, although there is no doubt that we are still a long way from a satisfactory definition on which to base the ideal social order, which constitutes humanity's highest aspiration. Spain follows with fair-minded attention all efforts by all countries—all without exception—to achieve that goal, in no case—all without exception—to achieve that goal, but we must confess that so far the solutions developed can hardly be regarded as more than transitory and that in no case—I stress this, in no case—can we claim to have found a formula worthy of general adoption.

In Spain we are pressing forward with passion and conviction. Within the area of social promotion, which is one of the most important sectors of the activities of the Ministry of Labour, the access of workers to ownership is a major objective. In this respect we have achieved highly promising results in agriculture, industry and service activities through the establishment of co-operative enterprises. However, at the same time, we are in the process of establishing an atmosphere of harmony and co-participation through collective agreements in which stress is increasingly laid, apart from regulation of wage levels, on schemes designed to give the worker a greater share of responsibility for the way in which the undertaking is run. In 1964, 911 collective agreements covering 214,000 undertakings and 1.1 million workers were concluded. At present it may be estimated that 4.5 million employed persons, representing about 67 per cent. of the total (and the percentage would be much higher in the case of industry alone) are governed, so far as their conditions of employment are concerned, by collective agreements concluded between representatives of employers' and workers' organisations.

There can be no economic and social development—and my country is in the midst of the development process—without occasional conflict in the labour field. Here again, my country has striven to improve the legal machinery for the solution of such conflicts. A decisive step was taken with the Decree of 20 September 1962 concerning the arbitration of such conflicts, under which all labour disputes which have since arisen have been dealt with. Most recently, and with a similar pur-

pose, a Bill has been submitted to the Cortes with a view to amending section 222 of the Penal Code. Under this new provision, economic and occupational strikes would no longer be deemed penal offences, and the law would thus be adjusted to what is in fact current practice.

Moreover, both workers and employers have participated extensively in the study and preparation of the Economic and Social Development Plan, through strong representation on the competent bodies. This type of institutional improvement advocated in the Director-General's Report is also exemplified in other steps which have been taken in my country. Our basic Social Security Act places the administration of the scheme for practical purposes in the hands of the elected representatives of workers and employers. In other words, we have gone a long way towards "mutualising" social security.

The third topic in the Director-General's Report is concerned with living and working conditions for men and women. In this important field, even more so perhaps than in the others, realism must prevail over idealistic pronouncements. Here the principle of international solidarity, provided it is applied with maximum efficiency and pure generosity, has an exceptionally valuable part to play.

My country is making every effort to progress along these lines and I sincerely believe that the recommendation contained in the Director-General's Report has been implemented satisfactorily. The new social security system in Spain has definitely given up the formula of isolated insurance to cover all risks under one heading for any cause whatsoever where the worker has lost his income.

In three years we have doubled the number of beds in sanatoria under the social security system, which number 45 and are supplemented by 450 dispensaries and clinics. We are setting up first-aid centres throughout the country. We have taken decisive steps in the field of the rehabilitation of disabled workers. We are going to try to solve the difficult health problem of mental patients. We are acting with decision in order to satisfy the concept that total security is a constitutional principle.

Figures can prove the rate of progress: in 1963, 447 million pesetas was invested for hospital facilities; in 1964, 1,046 million pesetas was invested; in 1965, 42 million items of care were provided in clinics and in 1964 the figure was 45 million. In one year the number of patient-days in these centres has increased from 2,912,000 to 13,952,000 and the number of persons protected has increased by 2.25 per cent.

Finally, and as a result of all this effort, in my country the participation of labour in the gross national income has increased by 12.45 per cent. from 1961 to 1964. The rate of growth in participation by the workers has been proportionately higher than the increase in the gross national income. This is the result of a true policy of redistribution and shows the effect of our social policy.

In the light of the Director-General's Report, I have endeavoured to present the balance sheet of Spain's activities in this field. The aspirations and the hope of my people and my Government have been done much but I must say
that we are not fully satisfied. The dynamics of social policy do not permit us to be satisfied because we have achieved so far a foundation from which to strive forward in the struggle for greater realisation; social achievement is only important to the extent that it opens up new roads for progress in the future. The ambition to reach new social frontiers inspires my people who, although they have a brilliant past, look less to the past than to the future. In Spain our people are very united and this is the most powerful tool that we have, this is the people themselves but whom experience has taught to become vitally interested—rather than to isolate themselves—in all those people who, like the Spaniards, are searching for improvement in their development and who are greatly ambitious for social justice. The Spanish people have never in their history known discrimination, and have always sought liberty and struggled for it; they are proud of the brotherhood they enjoy with 21 independent countries.

We have been at the crossroads of civilisation. We live on a hard, dry peninsula; we are the end of Europe and the beginning of Africa. We look towards America. We are a people who owe nothing to anyone. We have set up our own position on the basis of our own efforts and we welcome the new countries which are entering on the world scene in the search for new destinies. We do so in the conviction that this is the way it should be, because these people, with deep national emotion, are aware of the fact their strength lies not in the assistance which they can get but rather on their mismeasurable desire to obtain a better future, to ensure social justice; thanks to the brotherhood of man, they will fight together with all those countries who wish to build a society whose prestige will not be based on a given standard of living but rather on a just distribution of wealth and a full participation of the people in the determination of the historic destiny which corresponds to it. For those reasons, we speak with faith, hope and in the full conviction of social brotherhood between men. We can never forget that oligarchies of any kind can only be supported by opulent societies and even then we do not know for how long.

Mr. GJAEREVOLL (Minister of Social Affairs, Norway)—The Report which the Director-General has placed before the Conference this year is an important contribution to the reorientation of the work programme, structure and working methods of the Organisation. Together with the Governing Body report on the I.L.O. programme in the field of human resources development, it forms a good basis for our discussion.

Since the 1964 Session of the Conference, government and employers' and workers' representatives in Norway have discussed the I.L.O. programme and structure in their national I.L.O. committee. Following this exchange of views the central national organisations of workers and employers in my country submitted comments which, together with a statement from the Government, are now included in the annex to the report of the Working Party of the Governing Body on the programme and structure of the I.L.O.

Last year's session of the Conference took an important step forward by agreeing to regroup all I.L.O. activities in three major programme areas. I shall deal briefly with all these three areas: human resources development, development of social institutions, and conditions of life and work.

For the individual member States it is, in our view, essential that over-all national economic planning should be based on the fullest possible knowledge of the human resources of the country. The development of a country's employment services and education and vocational training should be suitably integrated in general economic planning. In Norway we have placed great emphasis on the development of long-range education and vocational training, as well as on education and training of medium and short-term duration in order to eliminate or avoid unemployment and underemployment and to achieve more productive employment.

Even if Norway is among the industrially more developed countries, it has its problems of economic structural change. A number of these problems, appearing in areas lagging behind in economic development, have important social and employment aspects. I therefore agree with the Director-General that the I.L.O. should follow carefully developments in the more industrialised countries in relation to an active employment policy. In this way the Office may be able to give guidance and support to these countries and to obtain information on the latest techniques. Such information might be used or adapted for use in developing countries.

In countries at all stages of development there seems to be a need for greater efforts to develop the human resources represented by the female half of the population. Thus women should be given greater opportunities to take part in national development. From the Part of the Director-General's Report devoted to I.L.O. activities during the past year, it is evident that greater emphasis is now being placed on the contribution made by women to the social and economic development of their countries. I fully endorse his view that their role and status in the world of work should be redefined in realistic relation to the changing pattern of employment opportunities for all workers.

One item on the Conference agenda deals with the employment of women with family responsibilities. In our view it is important to elaborate an instrument which sets out the objectives of national policy in this field and which points out the roads that may be followed.

In the field of human resources development, it is essential that the I.L.O. should keep its arrangements for co-operation with regional organisations like the O.E.C.D. and U.N.E.S.C.O. under constant review. A high degree of co-ordination is necessary, both at the national and the international level, if we are to succeed in our efforts.

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1 See Appendix X, p. 685.
As regards the second major programme area, social institutions development, my Government welcomes all efforts by the I.L.O. to stimulate the development and growth of the co-operative movement and of free and effective organisations of workers and employers. We believe that such organisations should be associated with the formulation and implementation of national development plans, and that workers should be associated with the management of their undertakings. We therefore welcome the suggestion by the Director-General that the I.L.O. should follow closely developments in this field in the various countries. When speaking of the workers' role in the undertaking, in his organisations and in the affairs of the community at large, we feel that workers' education should be accorded a central place in I.L.O. activities. The same applies to its employer counterpart, management development.

I now turn to the third major programme area, conditions of life and work. Although the Organisation has done a great deal in this traditional field of activity there are still a number of old and new tasks which should not be pushed aside. It is important that questions connected with the status and conditions of the workers should not be neglected in the struggle for economic development. There is still a need for vigorous I.L.O. efforts for the effective application of human rights, a subject which we have dealt with more specifically in our statement on programme and structure.

The debate at last year's session of the Conference was concerned with the relative merits of bilateral and multilateral assistance. In this spirit we have always felt that the different institutions in the United Nations family ought to play a central role in the field of development assistance. The Norwegian Government has always been based on strong support for the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training at Turin.

My Government welcome the efforts made by the I.L.O. for a fuller co-ordination of the various aspects of its work with national, regional and other international endeavours for social and economic development.

When surveying the whole field of activities for social and economic development carried out by the different members of the United Nations family of organisations, we are clearly aware of the increasing need for co-ordination. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Director-General on the progress the I.L.O. has already made in this field as indicated in the Report we have before us.

Co-ordination and co-operation in the field of technical assistance is necessary not only to avoid duplication and increase effectiveness but also in order to make the fullest use of the experience gained by the various agencies.

It is, however, not only a question of co-ordinating the policies pursued by the different members of the United Nations family. The major flow of capital and technical assistance to less developed countries is based on bilateral agreements. I am not going to discuss here the relative merits of bilateral and multilateral assistance. The position of the Norwegian Government has always been based on strong support for the multilateral assistance programmes. I should however like to add that, as long as bilateral assistance is such an important part of the over-all situation, co-ordination and co-operation between the agencies providing bilateral and multilateral assistance is very necessary.

We therefore endorse the Governing Body's suggestion that the I.L.O. should encourage the co-ordination of all such efforts undertaken in a particular country, including those under bilateral schemes.

The objectives and viewpoints of the I.L.O. ought to be strongly represented in all programmes for economic growth and the relative importance of the I.L.O. within the United Nations family should not be reduced. We believe that the I.L.O. should be given the financial means for a reasonable and necessary expansion of activities. Some governments have maintained in the Governing Body that the I.L.O. budget expansion should never be greater than the rise in national budgets and in national income. I fail to see the relevance of this comparison, and believe that if we feel there is a need for strengthening international co-operation in this important field we should not let the planned growth of the Organisation be restricted by considerations of this nature.

We believe that the I.L.O. has a special role to play in the efforts for social and economic development, as this Organisation is concerned not only with economic growth but with the way in which this growth is brought about and distributed. In our opinion questions of distribution of income should be considered as an integral part of economic policy. This is one of the reasons which call for increased I.L.O. efforts in co-operation with developing countries. Another reason is the concern which our Organisation has for development which includes the participation of free and effective
military intervention, which aims at the re-
is the real cause of both indirect and direct Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Dominican Republic and in the Congo, the struggle for freedom and independence of these countries, and, in addition, they jeopardise the peace of the whole world and threaten to bring about a world-wide conflict the catastro-
phic consequences of which can hardly be foreseen.

I need not repeat here the well-known position of my country with regard to these questions. I should only add that we, together with a number of non-aligned nations, have taken determined action concerning the situation in South-East Asia. We feel that the intensification and the spreading of the war in that region cannot but produce an extremely dangerous threat to world peace.

A further threat results from the policy of racial discrimination, and particularly apartheid, which is being pursued with unabated intensity in the Republic of South Africa and which represents only a specific brutal form of racial discrimination.

It is generally recognised that relations between the developed and developing countries today constitute one of the basic problems of contemporary international relations, particularly in the economic field. New independent States are making greater efforts to establish more equitable social relationships, to eliminate, in the shortest possible time, their inherited backwardness; and to achieve a satisfactory level of economic, cultural, and scientific development. In order that their efforts may be crowned with success, the international community ought to extend aid to them, and to try to understand better the problems of their internal development.

The decisions and conclusions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, as well as the creation of the necessary machinery for their implementation, constitute a significant step forward in this direction.

Notwithstanding the pressure for reaching agreement on disarmament, the arms race continues and presents an acute problem. It is for this reason that my delegation supports the idea of convening a world disarmament conference which should, with the participation of all countries, initiate the solution of this important problem.

We believe that the I.L.O. should take an active part in the achievement of disarmament, and for this purpose it should co-operate with the United Nations Economic and Social Council in the study of the economic and social consequences of disarmament. In order to find the solution to the question of employment, it should help in the elaboration of the best methods for the reconversion of economies.

In this situation the crisis of the United Nations cannot but cause grave concern to all member States. It is for this reason that we feel it necessary to do our utmost to remove the causes which have paralysed the work of this highest international forum.

It goes without saying that the I.L.O., as a member of the United Nations family and in pursuit of its own aims, cannot stand aside from these events. It should contribute to the settlement of the political problems of the contemporary world, in particular on the question of international tension and in fostering confidence among nations. It should extend its active support to all action that aims at safeguarding and strengthening world peace, at promoting the policy of active and peaceful coexistence and at the co-operation of all countries on the basis of equal rights. It should condemn resolutely
every act of aggression and every application of
the policy of force in international relations, as
well as all forms of interference in the internal
affairs of other countries, no matter who the
protagonist of such a policy may be.

For all the reasons outlined we believe that
the basic activities of the I.L.O. should be
directed towards the achievement of these aims
and adjusted, both as regards their content and
form, to present conditions.

The activity of the I.L.O. should be adjusted
in such a way as to meet the requirements of
contemporary developments and processes.
Programmes of activities should take account of
the economic conditions prevailing in countries and
regions receiving assistance, and should be drawn
up on a long-term basis. When these program­mes are being formulated, the benefiting coun­tries should also take part in their elaboration.
It is necessary to develop to a greater extent
national and regional institutions for the im­plementation of such programmes. Further­more, it is desirable to engage qualified person­nel from all member States for the actual
execution of programmes, while the manage­ment of, and the responsibility for, the im­plementation of programmes should be in­creasingly entrusted to the member States
themselves.

The assistance granted for the realisation of
programmes should be free from any conditions
which might, in one way or another, endanger
the independence of the recipient country. In
this connection, I should like to emphasise that
international assistance so far rendered mainly
on a bilateral basis has achieved good results.
Nevertheless, financial aid should, in our opi­nion, be increasingly provided by international
public funds, in the first place through the
United Nations and its agencies.

We also feel that, to achieve a better use of
human resources in developing countries, it is
of particular importance that the I.L.O. should
perform research and provide expert assistance
in the elaboration and the application of suitable methods of planning, as well as extend assistance in the setting up of regional
and national institutions for vocational training.

I think that our Organisation should make a
new and bolder approach to the problems
concerning incomes policy, where its activity
has so far been more or less confined to the
narrow limits of collective bargaining and of
setting minimum wages. In the field of income
levels and income distribution we think it
essential for the I.L.O. to encourage and ensure
a broader exchange of experience and more
systematic research. Particular attention should
be paid to the problem of the influence of
incomes policies on the growth of labour
productivity, employment and the standard of
living. Of course, this ought to be done keeping
in mind that the different levels of socio­
economic development impose the necessity
of adequate solutions. We believe that, in view
of its great importance to the economic and
social development of all countries, the problem
of incomes policies should be made a separate
item on the agenda of one of the forthcoming
sessions.

In conformity with its character and aims,
the I.L.O. should be particularly concerned
with the questions of how to advance the direct
participation of workers in the management of
economic enterprises as well as with the role of
workers in planning and the implementation
of plans, distribution of income, allocation of
resources, etc.

Once again I should like to stress our opinion
that, in particular, the I.L.O. should ensure the
broader exchange of opinions and wide dis­
semination of experience, which ought to be
supported by corresponding research work and
relevant studies; it should render assistance in
the economic education of workers in suitable
forms, and provide advice concerning the most
efficient application of management rights; it
should assist States in the organisation of
social services, especially in the fields of
labour supply and in the elaboration of various
draft texts concerning labour relations. Of
course, its assistance should be in harmony
with existing national conditions.

In our replies to the Director-General we
express our views concerning the role, place
and structure of our Organisation in con­
temporary situations. In view of the consider­
able changes that have taken place not only
in the membership of our Organisation but
also in its programmes and tasks we think it
necessary that the I.L.O. should adapt its
structure more closely to new conditions.
The proposed targets and tasks in the new I.L.O.
programmes now under discussion must be
accompanied by an appropriate and simul­
taneous change in the methods and structure
of the Organisation, so as to ensure the follow­
ing: the right of all member States and govern­
ments, workers’ and employers’ organisa­
tions to participate in the formulation of I.L.O.
policy and programmes for its activities;
therefore, it is necessary that the Conference
should play the principal role in dealing with
these matters; the establishment of new but
more adequate relations among individual
organs; an equitable representation of all
regions and economic systems in the organs of
the I.L.O.; the achievement of full democra­
isation of methods of work so as to rule out domination by any
group; the I.L.O. should be an open forum
for the free exchange of opinions where argu­
ments are weighed according to their merits.
It is equally necessary to make appropriate
changes in the statutory documents of the
Organisation so as to ensure unhindered and
proper application of these principles.

We must say openly that we are worried
at the fact that the solution of these questions
is being postponed from year to year. That has
been the case even though discussion about it
has been going on for years, and even though
a number of constructive proposals have been
submitted by many delegates. On the other
hand, some solutions adopted so far have
been rather insignificant and mainly of a
technical nature. With due respect for the
efforts made by the working party which has
studied these problems, we wish to point out
that we are far from being satisfied with the
results. We consider it is necessary to make
new efforts to elaborate concrete proposals
without delay. We also feel that a larger
number of countries should be invited to
participate in this work so as to ensure more
efficient implementation of this task.
Our endeavours to enable our Organisation to fulfil its numerous and constructive tasks will remain fruitless unless we urgently solve these fundamental organisational problems, for which all conditions have already become ripe.

I should like to stress that my delegation is ready to take an active part in this work and to support every constructive effort which would enable the finding of adequate solutions to be speeded up.

Before concluding, allow me to say a few words on the resolution concerning the protection of the rights of Spanish workers submitted by the representative of the Yugoslav workers. The adoption of this resolution would provide further support for the efforts that our Organisation is making to achieve full observance of the right of association and freedom for the social activities of workers. It would also mean a further contribution in the struggle against all kinds of repression imposed upon those who claim better living conditions, freedom of the press and other fundamental freedoms.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. PIMENOV (Workers' delegate, U.S.S.R.)—For the third year the International Labour Organisation is discussing the question of the adaptation of its programmes, structure and methods of work to a changed world, and yet not a single practical decision has been taken as yet with regard to changing the existing situation in the I.L.O. During that period the workers of a number of countries have scored many new successes in their struggle to improve conditions of work and life and to promote their national social progress. New countries have gained their independence. The peoples of the world are successfully struggling for their liberation, casting off the shackles of colonial bondage. At the same time the I.L.O. is not showing due interest in these new conditions. The I.L.O. cannot side-step events that are of such concern to the workers and peoples of the whole world.

The I.L.O. faces the alternative of becoming a genuinely universal organisation which would react rapidly to events that occur throughout the world, struggling for peace and social progress and upholding the interests of the workers, or of continuing to lag behind events. The representatives of millions of workers of the socialist and recently emancipated countries have scored many new successes in their struggle to improve conditions of work and life and to promote their national social progress. New countries have gained their independence. The peoples of the world are successfully struggling for their liberation, casting off the shackles of colonial bondage. At the same time the I.L.O. is not showing due interest in these new conditions. The I.L.O. cannot side-step events that are of such concern to the workers and peoples of the whole world.

The time has come to put an end to the situation where the Workers' group in the Governing Body contains no representatives of the workers of the socialist countries. In the existing composition there is a preponderant representation of Western European and United States trade unions affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., which has a membership of less than 60 million. There are no representatives of any trade union organisation which is a member of the W.F.T.U., which has a membership of more than 120 million of the 220 million organised workers in all parts of the world. Neither is there a due representation of the workers of the capitalist countries of Africa or the Arab countries. Thus, the workers' representatives in the Governing Body today do not represent the majority of the workers. Such a situation cannot be considered normal and it must be changed next year when the new Governing Body is elected. There should prevail in the elections to the Governing Body, and specifically to the Workers' group, a democratic system that will ensure just representation of all geographical areas of the world, all the various social systems and all trends in the world trade union movement.

On the international level it is incumbent upon the I.L.O. to defend the right of association and trade union rights, and the workers look to the I.L.O. to adopt effective measures. But the Committee on Freedom of Association in no way answers these requirements. It serves as an example of the improper and one-sided composition of the principal I.L.O. bodies. At present, among the nine members of the Committee there is not a single representative of the socialist countries and in the working party of the Committee there is no representative of any trade union organisation belonging to the W.F.T.U. How, in such a situation, can there be an objective approach to all the problems that arise? It is necessary to democratise the Committee and to broaden its membership. The Committee must be based on fair geographical representation and must incorporate all trends in the international trade union movement.

At the two last sessions of our Conference the Workers' representatives of the U.S.S.R. made a number of proposals as regards I.L.O. programmes the adoption of which we believe could contribute significantly to increasing the effectiveness of the I.L.O.'s activities and its role in the struggle for the rights and interests of the workers. For some unknown reason some of those proposals have not been included in the list drawn up by the International Labour Office.

The Workers' representatives of the U.S.S.R. suggested specifically: that a proper and consistent programme of activities for the I.L.O. in the field of safeguarding and protecting the rights of the unions should be worked out, due account being taken of the demands and wishes of unions of various trends; that the reasons leading to social injustice, unemployment, hunger and the persecution of trade unions should be studied and ways to eliminate these evils indicated; that such urgent problems as the improvement of conditions of work, the effect of automation on the status of workers, the problem of employment, and so on, should be studied.
The adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the colonial régime should continue in certain countries where fundamental human rights are being violated in contradiction to the principles of the Constitution of the I.L.O. The International Labour Organisation must demand the urgent implementation of that declaration and must take steps to uphold the rights of the workers in the countries that remain in colonial dependence. The I.L.O. must devote more attention to action to deal with the social and economic aftermath of colonialism, to assistance to developing countries in creating and strengthening their national economies, training their manpower and raising the standard of living of the workers. This aid must be concrete and effective and must be free of any strings that might restrict the sovereignty of the nation to which it is being granted.

Another question of acute concern to all the workers of the world is that of peace. Like the workers of other countries, the workers of the Soviet Union are struggling for peace; they consistently uphold the principles of co-existence between countries with differing social and political systems. Our country is engaged in peaceful constructive work. We are building factories, houses, schools, hospitals, kindergartens and nurseries. The Soviet people is carrying out a vast programme of development of the national economy, and the trade unions of our country, which have a membership of 70 million workers and enjoy extensive rights and opportunities for their activities, are playing a vital role in this connection. As a result of the implementation of this programme our country has cut the working day, without affecting wages, to six to seven hours. During the past two or three years, and especially during the past year, there have been considerable increases in wages and salaries. A uniform pension system has been introduced for collective farm workers, and prices are being systematically reduced. All this is being done to improve the conditions of work and life of the Soviet people.

The peoples of the world are concerned about peace. In accordance with its Constitution, the I.L.O. must contribute to the strengthening of peace and take steps to prevent any attempts to unleash war. But it is still insufficiently active in this field. As we all know, aggressive action is taking place in various parts of the world today; war has been started against Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic and the economic blockade of Cuba continues. Violating agreements that were signed here in Geneva, the American imperialists are not only engaged in a dirty war against the people of South Viet-Nam but are carrying out barbaric air-raids against the peaceful towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Jet bombers are drenching villages with napalm, dropping bombs and swamping entire areas in a deluge of fire. The aggressors have reverted to a weapon that has caused indignation throughout the world, namely poison gas—and are even talking about the use of thermonuclear weapons. As a result of these raids . . .

The President—I give the floor to Mr. Weaver, Government delegate, United States, on a point of order.

Mr. Weaver (Government delegate, United States)—It is with regret that I feel forced to intervene at this point in the discussion on the Director-General's Report. Up to this point the discussion has been devoted to I.L.O. programmes and policies, and I feel it is regrettable that there is now an attempt to direct the discussion to political matters outside the competence of the International Labour Conference. I would appeal to you that it is a well-known policy of the I.L.O. that, when political matters and particularly matters that have been taken up by the United Nations and other specialised agencies of the United Nations with competence in that area, have been introduced, such debate, which would tie up our Conference, has been declared inappropriate and out of order, thus reserving to the United Nations the competence which is rightly its own. We must serve notice that if this continues we demand the right of immediate reply.

The President—I appeal to Mr. Pimenov to confine himself to I.L.O. activities in the remainder of his speech.

Translation from Russian: Mr. Pimenov—As a result of these marauding attacks by the American forces, thousands and thousands of peaceful citizens of Viet-Nam, women, children, old men, have been killed, injured, rendered homeless and deprived of their means of existence. Vast material wealth created by the hands of the workers has been destroyed. The I.L.O. must not ignore the misdeeds of the aggressors and their South Viet-Nam puppets who do not represent their own people. It is incompatible with the standards of the I.L.O. to accept the credentials of these so-called delegates of South Viet-Nam.

The Soviet workers and trade unions fully approve the struggle of the Vietnamese people who are with such self-sacrifice defending the independence and freedom of their country. They brand these acts of piracy against the people of Viet-Nam. An international trade union conference of the Committee of Solidarity with the Workers and People of Viet-Nam, called at the initiative of the W.F.T.U., is at present meeting at Hanoi. The representatives of workers of 60 countries who have met there demand an end to this dirty war against Viet-Nam.

We urgently appeal to this Conference to make the maximum efforts to satisfy the just demands of the workers and unions of all countries of the world for an immediate end to the aggressive war in South Viet-Nam, the withdrawal of American troops, and an end to provocative and aggressive action against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, in order to make it possible for the people of South Viet-Nam to determine their own future and decide the problem of peaceful reunification of their country. We call upon delegates to this Conference to help to put an end to aggressive action and to maintain peace throughout the world.
Mr. WEAVER (Government delegate, United States)—On a point of order, in conformity with the principle practised in the Standing Orders of this Conference, I seek the right of immediate reply. As I indicated at the outset, it is with regret that I find it necessary to burden this Conference with a discussion on the right of immediate reply. I do think it is regrettable that these matters should be injected into our deliberations, so taking away from the time and efforts that should be devoted to the matters on the agenda which we are here to discuss, and which are within the competence of this Organisation.

The previous speaker, in his distorted and slanderous description of the situation in Viet-Nam, I repeat, was completely out of order, because it falls outside the competence of the Director-General's Report and the purpose of our discussion which, up to this point, has taken place within the framework of that Report.

I do not believe we are here to discuss the situation in Viet-Nam, but we are prepared to do so. The situation in Viet-Nam, the fate of the people of Cuba, the Hungarian revolution, or the conditions in the Baltic States or any other area of the world can be discussed if that be the desire of this Conference. If it is the desire of this Conference to have political matters of this description injected, we are prepared to discuss them, but I do think, since the issue of Viet-Nam has been injected into the discussion, it is our responsibility to have the record set straight. The United States is in the Republic of Viet-Nam at the invitation of the Vietnamese authorities; the main goal is the preservation of that country's independence and territorial integrity, free from outside attack.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. CHAJN (Government delegate, Poland)—On a point of order, Mr. Weaver has just taken the floor in order to explain to us the aims of American policies in Viet-Nam. I think, however, that we are now at a different point of this Conference; we are discussing the Report of the Director-General. Mr. Weaver and his colleagues will be able to reply to Mr. Weaver's remarks when they themselves take the floor on the Report of the Director General. I submit Mr. Weaver has no right to take up the time of the Conference in order to describe to delegates the policies of the Americans in Viet-Nam. That is why, Mr. President, I would appeal to you that we immediately proceed with the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

The PRESIDENT—I have looked up the Constitution, and I do not find anything specific about this in the Constitution. I would therefore allow Mr. Weaver to carry on, but would suggest to him that the answer should be given in the speech which is going to be delivered by him as the delegate of the Government of the United States, and that he be as brief as possible now, and merely meet the points made by the previous speaker.

Mr. WEAVER (Government delegate, United States)—It is not the intention of the delega-

tion of the United States to inject these political matters into their regular speech before the Conference. We will seek to confine our remarks to the Director-General's Report, which is the item on the agenda, but I do not think that the record of this sitting should be allowed to pass without it being made clear why the free countries—and I emphasise free countries—are assisting South Viet-Nam in its struggle. It is to allow them and to help them to retain their territorial independence and integrity. They have not attacked North Viet-Nam, but have been seeking to defend themselves against the attacks launched from North Viet-Nam. I would ask that this Conference be conducted in a manner to be expected and desired, and that these political matters be eliminated from the debate, but we will abide by the Chair's ruling in this regard.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. EFREMENKO (Workers' delegate, Ukraine)—I rise to a point of order and will be brief; I would like to support what has just been said by Mr. Chajn. In my opinion, this rostrum cannot be used for the purpose of imposing upon us points such as have just been made by the United States delegate, with a view to intimidating us and preventing us from raising matters allegedly outside the scope of the discussion. We cannot be intimidated—we do not frighten easily.

As regards the remarks of Mr. Pimenov, I do not think there was any misunderstanding. He represents 60 or 70 million workers in his country, who have instructed him to put forward their views here; this is fully in the interests of the work of the I.L.O. The workers of the socialist countries want to believe that the International Labour Organisation will react to the events which are taking place in the world. I appeal to you, Sir, to allow those who wish to speak to do so, in accordance with democratic principles, especially the workers' representatives, who are always being told to be silent when they wish to express their opinion on matters of concern to them. I therefore appeal to you to allow all the delegates to speak, in a spirit of democracy, if they wish to do so.

Mr. DELANEY (Government delegate, United States)—On a point of order, may I reply to the statement made by the Workers' delegate of the U.S.S.R., who made some very serious and false accusations and mentioned the Americans by name? Under article 62 of the Standing Orders, you are authorised, Mr. President, to take action. I should have thought, in the light of the necessity to create a climate conducive to getting on with the technical work of this Conference, that it would have been more useful if the representative of the workers in the U.S.S.R. had talked to us in terms of improving the social and economic conditions of workers throughout the world. Article 62 gives you, Mr. President, authority to take action and I urge you to take that authority in your hands, so that this Conference can eliminate matters in which it has no competence.
The President—I would draw the attention of the speaker to the fact that article 62 refers to the right to address the Committees. We can now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. SALAMA (Minister of Labour, United Arab Republic)—I have pleasure in congratulating you, Mr. President, and in congratulating the Conference, on your election. I feel sure that your wise leadership will help the Conference to achieve all the success for which we hope.

I seize this opportunity of welcoming sister countries which joined the Organisation last year, after achieving their independence, for which they struggled and made sacrifices for several years. The constant increase in membership of the Organisation is of great importance to all of us, since it emphasises more and more the principle of universality of the Organisation, which is very much our concern. This principle of universality of the Organisation, coupled with the tripartite representation system, are the two main foundations of this Organisation. At the same time, they help the Organisation to achieve one of its most important objectives; namely the improving of working and living conditions in all nations. It also reaffirms the belief of all nations, big or small, that universal and lasting peace can be established only if based on social justice, and 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 conditions in their own countries.

Last year was, indeed, a decisive year in the economic and social development of the United Arab Republic. The closing of the financial year 1964-65 at the end of June this year will witness the completion of the First Five-Year Plan (1960-65), the final results of which are indeed very satisfactory. This is clearly evidenced by the results achieved during the first four years of the Plan. In the base year (1959-60) the total value of our production was £2,548 million; it amounted to £3,292 million at the end of June last year, at constant prices. Our national income was £1,285.2 million in the base year. It was raised to £1,647.8 million at the end of the fourth year, with prices always constant. In the base year there were 6,006,000 persons working in the different sectors of the economy. The figure is 7,085,000 at the end of the fourth year. The total wages bill was £493.5 million in the base year, and reached £770.3 million at the end of the fourth year. These figures clearly illustrate the extent of progress achieved by the United Arab Republic in its endeavours for development and for sufficiency and justice.

During the last year the United Arab Republic continued its endeavours to improve working and living conditions and to establish sound industrial relations. To achieve this objective, the State expanded the scope of committees established to consider the dismissal of workers; these committees include a representative of both the employer and the workers—before a final decision is made by the employing company. The State also established a board for the amicable settlement of labour disputes which the local relations offices fail to settle amicably, and this board also includes representatives of employers and workers.

In the sphere of social insurance, and in accordance with the established policy of accomplishing the various stages of insurance, the State started applying the Health Insurance System in the Governorate of Alexandria in October 1964. This system will be expanded gradually so as to cover by October 1967 all industrial, commercial and service workers of the government, public and private sectors in the United Arab Republic. Insurance against unemployment has also been started to cover industrial, commercial and service workers.

It is expected that the scope of social insurance will expand during the coming few months, so as to cover agricultural workers using mechanical devices, workers employed in companies or societies engaged in agricultural activities, and workers employed in projects or undertakings to be specified by the board of the social insurance scheme, according to the size of the projects and undertakings. Some 150,000 agricultural workers will benefit from this expansion. It may be mentioned that the State's efforts in the field of insurance have no limit, since our target is to have social insurance cover for all workers engaged in all economic sectors. To this end, we have started carrying out studies whereby insurance could cover all workers engaged in all sorts of agricultural activities, and all self-employed persons in industrial, commercial and service institutions.

Believing that co-operation in the field of labour can contribute to the development of the Arab States on a solid and sound basis, and in line with the objectives of the Charter of the League of Arab States, the United Arab Republic, together with its Arab sister countries, is co-operating fully in the labour field. The Arab States give particular attention to maintaining co-ordination between Arab government departments concerned with labour questions. They also aim at reaching similar standards in labour legislation, social insurance and, where possible, the unification of working conditions. They are also planning for vocational training to meet their requirements, taking into consideration the objectives of economic and social development of the Arab States.

This is the third year that we have been discussing the programmes and structure of the I.L.O. It seemed clear that there was a consensus of agreement among member States regarding the Organisation's programmes and their order of priority, especially in respect of development and conditions of work. This agreement is reflected in the Director-General's Report this year. The Report tackles the points that were agreed upon and translates them into practical programmes capable of being applied. The Director-General has linked the implementation of these programmes to the new set-up of the Organisation which was put into effect at the beginning of this year.

I do not want to refer to the proposals put forward by the Director-General in regard to the Organisation's programmes, since these have already been agreed to by all of us. But I wish to emphasise once more the need to devote more attention to vocational training
as well as vocational education, since they represent the basic foundation for the development of human resources.

In his Report the Director-General referred to the procedure to be followed in revising some of the Conventions and Recommendations previously adopted by the Conference. He also referred to the simplified manner for the revision of some Conventions that do not concern basic human rights.

While I have no objection to the principle of simplification in the revision of some Conventions, nevertheless I wish to add that it might be appropriate that the Final Articles of Conventions should include provisions governing the procedures to be followed when the Conference considers introducing any amendments to some Parts or Articles of such Conventions. This can be done by amending the Final Articles of the Conventions, as was done in 1946 and 1962.

While we are talking about the revision of Conventions and Recommendations, I would refer to the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98). Please allow me to give here our point of view, which we have already explained at the Second African Regional Conference held in Addis Ababa late last year.

In the past no States used to recognise the labour movements. They even used to fight these movements and victimise their leaders in order to get rid of any labour unity and of the problems arising from this unity. Even the few countries that used to recognise trade unionism always welcomed the disbandment and dispersion of trade unions.

The key role played by the labour movement in the struggle for liberation and independence and in the fight against imperialism, forced them, on top of their political, social and economic work, to play a role in achieving national unity after independence, by eradicating all traces of imperialism and exploitation, by establishing national sovereignty, by strengthening the national independence by means of a free and sound economic independence, and by furthering social progress.

Since this national unity necessitates, without the slightest doubt, unity of the working forces which, since they pioneer all the forces of the nation, are in effect a basic foundation for economic development, it becomes therefore a natural and logical matter that a free country should create strong trade unions even if that be through legislation, legislation being the normal expression of the free will of the country. Freedom of thought, discussion and work will always remain intact within the unified framework of unionism that is dictated by prevailing national economic and social circumstances.

State recognition of the national labour movements within the country, the encouragement which the State gives these movements in promoting unity and solidarity on the basis that they represent the prime foundation of over-all national unity, should never be cited as an act of aggression against trade unionism, for it is in fact a means of strengthening the labour movement.

Developing countries cannot afford to wait for decades of slow progress and experiments —like other countries—in order finally to achieve the imperative unity of trade unionism. We believe that the dispersion of labour movements in any developing country struggling to strengthen its independence and economy is a national crime. We also believe that failure to exert the efforts necessary to unite and strengthen these movements, including the use of legislation, is even more of a crime.

The measures and standards included in Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 are no longer sufficient to meet the special circumstances and desperate needs of developing countries. I therefore urge that these two Conventions be revised so that they meet the present requirements of developing countries. Conventions Nos. 87 and 98, which I now ask should be revised, deal with basic human rights, and in view of the importance of the subjects they cover I consider that the normal procedure should be followed and not the simplified procedure to which the Director-General referred in his Report.

It is a matter of pleasure that the Director-General should reply to many suggestions raised during the past two sessions of the International Labour Conference. In his Report this year he mentioned that in the new organisation of the International Labour Office special attention has been given to the regional structure of the Organisation and particular attention paid to regional offices in different countries.

The African Continent is impatiently waiting to enjoy the fruits of this new structure. Huge problems are facing this continent, and it hopes that the International Labour Organisation will help to solve them. The continent cherishes great aspirations which it hopes the International Labour Organisation will help realise. The African Continent, as a unit of similar economic and social circumstances, will endeavour to unify labour legislation, to co-operate in the sphere of labour culture and to carry out different studies in the field of labour.

I do hope that the new organisation of regional and branch offices will help to achieve the hopes that have been laid in them and will assist member States in raising the standards of the working class. I also hope to see the fulfilment of what was mentioned in the Director-General’s Report in connection with the appointment of nationals from countries in which these offices operate.

The Director-General’s Report this year was confined to the programmes and organisation of the International Labour Office. The Report did not mention the structure of the International Labour Organisation and the relationship which exists between the three main bodies.

In the last two sessions of the Conference I referred to the need for giving the Conference all its rights as the supreme authority of the Organisation. I also said that the Governing Body must not exceed its authority as an executive body which receives its instructions from the higher authority, which is the Conference.

I also reiterated our point of view in regard to the present system of membership of the Governing Body, which provides for perma-
nent seats for a number of countries. This does not help to ensure a balance between the various bodies of the Organisation, in addition to being a system that has no equal in any of the specialised agencies of the United Nations. It is not in line with the circumstances at present prevailing in the world; it is not in accordance with the principles of equality among member States of the Organisation and it even represents a flagrant discrimination in membership. I therefore urge that the Constitution of the Organisation be so amended as to ensure that the permanent seats are filled by election, without distinction on the grounds of the industrial importance of the country thus represented.

Since its inception the International Labour Organisation has fought for the eradication of racial discrimination and forced labour of all sorts and endeavours to establish humane working conditions for the working class everywhere. The Organisation succeeded in exerting pressure on South Africa and finally compelled the Government of that country to withdraw from the Organisation.

The Organisation also adopted two constitutional amendments whereby it is impossible for South Africa to rejoin the Organisation before it gives up completely its vile policy of racial discrimination.

I am sorry to state that there is still a member State of this Organisation, Portugal, which uses forced labour in an exceedingly vile manner in Mozambique, Angola and in so-called Portuguese Guinea. This Organisation must take firm steps to see that Portugal desists from this vile policy and stops imposing forced labour on African workers in Mozambique. Portugal not only imposes forced labour but also exports those workers to South Africa, a practice which was condemned by this Organisation on the grounds of racial discrimination. This must be brought to an end.

I should like to wish this Conference every success.

Mr. TESEMMA (Government delegate, Ethiopia)—May I be allowed to associate myself with the previous speakers in congratulating the President on his election. I am confident that a man of his calibre and experience is an asset to the Conference. I am also positive that his prestige and vast experience will help us greatly in arriving at decisions which will reflect the long line of tradition and accumulated experience of the I.L.O.

I have read with great interest and enthusiasm the Director-General's commendable Report. It is extensive in scope and analytical in approach. I therefore seize this opportunity to make my observations on some of the most important items which have captured my imagination and which also correspond with the vast problems which my country faces. These crucial matters which are elaborated in the Report at length and with eloquence—namely human resources development, living and working conditions, development of social institutions and international labour standards—are the cornerstone of a balanced socio-economic development. In developing countries where the majority of the people work as small farmers (as in the case of my country) the yield of farms is very low because of an agrarian structure, a lack of modern techniques and education, and other allied forces which stunt economic development. These forces are the major bottlenecks which hamper rural development in emerging countries. Therefore, top priority must be accorded to educating and mobilising manpower resources for the construction of a nation. My Government is aware of its vast manpower resources, and, being convinced of the truth that human resources will have on economic development and political stability, has given priority in its development plan to those projects which employ human resources economically. It has in particular made a modest attempt in the development and conservation of its human resources through community development and co-operatives.

Although there has been a significant recognition of the importance of the utilisation of human resources as a key factor in economic development, it is unfortunate that in most emerging countries, including my own, policies and programmes for the utilisation of human resources are far from adequate. This shortcoming is reflected in too low a priority being given to investment in human capital, and in the absence of co-ordination between manpower planning and national planning. It is therefore of paramount importance, as the Director-General stated in his Report, that policies and programmes concerning the development of human resources should be integrated with economic planning, having regard to the availability of trained personnel, the high level of productive employment, and the need for improving living and working conditions without hampering the requirements of rapid economic development.

My Government has noted with satisfaction the fact that the I.L.O.'s objectives are in line with desirable policies on human resources development. The I.L.O.'s interest in adopting international instruments on the development and utilisation of human resources shows the growing recognition of the seriousness and urgency of the problem. It is my conviction that such international instruments lay the foundation for investment in human resources in over-all development.

In order to deal in a more effective manner with the various problems which arise in promoting higher levels of employment and in improving the quality of labour, human resources development must be based on concrete objectives. These have been fully realised and given shape in the Director-General's Report. I fully subscribe to the objectives suggested in the Report for a strategy in the field of human resources, and I add one more objective to these, namely the choice of technique which forms an integral part of such strategy.

The immense problems of developing countries—unused manpower and the low level of national income, and the correspondingly low level of capital accumulation—can be properly tackled if appropriate techniques are employed, and this will invariably ensure growth of national production on the one hand and rapid...
The Director-General has dealt in a very practical and skilled fashion with the advantages and disadvantages of capital-intensive and labour-intensive modes of investment. I am in complete agreement with him that capital—and labour-intensive methods are productive if employed within the bounds of reason and if the realities of the various stages of economic development are taken into consideration. These two approaches can be complementary if due consideration is given to the emphasis to be placed on the approach that properly accommodates the circumstances of the day. Therefore, I assert with all earnestness that capital- and labour-intensive approaches are complementary rather than contradictory. A balanced combination of the two will, beyond doubt, provide a large volume of employment and ensure a high productivity and growth of national income.

The Director-General in his Report has drawn our attention to the prevailing problems of developing countries. At this particular juncture I feel it necessary to refer to these problems and in doing so I shall beg the indulgence of the President. The problems on which our attention should be focused are unemployment and underemployment, particularly in rural areas, shortages of trained personnel at different levels, low productivity in most forms of activity, illiteracy, an inadequate educational system which does not meet the needs of the time, and traditions and habits which are not favourable to economic and social development.

I fully agree that these are some of the serious problems of the emerging nations and, I also feel that, although the industrialised countries have overcome these basic problems, they do nevertheless have more intricate social and economic problems which have come about as a result of the application of ill-devised solutions to these problems. I would say that the emerging nations are very fortunate because they can learn from the mistakes of those countries and thereby reach a high level of social and economic development in a relatively short time. I therefore humbly request the Secretariat to make intensive studies of a selected group of the industrialised countries and make the findings available for the use of the emerging nations.

Of all the heavy problems which have confronted the emerging nations, unemployment is the worst of all. I do not think I need go into the reasons because the social, psychological and economic repercussions of unemployment have become part and parcel of our daily life. It is my feeling as it is of all of you that the problem of unemployment in its various forms has become a scourge and threat to mankind. Therefore, we need to integrate our efforts to stamp out this threat. This can be achieved if we strengthen our international solidarity in seeking solutions to employment problems.

The I.L.O. has already taken a useful step towards this goal by adopting in 1964 a Convention and Recommendation on employment policy. This can no doubt act as a basis upon which, in the words of the Director-General, we can build further in our efforts to promote the objective of full employment. To achieve this objective, the need for practical research in order to determine which of the possible approaches can best solve the problems of unemployment becomes inevitable. It is also quite obvious that studies of problems connected with employment need as a prerequisite reliable statistics. It is interesting to recall, at this particular juncture, that the Second African Regional Conference, held in my country, emphasised this need and urged in its resolutions increased help from the I.L.O. to African countries for research on economic and social development. It is therefore of great importance to emphasise the need for improving the quality of the labour force through education and vocational training. It is in this line that the I.L.O. needs our undivided support in making vocational training one of the major activities in its programme of human resources development.

I hope you will bear with me if I devote a few words to the development of social institutions, and at the same time state my Government's position on this issue in the light of the Director-General's Report.

My Government is convinced of the need to associate all sectors of the economy in the formulation of sound economic and social policies. If the interests of all sectors of the economy are not accommodated, then economic development not only becomes a futile attempt but also yields negative results. Hence a consolidated approach to national planning makes the growth and development of workers' and employers' organisations imperative. Once these organisations come into being and are recognised as independent representatives of workers and employers they have to participate actively in the national effort for economic and social development.

It is also my conviction that, as the Director-General pointed out in his Report, the complexity of workers' and employers' organisations demands an efficient administrative machinery within the government to be able to deal with the problems that arise from labour-management conflicts. In addition, education and training for people who are involved in labour-relations matters is essential. This will create an atmosphere of understanding among workers, employers and government. The means of carrying out these objectives, however, lie in both economic co-operation and technical assistance.

In conclusion, I would like to bring to the notice of the Conference that my Government has fully realised the advantages of translating international labour standards into action. We have given priority to those international instruments which deal with human rights. We abhor all forms of discrimination which infringe basic human rights. Though the I.L.O., in its endeavour to eliminate the policy of apartheid, as explained in the Report, has worked for the principle of equal opportunity, for freedom and dignity of all human beings irrespective of race and colour, my Government still hopes that this Conference will bring an end to the remnants of apartheid.

Finally, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not congratulate the Director-General for his
learned Report, and I would like also to express the satisfaction of my Government with the reorganisation of the I.L.O. on the basis of the problems facing it. An organisation whose approach and structure are based on the problems to be overcome is in a very good posture to meet the needs of its Members.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. SARAWI (Government delegate, Kuwait)—The most significant development described in the Director-General's Report this year is the substantial implementation of his proposals relating to the structure and programme of the I.L.O. which were so fully debated in the last two sessions. The developments, I am pleased to note, have been effected in such a way as to meet the needs of the many newly independent countries. Problems facing the emerging States obviously require a broadening of the sphere of the international organisations which are helping to create a better world by finding solutions to current problems and by working to eliminate social and economic discrepancies between member States.

Yet, despite the strenuous efforts of these international organisations (amongst which the I.L.O. is one of the most active) in promoting human progress and capacities by means of technical assistance and the exchange of services, we are of the opinion that the gap between the developed and developing countries continues to widen.

The Director-General has placed before us fruitful proposals and has described action which has been taken in order to strengthen the I.L.O. in its sphere of servicing developing countries through greater decentralisation of its work and the establishment of more technical departments. The aim is to carry out its heavy task in the social and economic fields in order to achieve the prosperity and welfare of the peoples of the world and to contribute to world security and peace in a genuine and effective way, that is, through human sources development, industrial relations development, and improvements in working and living conditions.

We welcome this opportunity to contribute some comments on the Organisation, its structure and programme.

Regarding the structure of the I.L.O., we note that the Director-General has mentioned in his Report and budget recommendations proposals which aim at improving and expanding the Organisation's regional offices and activities. However, there are matters which still need our consideration concerning the structure and the procedures of the I.L.O. Our suggestions in this regard are mainly aimed at keeping up with changes in modern world conditions, so as both to secure fair geographical distribution and to safeguard the principles of democracy among the member States in their representation in the various activities of the I.L.O.

We therefore suggest the following in order to achieve a better and smoother running of the I.L.O.—

1. The existing Industrial Committees of the International Labour Organisation should be reviewed in order to secure representation of States whose industries are of special importance. Meanwhile, we should take into account, as far as possible, the representation of the developing countries and concentrate on their special needs with a view to these matters being placed on the agendas of the relevant Committees. We believe that the periods between the meetings of these Committees should be shortened and their Standing Orders modified in such a way as to ensure that their resolutions become more effective. We are also of the opinion that the setting-up of Industrial Committees should be on a regional basis in order to study the industrial problems in the various regions.

It need not be added that in this way the I.L.O.'s growing interest in the decentralisation of its activities will achieve practical results.

2. The periods between the regional conferences should be shortened. Such meetings, we believe, should be held once every two years instead of every four years, as is current practice. Attempts should be made to increase the competence and effectiveness of regional conferences. The advisory committees should meet annually instead of every two years as at present. Concerning these regional conferences, we vigorously urge the use of the language of the region where the conference is held, in addition to the two official languages, English and French.

3. The competence of the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation needs to be widened, as it is the source of all international labour standards set up by the Organisation.

4. The permanent seats on the Governing Body limited to States of chief industrial importance should be cancelled, as there is no justification now for such a privilege to be continued. Members of the Governing Body should be elected in the same manner as that followed by the other specialised agencies in order to maintain the principle of democracy among the member States of the Organisation.

As to the Organisation's programme, we favour and support the steps taken regarding the reorganisation of the International Labour Office and its regional branches in the course of the past year. In this sphere the Office consists of three large administrative units with areas of competence corresponding to the following broad programme categories: (1) the formulation and implementation of the I.L.O.'s programme; (2) major programme areas covering human resources development, social institutions and conditions of life and work; (3) the setting of international labour standards and procedures for their revision.

We also support the establishment of 11 technical and servicing departments which are concerned with technical, economic and social matters. In addition, these departments are responsible for all headquarters and regional machinery. Thus, their functions cover the whole range of I.L.O. activities.

But, in order that the services of the Organisation should be fully and equally available to all member States, particularly at a regional level, and on questions of human resources development, we believe that attention should be concentrated on the following points: (1) expansion of the aid offered through the
technical assistance programmes; (2) broadening of the field of research and dissemination of information concerning the many different peoples of the member States of the I.L.O. and in particular those of the developing countries; (3) recruitment of a large number of qualified persons and experts from developing countries at the headquarters and in the regional offices of the I.L.O.

As regards technical assistance, it is obvious that more benefit can be obtained by using the language of the country where a training project is set up.

In the sphere of the Arab world, we are of the opinion that the Organisation should cooperate with the Arab League in order to strengthen the I.L.O.'s translation section. The same can be said about training centres and the translation of research work and studies into the Arabic language.

Widening the scope of research, and the dissemination of information about status and conditions of developing countries, require appropriate measures for the expansion of human resources development programmes and services offered by the technical assistance programmes to these countries.

As an example, we may take a country like Kuwait where the exploitation of oil has resulted in the expansion of many towns and villages. Most of them are dependent upon supplying the daily consumption needs of employees working in the neighbouring oil areas and in supplying transport services. We feel that a special study to prepare a programme to develop handicrafts and small industries adapted to the needs of these towns and villages is necessary.

With regard to the efforts which should be exerted to recruit specialists and experts from developing countries for the I.L.O., we believe that to do so would help achieve the objectives and implement the programmes aimed at expanding the I.L.O.'s activities at the regional level.

In conclusion, we would strongly emphasise that in any revision of international labour standards our main principles should be based on fundamental human rights as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. After all, it was on this basis that many member States joined the United Nations.

Accordingly, the same principles should govern the Conference, the Governing Body and the International Labour Office when we adopt Conventions, follow up their ratification and study the application of their provisions.

Finally, I will conclude by commending the progressive steps taken by the Director-General in achieving an important part of the objectives which were set by our colleagues with the aim of strengthening the structure of the I.L.O. and expanding its activities in order to meet the conditions at present prevailing in the modern world.

I should like to take this opportunity to express my genuine appreciation of the Director-General's Report and his personal efforts. Meanwhile I would like, Sir, to convey on my behalf and in the name of my country my congratulations on your election as President of this Conference.

Mr. KAPABTIS (Employers' delegate, Cyprus)—I feel greatly honoured to address, for the first time from this rostrum, this distinguished audience. In my turn, I wish, Mr. President, warmly to congratulate you and, through you, your most able Vice- President, in your most able Vice-Presidents which you are holding. I should like also to express, on my own behalf and on behalf of the organisation which I represent, our great appreciation for the excellent Report which the Director-General has presented again this year.

It would be almost impossible for an individual speaker to touch upon all the points raised in the work of this Conference. I shall endeavour to unfold my thoughts on a number of them, and particularly on the development of social institutions.

The scheme for greater decentralisation of the work of the I.L.O. is a most welcome development, because this will meet the ever-increasing trend towards regional co-operation and will facilitate the growth of still better relations and common action in the achievement of the standards set by the I.L.O. Of particular importance to my country is the proposed establishment of a regional branch for the Middle East. In this connection I should like to repeat the suggestion made at one of the previous debates on the subject that Cyprus, because of its geographical position, would seem an excellent choice for the location of this branch. The present political anomaly in the island will, I am sure, not adversely affect the decision on the matter, as both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots have come to realise that it is only through peaceful coexistence that their best interests and aspirations are served.

The better utilisation of the labour force and the improvement of its quality so as to become more productive will, I believe, provide the key to increased national income and increased benefits to the workers. All endeavours in this direction should be geared towards the needs of our changing world, having regard to technological improvements and social changes and also to plans of national development.

In this era of automation and electronics we are faced with an acute problem of flexibility and adaptation: flexibility in our plans and policies, and adaptation to the new skills which are required. Mechanisation, automation, technological and structural changes do not result in the displacement and obsolescence of the human factor as a necessary tool of production: rather they result in the obsolescence of skills and techniques, because automation and technology destroy jobs but at the same time they create new ones requiring a different kind of skill and ability. This is, in my opinion, the crucial problem with which we are confronted: to adapt ourselves and our skills to the needs of the new era in which we live. We can achieve it only through systematic training and retraining at all levels.

Coming from a predominantly rural country, I cannot but subscribe to the suggestion that priority should be given to the planning and organisation of manpower in rural areas. This will facilitate the industrialisation process of
As the Director-General points out in his Report, however, it is imperative that, in carrying out the human resources programme, due importance should be given to the strengthening of research. The I.L.O. should not only encourage but also provide the means to developing countries and otherwise assist in the implementation of that aspect of the programme.

Turning to the question of the development of social institutions, there can be no doubt that occupational organisations are now called upon to perform functions over and above their traditional tasks of defending their members' interests. The participation of such organisations in the development of the society as a whole, through their shoulders new responsibilities calling for particular attention. It is an axiom that the economic and social development of a country should be the joint effort of all its citizens. The representative organised social groups should be given the chance to actively participate in the development of their country and should be fully consulted prior to the formulation of policies by the competent authority of the Government. The Director-General very correctly points out: "It is only with the collective support and enthusiasm of all sections of the population that such programmes can have an adequate and effective impact on the problems of underdevelopment." This form of consultation will not only stimulate the new role which our social institutions are called upon to play but it will also help in harmonising the relations among the three parties—government, employers, and workers.

However, we express caution lest this new role of social institutions be construed as reducing a government's role to govern. In my opinion, at least, nothing should impede a government from exercising its function of formulating and administering its country's socio-economic plans. This fundamental function should not be eliminated or diminished but, with the country's destiny and prosperity, should be stimulated by the association of social institutions in the initial phases of consultation prior to the formulation of policies.

In the field of labour relations much progress can be made through the development of administrative machinery to deal with problems pertaining to this field. I am proud to say that in Cyprus our "Basic Agreement" was signed in November 1962; the text was reproduced in toto in the International Labour Review of March 1963. The excellent results that the Basic Agreement has yielded to Cyprus industry prompts me to express the wish that other developing countries could work out similar procedures.

Perhaps the most crucial point raised under the broad subject of development of social institutions is that of association of workers in the management of undertakings. I must declare from the outset that both I myself and the association which I represent believe that the workers can make an important and constructive contribution both to the economy of the country and to the efficient running of an undertaking. However, their association in the management of undertakings should be viewed, with extreme caution. If this is taken to mean that the workers are called upon to share management's role of managing our answer is "No". We object to this idea for more than one reason. Primarily, our firm belief in maximum efficiency through co-operation presupposes the survival and growth not just of one but of both of the parties, management and labour. Such survival and growth can be secured through the strengthening and not through the restriction of each side's fundamental functions. Each party has an important role to play. Management's primary role is to manage, i.e. to plan, control, direct, coordinate and motivate. These are not only its rights but also its obligations. Rights carry obligations but obligations must also carry rights. Management has the sole responsibility for the success of this role. It should, therefore, have the sole right, which it cannot share with anybody else. Arrangements in the field of industrial relations must leave unimpaired management prerogatives and freedoms, without which it cannot meet its responsibilities.

Moreover, workers are ill-prepared to undertake or share the managerial responsibilities and functions of formulating policies and taking decisions. But even leaving this obstacle aside, the association of workers in the management of undertakings would deprive them of their essential role of acting as a brake against unilateral decisions by management. The purpose of co-operation would be defeated by the resulting oxymoron and industrial strife would prevail.

If, however, the association of workers in the management of undertakings, or, to put it otherwise, the participation of the workers in the formulation of some management decisions, is interpreted to mean a form of consultation between management and employees in a genuine desire not only to keep employees fully informed on all matters affecting employee-employer relationships but also to enable them to air their views and constructively contribute to the effective management of the enterprise, then of course the whole question can be viewed from an entirely different angle.

Provided the workers possess the necessary experience and maturity in industrial relations, their participation in consultative machinery can be welcomed as long as it is clearly understood that the purpose is not to hinder the management of an undertaking in the exercise
of its regular and customary functions. The aim of such machinery should be the effective utilisation of the labour force so that the attainment of the purposes of the organisation results to the benefit of the labour force, of the company as a profit-making organisation and, what is of even greater importance, of the society to which they both belong.

I should like now to comment briefly on that part of the Report which deals with living and working conditions. In the world of progress we live in, it would be futile to resist the betterment of living standards even if, speaking theoretically, such was the intention of a particular class of the population. My association's philosophy in this connection is guided not by the impossibility of such a negative attitude of resistance but by a genuine desire to join in the common effort of raising the nation's welfare and, through that, in the promotion of the workers' living and working conditions. We fully realise that it is only by working in complete harmony with the trade unions that the economy of our island can be considerably improved. Such harmony is both the cause and result of greater productivity and efficiency, and it is through increased productivity and efficiency that the pursuit and achievement of higher living standards for the workers can materialise. As the Conference pointed out last year, the need is for raising minimum standards of living in relation to economic growth.

I am sure that my colleagues will explore more fully the various points raised in the Report. It only remains for me to express once more my association's high appreciation for the excellent Report produced by the Director-General and his team of assistants.

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

Monday, 7 June 1965, 3 p.m.

President : Mr. Rasa

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL : DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from Spanish : Mr. RECALDE (Employers' delegate, Argentina)—I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on the recognition which your election implies of your high personal qualities and wide experience of the work of the International Labour Organisation. Next, I bring to the Government, Workers' and Employers' delegates of all participating countries the cordial greetings of the Argentine employers whom I have the honour to represent at this session. We come here convinced of the increasing need for a harmonious settlement of the many problems which arise daily in the economic and social fields in this complex age.

Among the gravest difficulties which face private enterprise in the developing countries in general, and particularly in Latin America, is the political, economic and social instability which keeps us in constant insecurity. Institutional instability varies in degree, ranging from continual ministerial changes to the overthrow of government by force. It not only breaks the continuity of economic policies but also causes the reduction, modification or abolition of plans and, consequently, of concrete activities to provide an infrastructure which will permit of national economic development.

Private undertakings, which should usually develop in economic systems and circumstances appropriate to their character, are obliged by institutional changes to face consequences which they are unable to foresee. This prevents undertakings which are linked one way or another to government plans from carrying out their long-term projects because they are deprived of the indispensable security. Consequently, entrepreneurs tend to engage in speculative activities with the object of protecting themselves against unexpected changes and choices. In these circumstances the national effort cannot, of course, be duly utilised for the development of the country.

These repeated crises stem from a vicious circle, since institutional instability results from economic and financial weakness, and institutional and economic instability in its turn prevents economic development policies from being implemented. As economic conditions are reflected in the social field, there is created an atmosphere conducive to even greater institutional instability and to more radical and violent changes in the political and economic structure. Latin America has already had experience of the lengths to which this disintegrating process can go if it is not rapidly and entirely stopped.

I have referred to the grave effect which such events have on balanced national development, and therefore one of the main objectives which the Latin American entrepreneurs must set themselves is to bring about the rapid stabilisation of political structures so as to facilitate national and commercial development. To this necessity is added the weight of the social disquiet of today, which reflects a desire for a higher standard of living in the great Latin American community, where over 50 per cent. of the inhabitants have an income of no more than $120 a year. This deep-rooted social disquiet cannot be overcome in terms of the present economic conditions in Latin America. Any improvement depends absolutely on profound changes, and these can be brought about if our countries are motivated by an energetic development policy such as that contemplated in the Punta del Este Charter.

This picture includes one encouraging sign in the world of business. Many entrepreneurs in our country understand that they have a responsibility in the present situation which obliges them to persevere so as to increase their influence on political decisions and thus to contribute to institutional stability, social peace and economic development.

I have just referred to the social disquiet which again and again has caused explosive conflicts in Latin America. Of course, such events have a direct effect for the worse on political institutions and also on economic structures. Any solution must attack these problems at the root, otherwise they will persist and will even be aggravated. Therefore the reform must be as thorough and effective as the Director-General says in his Report should be the case. Measures which have not these characteristics will be useless.

I may remind you that the last F.A.O. report, discussed at the recent conference at Viña del Mar, when considering the problem of agriculture with which the I.L.O. so rightly deals,
that only by action agreed between employers and workers, aimed at objectives which are essential to our economy, can we move forward along the difficult path ahead. We see economic programming as an instrument which must be shared and handled with direct cooperation by employers and workers, for we do not believe in the success of plans imposed by the State or indeed of any plan not accepted in advance and supported by those for whom it is intended: namely the employers and workers.

We therefore recommend, as an organ reflecting this social co-operation, the establishment of an economic and social council on which employers, workers and professional men and women would be represented and would give effect to their responsibility for sharing in the economic and social direction of our country. After years of struggle a start has been made with this scheme in some of the provinces, and the resulting spirit of regional solidarity has been encouraging. We hope that the present parliament will finally face the problem and establish such a council at the national level, thus testing the degree of understanding which employers and workers have of their responsibility in the conduct of the nation's economic and social affairs.

We think all these factors show that the essential objectives which brought the I.L.O. into existence are acquiring a wider acceptance with the passage of time, and that this enhances their depth and scope. It is a great satisfaction to us employers to state publicly our recognition of the historic and social understanding with which the I.L.O. is facing the problem of reforming its own programme and structure.

It is thus reacting to the mighty changes which have occurred in the world since the Second World War, and we hope that other international technical and financial organisations will do the same.

I had to say this because we consider that popular support for national development activities, and the participation of broad social groups therein, is as important as or more important than the formulation of national and international objectives. This was recognised at the last session of the International Labour Conference. We are glad to note that this view, to which we attach particular importance, is emphasised also by the Director-General as fundamental to the work of the I.L.O. itself.

In closing I should like to wish the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference every possible success. May its spirit of solidarity and understanding carry us beyond the national borders, particularly those of the developing countries. May the efforts of all groups—Governments, Employers and Workers—be reflected in a permanent improvement of the living and working conditions of the people through lasting expansion of the economic capacity of their countries.

Mr. BHEEKHABHAI (Government delegate, India)—Allow me, Mr. President, first of all to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.
The Director-General has given us a purposeful Report this year. For the last two years the focus of discussion in the Conference has been on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. The many proposals made by delegates from different countries are being sorted out by the Governing Body and its Working Party. Meanwhile, the Director-General has prepared the major programme proposals based on the consensus that has emerged. I am glad that he has already taken action in reorganising the Office and has formulated proposals on major programme areas on which agreement exists.

The crucial question for the majority of our I.L.O. membership is development, and they want the I.L.O.'s activities to be development-oriented. Development is the need of the hour, the cry of the developing countries. The promotion of social justice to which the I.L.O. is wedded can be a reality only if the gap between the rich nations and the poor ones is progressively narrowed by a more rapid improvement of the economies of the less developed countries. Thus, though the Organisation's old moorings and basic aims must necessarily remain, the technique of promoting these aims has to undergo a change. It is no longer a question of setting labour standards which the developing countries can hardly hope to realise or maintain; it is more a question of rendering direct assistance in development, so that developing countries are in a position to apply the advanced standards.

One of the hopeful features of our times is that there is a growing realisation in the developed countries that, so far as underdeveloped countries are concerned priority must be given to the development needs of the world's poorer regions that I welcome the programme priorities suggested by the Director-General. There is no doubt that so far as underdeveloped countries are concerned priority must be given to the development of human resources. In fact this is the one resource which they possess in plenty. Hitherto it has been stated—and I am glad to come to it will continue to operate—rather as a burden and a drag on their economies. The task is to transform it into an economic asset. One way of doing so is to undertake programmes of skill development. The I.L.O. has already done considerable work in this field and the Director-General's Report envisages further programmes. May I suggest that, apart from study, research and expert assistance, it would be worth while for the I.L.O. to take a direct hand in skill promotion in the underdeveloped regions. Why should it not be possible for the I.L.O. to open training institutions in different regions or to provide direct assistance to such institutions where they exist? That seems to me the surest way in which the I.L.O. can make a direct contribution to economic growth in these regions.

The allied problem of employment promotion on an adequate scale has been a baffling one even for our advanced countries that have travelled a good distance in development. We in India have completed two five-year plans and are nearing the end of a third. It has been one of our aims to make our plan projects employment-oriented. But in spite of the new employment opportunities created over the last decade or so, the economy is still burdened with a backlog of unemployment of very large dimensions. During the fourth plan period our expectation in respect of employment promotion can at best be to hold the line on unemployment, that is to say, to be able to absorb the net growth in the labour force during the plan period. I think the situation in other developing countries may be similar. The I.L.O. may not be in a position to assist directly in increasing the tempo of economic growth so that unemployed labour is more rapidly absorbed. But through its study of it has operated and perhaps it can perhaps suggest measures which will maximise employment opportunities within the resources available for promoting economic growth.

The Director-General has in his Report referred to the Working Party of the Governing Body on programme and structure, which has been entrusted with the task of formulating a widely acceptable body of conclusions for the development of the I.L.O.'s programme and structure. I think it should be one of the tasks of the I.L.O., through its research and information programme, to dispel such doubts and misgivings, and convince those who entertain them that their ultimate good is bound up with the rapid development of the underdeveloped regions of the world.

It is true that there is a growing understanding of this historical nexus between the two groups of countries, but meanwhile the gap between them also seems to grow wider. The I.L.O., with its tripartite lines of communication, must play its role in breaking down the mental barriers that inhibit the process of international co-operation. It is in this context of the development needs of the world's poorer regions that I welcome the programme priorities suggested by the Director-General. There is no doubt that so far as underdeveloped countries are concerned priority must be given to the development of human resources. In fact this is the one resource which they possess in plenty. Hitherto it has been stated—and I am glad to come to it will continue to operate—rather as a burden and a drag on their economies. The task is to transform it into an economic asset. One way of doing so is to undertake programmes of skill development. The I.L.O. has already done considerable work in this field and the Director-General's Report envisages further programmes. May I suggest that, apart from study, research and expert assistance, it would be worth while for the I.L.O. to take a direct hand in skill promotion in the underdeveloped regions. Why should it not be possible for the I.L.O. to open training institutions in different regions or to provide direct assistance to such institutions where they exist? That seems to me the surest way in which the I.L.O. can make a direct contribution to economic growth in these regions.

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is in conformity with the views expressed at the previous sessions of the Conference and enve-
lops a concept that is universally accepted today and which this Conference, I am sure, 
would wholeheartedly endorse. I have noted 
with great pleasure that the Working Party has 
recognised the need for promotion of small 
industries to accelerate rural development and 
I hope that the I.L.O. will in the very near 
future begin to play a significant role, indeed 
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future begin to play a significant role, indeed 
with great pleasure that the Working Party has 
wholeheartedly endorsed. I have noted 
today and which this Conference, I am sure, 
develops a concept that is universally accepted 
with its plans of development without caring 
for the well-being of the workers and the working class who alone can make such a plan 
success. Labour, with its free voice, is bound 
to have its claims met. The assistance afforded 
in this by the standards set up by the I.L.O. 
can at best be marginal. The main urge for 
maintaining high labour standards has to 
come, and does come, from within democratic 
society itself. That is why my plea would be 
for greater emphasis on development activities 
rather than on standard-setting. I am not for 
a moment suggesting that standard-setting is 
not important, but the point is to promote 
such conditions as are most attainable. And considering the wide dis-
parities in development, it is extremely difficult 
to formulate international standards which 
will be well within the reach of developing 
countries and at the same time provide a 
progressive impetus to those countries which 
are more fully developed. Perhaps the Con-
ference could do with devoting a little more 
time to those developmental aspects of the Organisation's work which are of 
immediate concern to the majority of its 
Members.

In this context I should like to make one 
point about the Director-General's Report 
that. I expect the Report will continue to be 
purposeful and full of concrete proposals. As 
Part II of his Report contains an account of 
the activities of the Organisation, Part I may 
contain concrete programme proposals. It 
might be a worthwhile innovation if the Direc-
tor-General's Report were considered not only 
in a general discussion but in greater detail, 
through the committee procedure, so that its 
proposals could be processed through the close 
scrutiny of a Committee of 
Before I conclude, I should like to refer to 
one other matter which dominated the delibera-
tions of the Conference during the last two 
years. I refer to the question of apartheid 
in the Republic of South Africa. The Conference 
adopted a constitutional amendment on the 
subject last year. It also adopted a Declara-
tion concerning apartheid and a programme of 
action for its elimination in labour matters. 
In terms of the Declaration the Director-
General has prepared a special report on the 
present situation in South Africa. The report 
reveals a very depressing picture. The situation 
in South Africa seems to have worsened since 
the Declaration was adopted. As the practice 
of apartheid constitutes a challenge to the basic 
principles of this Organisation, we cannot afford 
to sit by and watch the situation going from 
bad to worse. In the solemn Declaration 
adopted last year, the Conference made "a 
pressing appeal to the governments, employers 
and workers of all States Members of the 
International Labour Organisation to combine 
their efforts and put into application all 
appropriate measures to lead the Republic 
of South Africa to heed the call of humanity and 
renounce its shameful policy of apartheid ".

I should like to stress that, apart from the 
governments, the employers and workers repre-
sented in this Conference also have their duty 
to do in this matter. We must all honour the 
obligation willingly undertaken in this tripartite 
forum. I hope it will be possible for the Direc-
tor-General to be present in the next report full 
information on what action has been taken by 
the governments, employers and workers in the 
member States to make the Declaration as 
effective as possible.
It is an honour for me to return to the International Labour Conference and to bring a cordial, friendly and respectful greeting from the Venezuelan Confederation of Workers. Once more, it is our duty at this session to discuss the vital problems of our peoples in the rapidly changing world of today. Again, as always, my Confederation wishes to take part in the unrelenting search for a just society in which human rights, political freedom, fair distribution of wealth, equal rights among nations and an universal peace will be fully ensured.

Those are and have always been the objectives of the Venezuelan trade union organisation, which re-elected me as its President last November at the Fifth Workers’ Congress of our country. I can therefore reiterate our support for the views and actions of the Director-General and welcome his Report as a positive contribution to our work. Its essence is well expressed when it says in Part II that “the I.L.O. is entering upon 1965... fully prepared to play its part in the attainment of the objectives which have been set for the Year—co-operation between all nations in the maintenance of peace and in the promotion of economic and social advancement for all people, and the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms.”

One cannot but recognise in the spirit and emphasis of that sentence the intention to serve mankind in a vigorous and constructive manner and in full conformity with the principles which this Organisation exists to implement.

Increasingly, therefore, the I.L.O. may perhaps be called the purest expression of a universal society in which democratic governments and the employers and workers of the world, freely represented, co-ordinate their action to provide the communities of the world with a common condition of harmony and justice, peace and brotherhood, equity and mutual respect.

All this becomes the more necessary when, as is the case today, blind, negative forces are apparently being released, when here and there about the world international violence is promoted, national sovereignty disregarded, popular self-determination violated by armed action and established order overthrown. An orderly background is indispensable to the proper conduct of the production process and respect for the rights and dignity of the workers.

This year, 1965, has been called the International Co-operation Year but let us beware lest, with bitter irony, by endless tension, absurd interventions, dictatorship and discrimination, a period so happily styled may be converted into a “year of international non-co-operation”. For our part, we are bent on continuing our positive action to ensure the safe destiny of our generation, which is the urgent imperative, and that of future generations, which is the enormous responsibility of the men and women of today. Here, in this world-wide social laboratory, we are faced with definite, immediate tasks, with immensely important repercussions. In the committees of the Conference, we are already working and must continue to work so that the various items may be rapidly handled and so that the appropriate targets may be set as fundamental requirements of a world order better suited to the qualities of mankind, the original destiny of man, the history of the working class—that long struggle to find the dawn of a better world.

In this very short synthesis of the essence of the Report, where certain principles are clearly reaffirmed and certain appeals are made, I shall not go into detail concerning the particular items on the agenda of the present session. However, I should like, in general terms, to state the position of the Venezuelan Workers’ delegation on the most important business now before us.

We condemn most clearly and absolutely the policy of racial discrimination which disregards the rights of the workers and the peoples. Accordingly, we are in favour of the strongest action in the flagrant and recurrent case of the Republic of South Africa, whose practice of apartheid and whose obstinacy, despite the exhortations of the I.L.O., are an insolent defiance of civilisation and moral law.

Regarding the employment of young persons and the employment of women with family responsibilities in accordance with the principles approved at the 48th Session of the Conference: its provisions are essentially identical with the statutory position already existing in Venezuela as regards the employment of women.

In the same social and humanitarian spirit, we support the Proposed Conclusions on the employment of women with family responsibilities in accordance with the principles approved at the 48th Session of the Conference: its provisions are essentially identical with the statutory position already existing in Venezuela as regards the employment of women.

I can say the same regarding agrarian reform and co-operatives, those appropriate and powerful instruments for the emancipation of the workers, which my country is using vigorously in its general economic development. I therefore urge the Conference that the time has come to give all developing countries the efficient tools they need to speed up economic development and reach a condition of genuine welfare.

The Venezuelan Workers’ delegation comes to this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference with its usual vocation for service and determination to help in the general effort towards improving the social structure of the world and enhancing the great democratic values of our time.

Let me state once more our belief that only in a just society, where the dignity of the workers and the security of their homes are ensured shall we be able to speak of a world prepared to witness the great adventure of man on earth, and only then can we have full faith in the destiny of the international organisations at a time when that faith may appear to be diminishing.

In conclusion, let me reassert the doctrine of the Venezuelan Confederation of Workers, which is, in brief, the search for a better world,
where man may live free from poverty, ignorance, sickness and tyranny.

Last of all, I am happy to congratulate the Director-General on his efficient efforts, directed as they are towards the fundamental objectives of the I.L.O., and to express the warmest wishes for the success of the present session, which will, I am sure, make an important contribution to the preservation of peace between men and between nations.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. CUEVAS (Workers' delegate, Colombia)—It is of special significance that at this time, as at previous times, the three groups which are most involved with the problems of labour are represented: these groups are Government, Employers and Workers. From true understanding between them must of necessity result those solutions which can guarantee the rights of all within the framework of just laws which permit democratic government.

A short while ago in my country we carried out an experiment along these lines, when, for the first time, we set up a committee to analyse national problems from an economic, fiscal, social, labour, administrative and legal standpoint; this committee issued important recommendations which are at present being studied by the Parliament and by the Government. On this committee were represented: the Government, by the Ministers concerned with these questions; employers, by representatives of the most important sectors of production; and workers, by delegates from the two major workers' movements having legal personality in Colombia—U.T.C. and C.T.C.—as well as those political parties which under our constitutional system are responsible for the government of Colombia.

This high-level meeting was extremely valuable, because it was possible for each of the sectors concerned with the social and economic problems of the country to engage in a friendly and cordial dialogue on an equal footing. From this we shall derive fruitful experience of great importance for the future.

We workers have gradually been acquiring a leading position in the discussion of public matters, going beyond the marginal activity represented by the simple struggle for wages, housing, education and health. Inspired by higher concepts as to what the right to work means, we are acquiring the right to participate in all matters relating to the choice of objectives, development plans, and general legislative action on social problems, in order to direct them along fairer lines.

A democracy must not be just a political system which permits the free choice by the governed of those who govern them, but must also give the right to participate in a permanent and constant manner in the establishment of the framework from which the economic organisation and the social structure of the country derive. In the legislative bodies, in the Government, and in the management of industry and trade measures are daily taken which affect the situation of the workers. I could, for instance, mention the tax structure, monetary policy and prices. It is obvious that, having representation in all those places where measures are taken which reflect social and economic phenomena, we shall be able to ensure that better consideration is given to the interests of the workers. In the so-called underdeveloped countries, it is particularly necessary to make a greater drive for solidarity and understanding of the common problems. It is in those countries that there is still a high level of underemployment, the worst conditions of work and, what is more serious, the lowest degree of governmental stability. Latin America today is undergoing a process of great change and of permanent cultural modifications which place us, the workers, in the position of having to take up a challenge. We cannot, therefore, be satisfied merely with bearing witness to the decisions and the measures taken by governments; we must construct the destinies of our countries.

It is not enough to aspire, as is recognised in all assemblies of labour, be they national or international, to a just society offering great possibilities in the fields of housing, standards of living, labour, education and vocational training, and leisure, thus exalting human dignity. We must also implement those measures which will permit us to achieve this. Up to now we have, through direct discussion, been able to attain an ever-increasing recognition of our rights, and these are now the cornerstones of democratic organisations, but we must still seek to employ those means which will enable workers to exercise greater influence on the over-all organisation of the State, particularly in those fields relating to economic and social aspects. An example is the right to profit-sharing in order to obtain a higher level of responsibility among the workers, using this economic improvement to solve those problems which wages or public assistance cannot satisfy. The workers must also have a sufficient voice in legislative bodies in order to ensure that laws correspond to social realities.

The adequate representation of workers on governmental bodies entrusted with the implementation of standards on economic and social matters should also be sought.

Hitherto, many countries, among them Colombia, have failed to ratify many inter-national labour Conventions. This problem has not been solved because the persons or the bodies responsible for the handling of these instruments do not exercise sufficient pressure since they are not directly concerned, and not enough attention is paid to the workers' appeals in order to ensure the attainment of what is required on an international level. We must recognise the fact that not all agreements approved by governments are fully implemented. The workers must have a greater influence in the affairs of the State if we wish to ensure that the aspirations based on Recommendations and Conventions adopted in our Conference are fully implemented.

We meet here annually in order to adopt new Conventions and Recommendations. In the past, many have not been fully implemented. Doubtless, if all such agreements had been fully implemented we could today, in 1965, be dealing with more up-to-date or more complex problems. It is obvious that the items on the agenda of this Conference must be stressed as matters of prime importance. The
role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of countries, the employment of young miners, the employment of women with family responsibilities and agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects, assume great importance in considering the situation of workers. At this session we are going to reach conclusions based on viewpoints which countries have set forth, and take advantage of the experience of those who here reflect the concern of the regions which they represent. We are all committed to the common cause of solving both great and small problems.

It would be of fundamental importance, in the light of the Director-General’s Report, to look to the destiny of labour organisations in the free world. We are facing very complex demands. We recognise the fact that each day the workers’ task of extending the social order becomes more complex, and it is much more difficult to solve the problems involved. Our means of solving the problems are increasing, and we must consider the interaction of all groups and to real participation in the plans set based on viewpoints which countries have set forth. We must consider the interaction of all groups and to real participation in the plans set up for the administration of States, the administration of undertakings, and in general all bodies which take measures which can directly affect workers.

We workers accept the fact that economic and social progress should be essentially nourished by personal initiative, be it individual or collective, but we also believe that public powers must direct, promote and develop production as a function of social progress to the benefit of everyone. In this way the State can act to avoid the exploitation of the weak by the strong and to ensure that government and law will most fully guarantee freedom and equality.

We believe that international labour organisations must find means of ensuring that each country will have the constant understanding required between government, employers and labour, not only as a means of discussion but rather as a means of interaction and interrelation, permitting them all to participate in the establishment of such organisations. Only in this manner can we ensure that which we here daily express here and what we resolutely decide here will be reflected by reality and by progress.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ÜNAL (Government delegate, Turkey)—Mr. President, may I first of all address to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of this important Conference. May I also thank the Director-General for his excellent Report which takes account of the observations and suggestions made by delegates at previous sessions of the Conference.

As you know, in his statement at the end of the Conference last year, the Director-General stated that the three main fields of action—firstly, the utilisation of human resources; secondly, labour-management relations and the growth of social institutions; thirdly, working and living conditions—were of particular importance in establishing the future I.L.O. programme. We are glad to see the Director-General pay so much attention to those three sectors in his Report this year and we hope that participants in the Conference will support the proposals and suggestions made in the Report. We hope, too, that this year’s general debate will confirm that the Conference approves the general trend of I.L.O. programmes in those three main sectors, in which priority has been given to the question of the utilisation of human resources, i.e. the planning of the utilisation of manpower, the creation of employment possibilities and vocational training. Indeed, economic and social development is impossible without the rational development and utilisation of human resources. This problem, with which the developing countries are familiar, also arises in industrialised countries as a result of technical progress. Manpower planning is an urgent necessity for raising the level of skills and especially for the training of technicians and supervisory personnel, particularly in certain developing countries where the employment situation is becoming increasingly serious because of the rapid growth of the population. Manpower planning a very difficult economic and social problem will arise as a result of underemployment, unemployment and the rural exodus.
The International Labour Conference adopted at its 45th Session a Convention and a Recommendation concerning employment policy. In 1962 it also adopted a Convention and a Recommendation concerning vocational training. These texts include the principal measures to be taken for a programme for the rational utilisation of human resources. In my view it is essential for each member State to draw up an appropriate active policy in this connection and to continue to concentrate their efforts on improving the environment and conditions of work.

The second sector that has been highlighted in the Report is that of labour-management relations, the promotion of trade unions and the development of social institutions. Here the aim is to give a new direction to the activities of the I.L.O. so as to enable it to make a positive contribution to the development of labour-management relations adapted to the requirements of a world in a state of full evolution. By its very nature, this is the sector which relates most closely to the fundamental concept of the I.L.O., for cooperation between the competent authorities and the employers' and workers' organisations in the economic and social field is becoming increasingly general. Thus solutions to the problems arising must be acceptable and fair. The systems to be established should provide for productivity. With this end in view, it is important not to lose sight of the essential point, namely that social groups must be encouraged to organise themselves and to train themselves. I think that I.L.O. action in the field of labour-management relations and the development of the institutions which determine and harmonise these relations should be inspired by the principle of co-operation between the interested parties so as to achieve positive results at the national level and so that the employers' and workers' organisations may act with a new sense of responsibility in accomplishing their more traditional task of protecting the interests of their members.

The third point relates to living and working conditions. For the I.L.O. this is a traditional field, but much has still to be done to improve the situation of the worker from the point of view of occupational safety and health, guaranteeing his means of existence and other conditions in the restricted sense of satisfying material needs. Whatever the nature of his work, man can also find happiness in living. He can found a family, feed it, house it, clothe it, educate his children, climb in the social hierarchy and not remain cut off from a cultural existence.

The I.L.O. should not confine itself to asserting and defending certain fundamental rights, but it should engage in far broader activities than hitherto. The means by which the I.L.O. can ensure an improvement in living conditions are varied but I think that action undertaken by it with a view to the better utilisation of human resources and the establishment of a good system of labour-management relations would be effective.

These are the few comments I should like to offer in connection with the new activities of the I.L.O. However, I should like to stress the importance of another question, namely co-ordination. It is not a question which arises solely within the I.L.O.; it extends also to its relations with other international organisations.

In Part I of his Report the Director-General proposes the establishment of several departments. Under this proposal the Human Resources Department would deal with all sectors of manpower and with all technical questions arising from the utilisation of human resources in various fields—manpower planning and organisation; employment; training and advanced training of supervisory personnel; vocational training; vocational guidance; classification of occupations and vocational retraining. The I.L.O. has acquired considerable experience in this field since the war and it can and should proceed with firmness. It should also take the initiative in ensuring that the other international organisations take account of the I.L.O.'s functions and abstain from duplicating them. The competence of the I.L.O. in this field as well as in the other sectors dealt with in the Report is undeniable. The recruitment of experts and consultants by the various international organisations for identical work must be avoided. Likewise, duplication and overlapping must be eliminated.

On the other hand, I should like to stress the need to expand technical assistance still further. In other words, the role which technical assistance has played up to date in I.L.O. activities should become even greater, especially as regards the developing countries.

Before concluding I should like to dwell for a few minutes on the question of agrarian reform, which is also on the agenda of this Conference.

The expression "agrarian reform" as used in the report on this subject encompasses a broad programme which includes multiple elements, one of these essential elements being agrarian reform proper. Indeed, agrarian reform is understood to mean a group of measures designed to improve existing land structures including modification of the basic system—that is, reforms which, within the framework of an extensive programme, aim at giving the land to those who work it in order to improve the position of farmers, sharecroppers and farm labourers.

Agrarian reform has become an important element in the development of many countries but the problem is a delicate one and requires particularly careful attention. Social justice and productivity must underlie all measures taken in this field. Social justice and productivity are the two essential elements which must not be forgotten. The fair distribution of land is not sufficient in order to attain the objective. It must also be ensured that productivity is not reduced as a result of the sale of newly distributed land or the indifference and lack of experience of those who have just acquired the property.

In addition, the legislation applicable to rural manpower must be an integral part of these programmes. Regulations aiming at improving the working conditions of agricultural labourers and their inclusion in the social security system are a necessity which is becoming ever more clear.
However, many countries, particularly those in course of development, are encountering serious difficulties in this respect. The legislation must take account of the different categories of rural manpower, such as sharecroppers, farmers, those who are paid in cash and those paid in kind, as well as permanent and temporary workers. There is also the problem of absenteeism. The agricultural employer may often be absent from the workplace if he lives elsewhere, and illiteracy in the agricultural sector is a factor which makes the situation worse. Therefore countries must have at their disposal sufficient inspectors to guarantee the application of the legislation, even in the regions which are not connected to urban centres by the road network.

Nevertheless, we must have, once and for all, the courage necessary to put into effect appropriate legislation, at least as regards agricultural workers paid in kind, taking into account the special features of each region with a view to the eventual extension, step by step, of the scope of the legislation.

Interpretation from Portuguese: Mr. MARQUES ANDRADE (Employers' delegate, Brazil)—We had pleasure in examining that part of the Director-General's Report which related to the group of experts instructed by the I.L.O. to study the various aspects of agrarian reform which were to be discussed at the present session.

Having been prepared in February and March 1964 this study could not refer to the new Brazilian law on the subject. I would therefore like to explain here the reasons why Brazil, the biggest country in Latin America and the one with the greatest area of cultivated land, had not at the time taken a measure of that kind. It will therefore be appropriate if I summarise the essentials of the Brazilian agrarian reform.

The agrarian structure of the Latin American countries mentioned in Report VI has always differed and still differs very much from that of Brazil. Perhaps Mexico and to a less extent Colombia may have some common features. Since the days of our colonisation Brazil has been a country of great estates. The early division into hereditary counties, then the large-scale allocation of public land and subsequently slavery, which permitted the great estates to be maintained, were the reasons why our agriculture developed on the basis of large estates in the hands of a small group of owners.

The whole economic structure of Brazil was based exclusively on agriculture, which, in turn, was aimed almost exclusively at exports. After the first attempts at industrialisation no urgent need to modify the agricultural economy was felt. Then industry began to grow, industrialisation became rapid and there was consequently disequilibrium between agriculture and the more dynamic industrial sector. This was not only because agriculture lacked the legal protection given to industry but also because it had lost much of its manpower—for the second time, for this had already happened with the sudden liberation of the slaves.

Even so there is no shortage of land in our country for those who really want to farm it. But we do have lack of protection for the land worker. He lacks not only satisfactory health, social, cultural and technical conditions for working as a labourer, squatter or tenant farmer but there is little opportunity to become an owner by distribution or redistribution of land.

The Brazilian employers have always been interested in the economic and social problems of the country and so we could not fail to be interested in this burning and indeed disturbing problem of the moment. Therefore as a businessman I am giving you a brief analysis of Brazil's position on adopting a new agrarian policy. Other Latin American countries, including Mexico in 1915, have had the opportunity to put agrarian reforms into practice; but they have not thereby succeeded in piercing the barrier of underdevelopment. We in Brazil are meeting a good deal of resistance from our own historical past. Moreover the great geo-economic and social differences within our enormous country oblige us to give this problem the most careful study. It has indeed been considered and studied with a good deal of interest in recent years, but we could not wish this to occur under any kind of pressure. We have had to take the supreme interests of the nation into account, including the Christian traditions which have always guided our people. If we are behind other Latin American countries in the adoption of agrarian reform we certainly have our reasons for this.

Today Brazil is starting a definite experiment in the shape of Act No. 4504/64, the "Land Statute" which I will now summarise for you. The chief objectives of the Act are better distribution of the land and establishment of relations between men and rural property, and the use of land compatible with social justice and conducive to greater productivity, thus ensuring the progress and welfare of the rural worker, the development of the country and the gradual abolition of the excessively large and excessively small estates.

With a view to reaching these objectives the Act provides as follows. The agricultural policy consists of promoting the protection of rural property if it is in the interest of the rural economy and of crop and stock farming, either with a view to ensuring its full employment or in order to bring it into harmony with the country's industrialisation.

The means to be used by the public authorities in order to implement the agrarian reform and to promote an agricultural policy which will apply the above principles are as follows:

Firstly, taxation, including a graded land tax, a tax on the yield of crop and stock farms and agricultural industries, and an improvements tax as defined in the law and its regulations.

Secondly, assistance and protection of a social, technical, promotional and educational character for the rural economy.

Thirdly, expropriation for social reasons or for public necessity or utility within the provisions of the Constitution, or of laws and regulations.

Fourthly, official and individual land settlement as laid down in the Statute and its regulations.

Finally, the other measures laid down by law include co-ordination of inter-state, state,
municipal and private funds with a view to
stimulating the rational use of land provided
natural resources are conserved, as well as dis­
couragement of those who use their rights as
landowners in disregard of the social and eco­
nomic function of the land.

The organs for promotion of the agricultural
policy, to be co-ordinated by the Ministry of
Agriculture and general directives approved by
the Ministry of Planning, are as follows:

Firstly, the National Agrarian Development
Institute, which will mainly promote action
related to land settlement, rural extension, the
co-operative movement, community develop­
ment, marketing and infrastructural works
including rural electrification and other ser­
vices.

Secondly, the Brazilian Agrarian Reform
Institute, which will act in the light of the
objectives of the agricultural policy as men­
tioned later.

Thirdly, the other organs of the Ministry of
Agriculture concerned with inspection, promo­
tion and health precautions for crops and
livestock.

Fourthly, the National Bank for Co-opera­
tive Credit, the land settlement and agricultural
and industrial credit branches of the Bank of
Brazil, the National Economic Development
Bank, the National Authority for Co-ordina­
tion of Rural Credit, the National Agricultural
Insurance Company, etc.

The organ which will plan and co-ordinate
the execution of agrarian reform is the Bra­
zilian Agrarian Reform Institute, which will
act at various levels.

As regards zoning, land registration and taxa­
tion, it will (a) arrange for research and operate
the zoning of the country into regions which are
homogeneous as regards socio-economic condi­
tions and agrarian structure; (b) organise and
keep up to date a register of rural property
throughout the country; (c) arrange for research and determine general rules for the
introduction of the land tax and other taxes
in so far as these powers may be conferred upon
it; (d) arrange research with a view to deter­
mining indices or tables on taxation and rules
for its collection; (e) arrange for research on
determination of critical regions and of tax
areas; (f) lay down minimum conditions for their
determination and for elaborating agrarian reform
plans.

As regards distribution of land in priority
areas, the Institute will (a) promote access to
rural ownership by distribution and redistribu­
tion of land; (b) undertake the expropriations
which may be necessary for reasons of public or
social utility; (c) arrange the purchase and sale
of rural property to give effect to the reform
plans; (d) give its views on any expropriation
of public land; (e) purchase any property it
may require in order to perform its duties;

(f) arrange for determination of federal land oc­
cupied by squatters and regularise the situation
of such persons or return the land to the Union.

As regards land settlement and establish­
ment of associations in priority areas, it will
(a) undertake and promote settlements, de­
termining the methods to be used under the
supervision of the National Agrarian Develop­
ment Institute; (b) examine, give an opinion
on method, and register schemes for land settle­
ment and division of rural property for town
construction, including recreation facilities;
(c) directly or in association with other bodies,
promote rural co-operatives and trade unions;
(d) carry out work connected with education
and training by means of pilot farms, training
centres and fundamental education; (e) en­
courage the establishment and extension of
rural undertakings aimed at the rational use of
the land for mining, crop or stock farming or
agricultural industries with a particular view
to their transformation into bodies having a
democratic capital structure; (f) promote the
extension of the co-operative movement, parti­
cularly by the establishment of agrarian reform
co-operatives; (g) approve the rules of co­
operatives and other societies established and
lay down minimum conditions for their demo­
cratic character, etc.

As regards agricultural promotion, the Insti­
tute together with other bodies will (a) engage
in rural extension work and various forms of
social, technical and agronomic assistance to
crop and stock farms, whether individually or
in co-operatives, particularly with a view to
marketing, the production of seed, new vari­
ties, fertilisers, and soil correctives and the
breeding and sale of stock sires, artificial in­
semination, etc.; (b) encourage industrialisa­
tion and the processing of agricultural products
through co-operatives; (c) promote rural elec­
trification and other infrastructural works.

As regards financial assistance in priority
areas, the Institute—either directly with the
resources of the National Agrarian Reform
Fund or with loans contracted in the country
or abroad, or in co-operation with the Bank of
Brazil, the National Economic Development
Bank or the National Bank for Co-operative
Credit—will (a) promote the expansion of rural
credit with technical advice by making loans to
farmers and squatters; (b) promote the sale
of national agrarian debt bonds and arrange for
appropriate use of the funds with a view to
guaranteeing repayment; (c) promote the
financing of sales by instalment; (d) arrange
for the financing of heirs and legatees who wish
to farm the land they have inherited.

These are the initial measures being taken or
to be taken which will enable the solution of
this important problem to be approached
peacefully and by degrees.

(The Conference adjourned at 4.45 p.m.)
COMMUNICATION OF THE
REPORT OF THE APPEALS BOARD

The PRESIDENT—Before coming to the first item of business, I would draw the attention of the Conference to the report of the Appeals Board. The text of this report has been circulated this morning. The Conference now has before it the report of the Appeals Board concerning the appeals transmitted to it on 4 June 1965. By virtue of the decisions taken by the Conference on 8 June 1959, decisions of the Board concerning these appeals are final and shall be put into effect by the Conference immediately, without debate. The Conference, therefore, will kindly note the decisions, which are not open to debate.

(The report is noted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

Mr. ABID ALI (Workers' delegate, India)—This year’s Report of the Director-General gives an account of the actions taken by him in pursuance of the consensus of opinion which emerged at the end of the discussions on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. The Report also contains some fresh proposals and ideas on the points which require further examination. It is pleasing to note that the discussions of the past two years have brought home the fact that major thrusts are still necessary and possible in the three important areas chosen for the I.L.O. programme—that is, human resources development; labour relations, trade union development and the growth of sound social institutions; and conditions of life and work.

These three have been traditional areas of I.L.O. activity, and there is no doubt that the future work programme of the Organisation will be carried out on these lines. But it should be emphasised that activities in these areas must bear a relation to and must be carried out in the perspective of the broader and urgent problems facing the world today. It is imperative that this session, which is being held in the International Co-operation Year, should give serious thought to these problems and suggest how the I.L.O.’s work programme can be adjusted and reoriented so as to enable the Organisation to make its contribution to their solution, since upon it depends the future of humanity, and along with it that of the I.L.O.

Speaking of these problems, I have in mind first of all the problem of the widening gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world, the need for universal acceptance of the fact that poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere, and the resolve of the international community to make a concerted attack on this problem.

Secondly, we cannot but feel greatly disturbed at the lack of any progress in the field of disarmament. It is now universally realised that the resources likely to be released by progress towards disarmament would greatly alleviate the problems of the developing countries. The situation today is much worse than a mere standstill in the progress towards disarmament. A further threat to peace has been posed by the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the latest example of which was the explosion of the second nuclear bomb only a few weeks ago by the Government of the Peoples' Republic of China. It did not sign the limited test-ban treaty, which is an indication of its warlike intentions. We in India have been planning our industry and economy for peace based on friendship with all, particularly with neighbouring countries. In spite of shocks and threats to our sovereignty and national existence, we are determined not to swerve from the path of peace. This is reflected in our determination not to manufacture atomic weapons even though we are in a position to do so.

Thirdly, in this International Co-operation Year the world community is still faced with the shameful defiance by the Government of South Africa of world public opinion which has unreservedly condemned the policy of apartheid. Everyone is aware of the resistance organised by our great leader and humanitarian, Mahatma Gandhi, in South Africa, against apartheid 50 years ago. We Indians will always be in the forefront of those struggling for the freedom, equality and dignity of man. Finally, we have still to put up with the anachronism of colonialism in certain parts of the world. I would like to remind the delegates that the I.L.O. cannot feel secure unless solutions are found to these problems.

1 See Appendix X, p. 688.
Eighth Sitting

The I.L.O. has entered the International Co-operation Year with a proud record of performance conducive to international co-operation. At the end of the 48th Session the I.L.O. became the first international organisation within the United Nations family which passed a unanimous Declaration condemning the policy of apartheid and urging the Government of South Africa to end it while they still had time to do so in a peaceful and civilised way. The two amendments to the Constitution relating to the expulsion and suspension of member States passed at the last session reflect the further earnest wish of the I.L.O. member States to take action against States violating the fundamental principle of human rights. The resolution on minimum living standards passed at the last session expressed the resolve of member States to secure the minimum needs for, and raise the status of, the low-income groups who constitute the bulk of the human population.

As regards the problem of world poverty, the past year witnessed the first attempt made by the international community, in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to discuss the problem of the trade and development of developing countries in all its perspectives. I am glad to note that the I.L.O. made a useful contribution to the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development by presenting two extremely valuable papers and later by taking prompt action in analysing the Final Act to find out areas where the I.L.O. could fruitfully cooperate with the new institutions being set up under the Conference's recommendations.

The Governing Body, at its 160th Session, rightly emphasised the point that the implementation of those recommendations made it essential to secure the understanding and support of workers and employers. It also welcomed the emphasis placed by that Conference on the importance of intensified and effective action for industrialisation as an essential element in the economic growth of developing countries. Finally, the Governing Body decided to convey to the General Assembly the willingness of the I.L.O. to contribute, within its areas of competence, to a broad co-operative programme for industrial development under the leadership of any expanded or new body with central responsibility in this field.

It is my considered opinion that the I.L.O. should lose no time in taking suitable action in this field while waiting for the establishment of any expanded or new institution in the field of industrialisation. The I.L.O. can and should forthwith start making its contribution within its own institutional framework. If I may make a suggestion, the starting point will be to carry out further research and hold discussions in a tripartite forum for finding out the ways and means of bringing about the required structural changes in the economies of the industrialised countries in order to permit increased imports of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from the developing countries. Practically all the industrialised countries recognise the need for such a change and also admit that the cost would be only a fraction of that involved through the need to carry out changes on account of technological revolution. But the usual plea is the resistance of organised labour against carrying out the necessary structural adjustments.

Last year I emphasised how its tripartite nature made the I.L.O. an ideal forum for creating the understanding necessary for facilitating action in this field. As a practical step, I would suggest that the terms of reference of the Industrial Committees Branch and the Research and Planning Department should be extended to cover this subject. Under the respective Industrial Committees, tripartite discussions can be organised and stress can be laid on the way in which workers may be affected by structural changes in the industries concerned.

Commenting on labour relations and trade union development, the Director-General has referred to the "new responsibilities" of labour organisations and has suggested that such responsibilities should not conflict with their traditional functions of defending the interests of their members. The "new responsibilities" arise in the context of gigantic efforts being made by the developing countries to raise the standard of living of their peoples. In this effort the workers have to participate in decision making and action at all levels. To my mind there is absolutely no conflict between the "new responsibilities" and the traditional functions of labour organisations. On the contrary, on the extent to which labour organisations can discharge their traditional functions, i.e. can defend the interests of their members, will depend the extent to which they can effectively discharge their "new responsibilities." If this historic battle against poverty and stagnation is lost, there will remain no interests to be defended.

I welcome the move made by the Office in establishing the Field Department and in decentralising a number of administrative activities at present being carried out from Headquarters. This is in line with the general trend of decentralisation of the activities of international organisations. If the I.L.O. does not make the necessary adjustment to keep pace with the general trend it will be left behind. In the economic field, regional economic commissions have considerably increased their activities by assuming expanded functions. It is now increasingly realised that global targets and projections are too abstract to serve as guides for action on a regional or country basis. Therefore, most of the important and useful research work has to be conducted in the field. The I.L.O. will now be required to co-operate on an increasing scale, within the areas of its competence, with the regional economic commissions, the role and function of which have acquired a new dimension after the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

At the 48th Session the Governing Body in the context of a caution that the proposed Technical and Service Department should not replace the Industrial Committees. I am glad that the functions of the Industrial Committees remain intact. There is no doubt that experts can render valuable service, but they cannot replace the representatives of governments, workers and employers who alone can indicate policy directions.
Expert committees should confine their role to giving expert advice; in all other matters the Industrial Committees should enjoy unfettered freedom.

The Director-General has rightly pointed out in his Report that employment which does not contribute to economic growth does not bring the realisation of social objectives nearer. But this should not lead to the conclusion that the goal of full employment should lose the top priority that it must have in any economic planning. If the net result of employment without economic growth is stagnation, the net result of unemployment would be worse than stagnation—a dangerous backward movement. The I.L.O. cannot afford to close its eyes to realities existing in developing countries in respect of employment opportunities, the level of earnings of the workers, and, in particular, working conditions. The question of improving living and working conditions and setting up new international standards to this end would arise only if full employment were ensured. The I.L.O.'s efforts in the field of improving living and working conditions have appeared unrealistic to the representatives of the developing countries mainly because of this attempt to put the cart before the horse.

Almost all the developing countries have now recognised the need for manpower planning. I am of the firm opinion that the I.L.O. has the experience and expertise to help the developing countries in manpower utilisation. Therefore, I would emphasise once again that the I.L.O. should take greater interest in this field. It appears to me that the regional and branch offices of the I.L.O. could be called upon to analyse manpower problems and carry out necessary research for the benefit of the countries of the region. The Human Resources Department can guide and direct the regional and branch offices in this work.

In my statement I have tried to see the activities of the I.L.O. in the wider perspective of significant developments taking place in our present-day world. I have tried to divert attention from, if I may use the term, the domestic and traditional field, on which we have had enough discussion during the past two years, to the wider field of peace and prosperity and international efforts to provide a firm and lasting basis to peace and prosperity. I would once again urge the Conference to give serious thought to the changed role of the I.L.O. in this context.

I should now like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on having been elevated to the august office of President of the Conference. Until a few years ago we were citizens of the same country. What has transpired in the recent past has not been in the interests of both our countries. My earnest hope for which I pray, and which, I am sure, will be the prayer of people in both countries, is that complete peace be restored on the borders of both countries, and that we become happy neighbours, secure in every respect. Our relations should be happy like those on the 3,000-mile border between Canada and the United States of America, where there is not one incident and not one gun. My wish and prayer is that such a position should also prevail between our respective countries, for ever.

The PRESIDENT—I join you in your prayer.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. TALJABINI (Minister of Social Affairs and Labour, Syrian Arab Republic)—Mr. President, may I extend to you my warmest congratulations on the trust which has been shown in you by your election to the presidency of this session. I hope wholeheartedly that, thanks to you and to the co-operation of all the members, this Conference will yield fruitful results, in line with the fundamental objectives of the International Labour Organisation.

At the past two sessions delegates have participated in the discussion of an important—indeed, essential—matter: namely, the review of the programme and structure of the Organisation, in order to adapt them to the recent changes in the world and to the imperious needs which are becoming apparent everywhere, especially in the developing countries. We are glad to note that the Director-General, taking account of the opinions expressed and proposals made during the past discussions, has already planned the major policies which should be followed and has outlined the main fields in which the Organisation should undertake action.

However, we would like to stress the need to give more attention to certain points which we regard as essential, both from the point of view of implementing the programme suggested by the Director-General, and from the point of view of the drafting of new programmes by the Governing Body or by the Conference itself.

These points are as follows. First of all, we should have as our target the attainment of peace among all men, and this should be in the programmes of all the various organs. The vast funds spent on armaments and weapons of destruction could then be far more usefully used on development programmes aimed at feeding the hungry, and in the struggle against illiteracy and disease—in other words, to secure the well-being of men through the improvement of their conditions of life, material and moral. Secondly, we should eliminate the exploitation of man by man, both on the national and the international level, so that each individual may benefit from his own labour and each State may develop its own resources and economic potential, in accordance with its national aspirations and for the benefit of its people.

Thirdly, we should stress decentralisation of the activities of the Organisation and, at the regional level, call upon the experts available in the developing countries. Such persons are better able to appreciate national or regional needs and are in a better position to tackle local problems. This includes the need to train senior personnel in countries which still do not have them, to increase the number of regional conferences, set up advisory committees which would participate in the study and solution of problems which arise on a regional level.
Fourthly, account should be taken, in the various international texts that come from the Organisation, of the economic and social conditions peculiar to each member State or each group of States, especially the developing countries, so that the latter may not be overburdened with charges which would slow down the process of economic and social development. In other words, in this connection one should make a distinction between developed countries and developing countries.

Fifthly, the developing countries should be provided with the scientific and technical means that will enable them to assess and to mobilise their human resources and raise the level of production, thanks to adequate procedures of recruitment and training. It goes without saying that this requires, apart from available resources, on-the-spot assistance from various international organisations.

It must be recognised that the Report of the Director-General raises a large number of questions which would have to be dealt with in the various fields of its activities; for instance, there are the questions relating to the drafting and implementation of operational activities, to methods of evaluation of human resources, to planning required for all economic and social development, and finally to international legislation in this field. We consider, however, that it is extremely important that the International Labour Organisation seek to provide the necessary means for the practical implementation of these programmes and to supply technical assistance to member States, especially to the developing countries, for if the various plans that are blueprinted are not carried out, the best hopes of the Director-General will remain a dead letter and therefore of no consequence for member States.

It should be noted that it is up to the more advanced countries which have more powerful material means available to them to provide the greater part of the additional funds that are needed for the intensification of the work of the Organisation and the broadening of its regional activities. They would thereby provide an example of the solidarity which should prevail within the Organisation and enable the developing countries to take advantage of their contributions to economic and social development.

I am glad to note that the foundations for the economic and social development plan adopted in my country under its present régime, which is founded on the belief of our people in socialism and on their determination to combat all imperialist and capitalist systems, are very close to the views that have been expressed by the Director-General in his Report to this session; and in this connection I would like briefly to describe the foundations of our system.

Our development plan gives priority to productive projects that can increase the national income and help to find the resources that will provide social services to citizens, especially to workers and farmers.

Secondly, every category of the population is entitled to participate in the drafting and execution of the plan. The workers’ organisations are represented on the management of all industrial enterprises and at various levels of planning bodies.

Thirdly, the awareness of the need for a healthy trade union movement in industry, trade and agriculture has led to the drafting of regulations that will permit the building up of powerful workers’ and farmers’ unions which will be able to assume their responsibilities at the national, occupational and production levels.

I have the honour of being the first trade union representative representing the workers of our country as Minister for Social Affairs and Labour in our Government. I am glad to say also that the workers and farmers will have representatives in the Legislative Assembly which will soon be constituted, and that these representatives will be selected from among those who were chosen in the trade union elections which have recently been held throughout the country.

Fourthly, particular attention is devoted to rural problems with a view to providing social services, thanks to community development projects. To this can be added the distribution of land to the farmers and the institution of new relationships between owners and workers.

In conclusion, I would like to hope that this Conference will take firm decisions as regards racial discrimination wherever it exists—in Mozambique, Portuguese Angola—and carry out the decisions that have already been taken in this connection as regards the authorities of South Africa; I also hope that the Conference will take all necessary steps with a view to granting self-determination and freedom to the peoples who are still languishing under the burden of colonialism, and specifically the peoples of Aden, Southern Arabia and Oman, and to condemning the aggression against the Vietnamese people who are struggling for freedom and dignity.

I am convinced that the Organisation, in dealing with these questions within the framework of its competence, will effectively contribute to the realisation of the objectives we all aim at.
legitimate delegates who would be only those delegates from the People's Republic of China. While expressing the hope that this inequitable situation may very soon be put right, we should also like to express the desire that very soon the peoples who are still today victims of colonialism will be able to express their will and their desire to gain freedom. We believe that the requirements for their freedom may soon become incorporated in this Organisation. We should like to take this opportunity to extend to them our message of encouragement and friendship.

In his Report the Director-General calls attention to the material impossibility of including in his comments in the Report the problems which affect the structure and procedure within the I.L.O. He deals in full with the objectives in the programme of activities to be carried out, taking into account the rich experience acquired by the I.L.O. through more than 40 years of existence. Our position, which we have expressed on more than one occasion in the past, is that the I.L.O. should transform itself organically and adapt itself to the realities of the present-day world. It should also pay greater attention to the acts of aggression and the conflicts which affect the workers in the various regions of the world, so that at meetings like this we may deal with these questions and find solutions which will satisfy the aspirations and the rights of those oppressed workers.

In his Report the Director-General refers to the three main fields of activity of the Organisation; apparently, there is complete agreement on those points. The first is the development of human resources. This activity is of tremendous importance to all the underdeveloped countries and even more so to the countries suffering under colonialism, neo-colonialism and dependence. How can human resources be developed whilst illiteracy, lack of education, backwardness in science and technology and feudal relationships in production prevail in many of these countries? How can it be hoped to develop human resources unless effective measures are first adopted to eliminate unemployment, poverty and exploitation from which the great masses of the workers are suffering? How can human resources be developed whilst there are still countries which maintain terrible oppression and discrimination, as is the case in the Republic of South Africa, which applies the hateful policy of apartheid? Only when countries have the status of independent and sovereign nations can their peoples advance towards full development of all their resources.

Once the Cuban revolution had achieved political, economic and social independence for the people of Cuba, it then created the necessary conditions for the rapid use of human resources. It did away with illiteracy, which was inherited from the past and which affected about a million of the citizens of Cuba, and it is advancing rapidly towards the objective that all the workers of the country should achieve the higher level of primary education as a minimum. At the same time Cuba is carrying out extensive plans for secondary, technical and university education through full scholarships which are given to more than 100,000 students.

Thus we are encouraging and promoting the cultural and technical bases which are necessary for the fuller utilisation of the productive forces of the country. In fact, the struggle for their freedom may soon become incorporated in this Organisation. We should like to take this opportunity to extend to them our message of encouragement and friendship.

We see no other way of giving impetus to the development of human resources than by attacking and destroying the basic elements that hold them back. A social and economic structure based on exploitation of the working and peasant masses of the population and the pillaging of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent peoples prevent the development of human resources and constitute an insuperable obstacle for the workers, preventing them from becoming incorporated creatively in the field of science and technical advancement.

In his Report the Director-General refers to the necessity to improve the conditions of work and the living conditions of the peoples of the world as an objective of the Organisation. In this connection, one of the regions of the world which presents the most tragic characteristics is Latin America. While the population is growing at an annual rate of 3.1 per cent., these people as a whole have no more food than in 1939, the production of food, and hunger affect more than 110 million Latin Americans. This explains why the struggle for national liberation in these countries is becoming more and more vigorous and intense as time goes by.

Another matter of interest to our continent which is being discussed at this Conference is that of agrarian reform. Subject to further and more detailed comments in the proper committee, I should like to say that the conditions in Latin America require the liquidation of large land holdings, single-crop cultivation, deficits in the production of food, and hunger affect more than 110 million Latin Americans. This explains why the struggle for national liberation in these countries is becoming more and more vigorous and intense as time goes by.

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and yesterday our population celebrated the triumph of having produced 6 million tons of sugar.

These noteworthy advances have been achieved not only in sugar production but also in other branches of the economy. The population, with its fruitful and constructive labour, has been destroying one after another the stumbling blocks deliberately placed in our path by the imperialists, and these successes have been achieved despite the economic blockade and the acts of aggression of all types of which we are the object.

In closing, we should like to refer to that part of the Report of the Director-General where he brings out the importance of the development and strengthening of solid social institutions for the welfare of the population of the world. We fully share this point of view, which is quite correct, but at the same time we consider that this can be achieved only if the development of these institutions can be fully guaranteed in every country. This demands complete respect for the independence and sovereignty of each country; there must be an end to the policy of intervention, aggression and military occupation of which some people are victims in various regions of the world such as the Congo, South Viet-Nam, North Viet-Nam, Laos and others. In Latin America there is the case of the Dominican Republic, which has been a victim of the most brutal armed intervention by the great imperialist power of the continent.

The delegation of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba considers itself in duty bound to point out that this session of the Conference is being held at a time when acts are being committed which represent sources of deep concern and serious responsibilities for all the peoples and the governments of the world. What happened in the Dominican Republic to make it a victim of intervention, occupation and military aggression by a foreign power?

There was a constitutional movement which proposed to return to the country a president who had been overthrown by a military coup d'état and who had been elected in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the so-called representative democracy, about which so much is preached in our continent, although it is discredited. At the outset, the pretext given by the imperialists for intervening in the civil conflict by landing more than 40,000 Marines was to protect the lives of the North American citizens residing in Santo Domingo.

We cannot accept this pretext. To accept it would mean to endorse the flagrant violation of international law and the principles laid down by the Charter of the United Nations. It would mean also to accept a situation where the imperialists have the right to intervene in any country of the world by alleging presumed dangers to the lives of their citizens. When they found that they deceived no one with this pretext, they tried to justify their open military aggression in Santo Domingo—according to their official spokesmen—to prevent the triumph of a revolution like the one that took place in Cuba. Now the second pretext has no basis either. It is not true that in Santo Domingo a revolution was being prepared like the one in Cuba, and, even if it were, as our Prime Minister, Commander Fidel Castro, said in his speech on 1 May: "What right have the imperialists to prevent the peoples from carrying out revolutions if they wish? This is a sovereign right, an historic right of any people: to dress within its own frontiers, to create the type of society it thinks fit, that the people want, and to create it in the way they prefer, by legal methods if they wish, or by revolutionary methods like those adopted in our country.

"No country," continued Fidel Castro, "and no group of countries has the right to prevent any people from carrying out the type of revolution it considers desirable. If they wish to have democratic bourgeois revolutions, let them have democratic bourgeois revolutions. If they want to have socialist revolutions, let them have socialist revolutions, and if they want Christian Democratic reforms, let them have Christian Democratic reforms.

"Let everyone do within his own frontiers what he thinks is the best and the most desirable for his own happiness and for his own future."

The delegation of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba considers that it is a duty of this Conference to condemn the intervention and military aggression of the United States in Santo Domingo, and to demand the immediate withdrawal from Santo Domingo of the North American troops and those of all other countries, thereby leaving the Dominican people free to solve their own problems.

Faced with the imperialist aggressions against the movements of liberation and sovereignty of nations which are taking place in Latin America, Asia and Africa, there is only one thing to do: condemn them and reject them firmly.

Cuba, a small country in the Caribbean area, only 90 miles from the powerful Yankee empire, has performed its duty, and will continue to perform it, with dignity and integrity.

Fatherland or death! We shall conquer!

The PRESIDENT—I give the floor to Mr. Weaver, Government delegate, United States, on a point of order.

Mr. WEaver (Government delegate, United States)—I rise on a point of order under article 14, paragraph 5, of the Standing Orders. I renew, Sir, the appeal that you made to the speaker yesterday to confine himself to I.L.O. activities during the discussion of the Director-General's Report. I would renew the request that our debate on the Report does not degenerate into a political debate, as seems well on the way to happening.

I would therefore appeal again, as a point of order under article 14, paragraph 4, of the Standing Orders, which, I think, provides the opportunity to maintain our discussion on the Director-General's Report within the confines of this Report.

The PRESIDENT—A point of order has been raised drawing my attention to article 14, paragraphs 4 and 5, of the Standing Orders. Paragraph 5 reads: "A delegate may at any time rise to a point of order, which shall be decided forthwith by the President."
Paragraph 4 reads: “The President may require a speaker to resume his seat if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion.”

Delegates will recall that when the first report of the Selection Committee was presented, the Selection Committee, bearing in mind the suggestion to this effect made by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its 130th Session, proposed that the Conference should appeal to speakers to concentrate their remarks, during the discussion of the Director-General’s Report, as far as possible on the Report and the activities of the International Labour Organisation.

Then delegates will recall the suggestions concerning facilities for more negotiations. The Selection Committee of the 44th Session transmitted the suggestion to the Conference, and the President of the Conference then took the initiative of convening a meeting of the Chairmen of Committees at which attention was drawn to the contribution which regular consultation among the officers of each committee could make in securing the widest possible agreement in the committees.

My ruling on this point of order is that the President has the discretion to require a speaker to resume his seat if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion. There are subjects which can be squarely placed in a particular compartment, either political, economic or social: there are other subjects which are on the borderline; and there are certain subjects which comprise two or three aspects. Therefore, it is not very easy to be precise and exact and say that a speaker is digressing from the objectives.

Therefore, I propose to appeal again to speakers to confine themselves to the subjects which we are discussing; but if there are speakers who choose to digress, I propose to exercise my discretion, as referred to in paragraph 4 of article 14, of the Standing Orders, only if I feel that they are using unparliamentary or abusive language. Apart from that, I do not propose to exercise the discretion merely if I do not agree with them or think that what they are saying is beyond the scope of this Conference.

Mr. MORRIS (Workers’ delegate, Canada)—The debate on the two Parts of the Report submitted by the Director-General to the annual session of the International Labour Conference has become a component part and important feature of this world assembly dedicated to social and labour problems. The discussion this year should prove particularly interesting because it is held during the International Co-operation Year (I.C.Y.) and in the shadow of a serious crisis in the United Nations.

Undoubtedly, in the words of the Report, the International Co-operation Year should represent for the nations of the world an opportunity “to seek and to emphasise that which unites rather than that which divides them”. The challenge, too, is clear and is in the best traditions of the I.L.O., namely “to embark on a mission of international solidarity to combat the common enemies of all mankind”.

We hope that the declared resolve of the I.L.O., as expressed in the resolution concerning the International Co-operation Year and the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, adopted by the Conference at its 48th Session, and in the subsequent decisions of the Governing Body to participate in this important commemoration year, will not be restricted to formal declarations of continued support of the principles and objectives of the United Nations and its family of organisations, important as these are. The member States should take serious cognisance of the appeal issued by the Governing Body to ratify during this year the international labour Conventions dealing with human rights and especially the Conventions which are aimed at the abolition of forced labour, discrimination in employment and the obstacles to the free exercise of freedom of association and the right to organise.

Neither is it too much to hope that the industrial countries, the nations which have achieved a greater degree of well-being and development, will make during this year greater efforts for overseas assistance and co-operation and will devote a large share of their national income to further and enhance the economic development of those parts in the world where hunger and want are still prevalent.

We should also remember during this debate the serious political and financial crisis in the United Nations itself. Regardless of what we may think of the constitutional relationship governing the United Nations, the I.L.O. and the other agencies, it is quite clear that the undermining of the prestige and authority of the United Nations is bringing strong and lasting effect on the whole United Nations family of organisations, including the International Labour Organisation.

The continuing crisis in the United Nations, which came to a head at the 19th General Assembly, is, of course, not only a reflection of the inherent conflicts amongst member States, but more particularly stems from the inability of that organisation to solve long-standing disagreements over its competence, structure, programme and finances—problems which are not unfamiliar to those of us who have followed the discussions of the last two sessions of the Conference on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. When the United Nations cannot agree on the relative competence and jurisdiction of the Security Council and the General Assembly, when it fails to resolve the issue of the cost of peace-keeping operations, when it is unable to develop the proper machinery for the resolution of other areas of conflict, it is not because of lack of administrative efficiency or the failure of its own officials, but because of the inability of the member States to solve some of the essential and most outstanding problems of our time.

It is important, therefore, more than ever at this time, because of the crisis in the international community, to safeguard the future of the International Labour Organisation so that it too does not become a victim of misguided policies and intergovernmental rivalries. There is too much at stake, for the millions of workers throughout the world, in the continuing existence and growth of this Organisation, for them to remain indifferent to the dangers with which it is faced.

We in the Canadian trade union movement
are therefore in full agreement with the Director-General that the I.L.O. should concentrate on the elements of its responsibilities which are central to its mandate and should avoid dispersion of energy in peripheral activities. It is obvious that none of the I.L.O. objectives can be fully realised in a world of tension and international conflict; their full implementation depends on peace and disarmament, on freedom for all people. These are objectives to which all United Nations organisations subscribe. In the context, however, of the activities of the United Nations family there must be an orderly and clear division of labour for the achievement of the great goals of mankind. This complex of United Nations organisations is so constituted that each one of its members, while devoted to the great ideals which are common to all of them, has developed a sphere of competence, a mandate of responsibility and a field of action which is, and should be, strictly its own.

In this third year of debate on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. it may still be important to stress the need for the I.L.O. to have a clear definition of its own field of competency, to avoid undertaking actions no matter how worthy which, while which is clearly the function of another organisation, to leave the main burden for the great unresolved problems of peace, disarmament, disputes between power blocs and other important weighty political issues to the existing organisations, composed in the main of representatives of the same member States as the I.L.O., which have been charged with these specific responsibilities.

Turning to the new administrative structure introduced by the Director-General, it should be given a chance to prove itself in practice. We would like, none the less, to see more adequate machinery established for dealing with workers' and employers' organisations, not only in the conferences and the Governing Body, but in the field as well. Because the I.L.O. is the only tripartite intergovernmental organisation, it is essential that it makes full use of this unique arrangement—something which may not have been fully exploited in the past. This structure is undoubtedly a source of added administrative difficulty to the Director-General, but it could also become a tower of great strength in enhancing the authority and prestige of the Organisation, in obtaining support and understanding for larger financial contributions, and in developing a pool of readily available technical experts. This is not a matter of simply dividing the existing I.L.O. structure and giving it "underdeveloped" or "developing". A unit co-ordinating I.L.O. activities in the industrial countries would thus complete the regional set-up of the Organisation.

We hope that, in the desirable process of augmenting meaningful and necessary regional activities, the I.L.O. would not start on the slippery road to regional Conventions and Recommendations, or give up its basic authority and jurisdiction to other inter-governmental regional organisations. Any step in that direction could have very serious implications for the future.

The chapter dealing with the development of social institutions should be analysed carefully because, in the words of the Director-General, it "touches on some of the most fundamental objectives of the Organisation; and it is a question on which the I.L.O. cannot compromise". It is our hope that the word "reality" which is so often used in discussions of this subject will not become synonymous with "unprincipled accommodation". I am convinced as much as the Director-General that "true cooperation" between these "new" responsibilities of organisations representing broad interest groups and their more "traditional" functions of defending the interests of their members. On the contrary, I believe that in the present circumstances the interests of their members can best be served by their full participation in the task of development, which will in turn ensure an equitable distribution of the fruits of development.

One can readily understand the feeling of frustration which arises in many countries, faced with the need to develop their resources and to industrialise, as a result of the lack of necessary capital for investment and economic
growth. To help meet this need the trade union movement in industrialised countries has carried on a consistent campaign for greater financial and economic aid to the new nations and for liberalised trading arrangements. We cannot, however, accept the notion that national wealth can only be accumulated as a result of the exploitation of those who work. Neither can we agree with those who claim that only the industrialised countries can afford freedom of association, the right to organise and to form free trade unions, the orderly process of settling the inevitable disputes between workers and their managers. This view is not only morally reprehensible, but also economically wrong. It would run counter to all basic human considerations that only the rich nations can afford human rights while the poor and dispossessed are denied dignity and freedom. I fully agree with the Director-General when he says, that "The goal of economic growth will not be attained or brought any nearer by the elimination of the very notion of conflict, but rather by attempting to prevent conflicts from arising or, when they do, by applying methods of conciliation, negotiation or arbitration in order to bring out and emphasise the elements in the situation on which a more fruitful co-operation might be built."

I was rather disappointed that in the chapter which deals with major programme areas hardly any mention was made of the need for an intensified programme in the field of co-operatives. The I.L.O. has made an unparalleled contribution to the world co-operative movement, and it is largely due to its initiative and efforts from the earliest days, when the first I.L.O. Director, Albert Thomas, was a member of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance, that the social significance of the special economic role of co-operatives has been recognised on a world scale.

It is the opinion of our people in Canada that the performance of the I.L.O. in this field has declined in the past several years. We should aim to specialise in the types of co-operatives that are especially valuable for trade union members and urban workers generally: the organisations for consumer goods, housing, consumer credit, insurance and small industries. This should remain the sole responsibility of the I.L.O. In the field of rural co-operative development it should work in close liaison with such agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organisation. It is essential to augment and strengthen I.L.O. staff which deals with co-operatives, to enhance its international standing, to bring together more often the Panel of Consultants on Co-operatives and above all to recapture the dominant place it once held. The I.L.O. should try to retain its reputation of reliability and high standards of performance, so that co-operators throughout the world would look towards the Organisation for leadership and guidance as they did in the early days. Time does not permit me to deal adequately with many of the proposals advanced by the Director-General and especially with his excellent Report on the I.L.O. activities during the year 1964. However, I would not want to conclude my remarks without emphasising that the I.L.O. must continue in its historic task of developing new international labour standards and of modernising the existing ones. In this connection the time is now ripe for the Organisation to begin paying more serious attention to the protection of the rights of civil servants and government employees. An ever-growing section of the labour force in all countries now works for governments—be they national, state, provincial, or municipal. Still, no meaningful code of behaviour, no recognised national standards to guide relations between employers and employees in this field, have yet been developed by this Organisation. Surely this is a task to which the I.L.O. must apply itself with diligence and expedition. We are convinced, too, that many problems, many areas of friction which exist today between government authorities and their workers could be discussed in a fruitful and constructive manner, and perhaps resolved, if the I.L.O. added to its ten Industrial and analogous Committees a new unit specifically devoted to the problems of the civil service.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate once more the devotion of the workers of Canada to the International Labour Organisation. Our movement prides itself on an unbroken association with this Organisation since its founding in 1919. You can rest assured that we stand ready today, as we did during all the trying and turbulent years, to work for the continuous and healthy growth of this Organisation, which has made for close for a half-century a fundamental and meaningful contribution to the welfare of workers everywhere.
are closely connected with the strengthening and preservation of peace. The I.L.O. is a member of the great family of the United Nations. Any departure from the basic principles of the United Nations Charter, such as referred to recently by the Secretary-General, U Thant, or the collapse—as he expressed it—of the hopes that the United Nations might become an effective instrument of peace may jeopardise the successful implementation of the basic purpose of the I.L.O., which is peace based on social justice, and social justice based on peace. The shameful aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the Dominican Republic have deeply shocked world public opinion and are a brutal reminder of what I have referred to.

The programme of this Organisation cannot be drawn up without taking account of the need to solve one of the principal problems of our time—the final liquidation of colonialism and its nefarious consequences on the economic, social and cultural position of workers in the developing countries—and without taking into account the fact that the democratisation of the Organisation is closely connected with its effectiveness.

The many appeals by member States of the I.L.O. on these questions have not been recorded in the Report of the Director-General and are not even reflected in it. And these basic shortcomings which are not without their consequences are, of course, reflected in the other reports that have been put before this Conference.

One undeniable improvement is that for the first time in the history of this Organisation the questions of land reform and co-operatives in the developing countries have been placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference. Thus the Conference, which is the supreme organ of the I.L.O., is given the possibility of going into these matters in full detail. This can become a useful factor in I.L.O. assistance in speeding up the economic and social development of the countries in course of development which are seeking to overcome stagnation and prejudice—so long as it is done with the same efficiency and thoroughness as the question of the structure of the I.L.O. delimitation of the principal posts in the I.L.O. while also reflecting the principle of rotation. Certain events in this building have led to gross violation of the right of the delegate of the socialist countries to equal participation in the management of this Conference, so that, as a result of the attempts to reduce their role in the Organisation, not one of the representatives of the socialist countries has been included among the officers of its various committees. This type of conflict must be ended by the establishment of an automatic, fair system of allocating posts as indicated in the Polish and Ukrainian resolution, to which I am convinced delegates will give full support.

The Polish Government delegation also supports with great sympathy the draft resolution on the defence of the rights of the Spanish workers which has been moved by Mr. Tabor, the Yugoslav Workers' delegate.

I take this opportunity, on behalf of the Polish Government and people, of extending to the workers and Government of Yugoslavia our heartfelt condolences on the occasion of the disaster which took place yesterday in a mine in Kakanj, Bosnia.

Before concluding my remarks, I should like to dwell on yet another problem—this is the periodic and compulsory convening of regional conferences and the powers of those conferences. We are in favour of granting such conferences wide powers so that they can deal with questions affecting their areas. In the area which is closest to us, Europe, we wish to make up for lost time. Ten years have elapsed since the first—and so far the last—European Regional Conference of the I.L.O. The wars that still smoulder in other parts of the world and the vast shifts in the distribution of forces in the world should not blind us to the key role of the European region in achieving peace and social justice throughout the world. The second
European regional conference of the I.L.O. should make a serious contribution to the liquidation of the division of Europe in order to promote the dialogue between East and West and to ensure the co-operation of the various socio-economic systems and the broadening of international safeguards of human and social rights.

The Polish Government believes that despite political and ideological differences co-operation between the countries of Western Europe and the socialist countries is possible and could yield fruitful results within the framework of a broader solution to the over-all problems being sought by the countries of the continent of Europe themselves. The reconciliation of the countries of Europe, the strengthening of peaceful co-operation within Europe as a whole, joint efforts to find the best possible means to satisfy the social and economic needs of the workers, the co-ordination of workers' activities in order to escape the vicious circle of economic weakness and the reduction and elimination of expenditure on the various forms of armaments must lead also to stronger ties and contacts and must constitute an important factor in the development of a constructive, business-like and creative dialogue which can strengthen peace and social justice in Europe.

The PRESIDENT—Mr. Chajn mentioned the tragic accident which has occurred in a coal mine in Yugoslavia and in which over 100 miners lost their lives. On behalf of all the delegates, I would like to express our condolences to the Government of Yugoslavia and to the families of the victims.

Mr. MPONJI (Government delegate, Tanzania)—At the outset I should like to join with other speakers who have congratulated you, Mr. President, on your decision to preside over this distinguished assembly. I would also like to extend a warm welcome to new Members which have joined the Organisation during the past year and, in particular, to our sister African States of Zambia and Malawi, which are attending the Conference for the first time.

I must first express my Government's satisfaction at the adoption, at the 45th Session, of the Instruments of Amendment to the I.L.O. Constitution concerning the policy of apartheid. The Government of Tanzania has already notified its formal acceptance of these amendments to the Constitution, and I urge all member States to accept or ratify these Instruments at the earliest opportunity. The Government and people of Tanzania are greatly heartened by the firm stand taken by the I.L.O. to oppose the racial policies of the Government of South Africa.

We therefore welcome the first Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa. It is clear from the report that "separate development", as practised in the Republic of South Africa, means anything but equal development. The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, passed in 1964, is entirely discriminatory in its effects and indicates a tightening of the legislative and administrative framework of apartheid. The true nature of this pernicious doctrine is clearly revealed in the statement made by the South African Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, quoted in the report, to the effect that the entire basis of the presence of the Bantu in the white area rests on the labour he performs. While the report indicates a number of positive and practical measures necessary to ensure the elimination of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, it also indicates, as I have already mentioned, the hardening of the policy of the South African Government in this direction. I earnestly appeal, therefore, to all member governments present at this Conference to follow the example set by my own and other African countries to end all trade relations with the Republic of South Africa.

In the search for positive action this is a potent weapon which is readily available in the struggle to force the South African Government to bow before world opinion. At the same time I call on governments which continue to supply arms to the Republic of South Africa to put an end, once and for all, to these practices which directly support the continuation of its repugnant policies.

In other parts of the African Continent repressive policies are still being enforced by the colonialist governments of Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. I should like to quote the words of the President of Zambia, Dr. Kaunda, in his recent opening address to the United Nations Committee on Colonialism: in describing the evils of colonialism he emphasised that "we must all stop talking and start acting". Before it is too late and before the possibility of a peaceful solution becomes submerged in violence, I urgently appeal to the Portuguese and Southern Rhodesian Governments to grant the African peoples in the territories concerned the right to self-determination.

Turning to the Director-General's Report, I strongly endorse the proposal to strengthen the field operations of the I.L.O. and to integrate them more effectively with the regional activities of other United Nations agencies. In particular, my Government supports the resolution, put forward by the Government delegate of the United Arab Republic and adopted at the 45th Session, concerning programmes of technical assistance and other I.L.O. activities in other African countries. In this respect we consider it most important that the authority of the African Advisory Committee should be increased, and that it should be given responsibility for formulating an I.L.O. programme in Africa.

In the broad field of human resources development we fully support the objectives outlined in the Director-General's Report. In my own country of Tanzania the development and utilisation of labour resources are a key factor in our Five-Year Development Plan, the long-term objectives of which were outlined by our Minister of Labour at last year's session of the Conference. Indeed, it is our view that any comprehensive strategy for human resources development is likely to be effective only if it is part of a wider scheme for planned economic and social advancement.

The Report underlines the importance of productivity improvement, which is particularly vital in a developing country such as our own. The Government of Tanzania is most appreciative of the assistance being given by
the Special Fund and the I.L.O. to establish an institute of productivity in Tanzania, which, it is anticipated, will become operational later this year.

May I, at this juncture, mention the valuable work which the International Institute for Labour Studies is performing in the field of education and research by the organisation of study courses and conferences, and request the Director-General to convey to Mr. Marquand, the former Director of the Institute who has now resigned to take up new duties in the United Kingdom, our warm appreciation for his efforts in launching the Institute so successfully. At the same time, may I wish every success to the newly appointed Director of the Institute.

Following the discussion of methods and principles of wage regulation at the Second African Regional Conference, my Government strongly supports the proposal that the I.L.O. should increase its efforts in the field of wages and salaries, and that a series of studies relative to the formulation of wages and incomes in African countries should be undertaken as speedily as possible.

With regard to recent developments in labour matters in Tanzania, I am pleased to tell the Conference that our attempts to strengthen the workers' movement by the establishment of the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (N.U.T.A.), in 1964 have proved an outstanding success. This year the First Annual Congress of the National Union of Tanganyika Workers was held in Dar-es-Salaam, and was attended by delegates and distinguished visitors from many foreign countries. The Congress provided an opportunity for these visitors to see for themselves, at first hand, the broad basis of, and the support for, our workers' movement, and to form an appreciation of the very great benefits which N.U.T.A. has obtained for the workers of Tanzania. Even though some of our visitors may have arrived with doubts or scepticism about the achievements of N.U.T.A., there was no doubt whatsoever that, on their departure, they were fully convinced of the justification for, and wisdom of, the establishment of a unified workers' movement in the circumstances prevailing in Tanzania. By means of the check-off system the workers' movement is now assured of an adequate income and, through such methods as the Workers' Development Corporation, a greater part of this revenue will be devoted to enabling the workers to participate in economic enterprises, to enjoy a higher standard of living and to foster the principles of African socialism.

In the field of labour legislation we are justly proud of our Security of Employment Act, which became law at the end of 1964 and which came into operation on 1 May of this year. Under the provisions of the Act, workers' committees are now established in every place of employment where ten or more union members are employed. This is a major step forward for the workers in Tanzania. Under the procedures established by the Act, an employer will no longer be able to decide arbitrarily when a worker should be dismissed or subjected to some lesser disciplinary penalty. He will be required to consult the workers' committee or, where no committee is functioning, the local N.U.T.A. representative before imposing dismissal or some other penalty prescribed by our new Disciplinary Code, which lists all offences which a worker can commit and specifies an appropriate punishment for each one. The codification of labour offences and the application of the Code by an employer in consultation with his workers' committee is expected, not least, to result in improved standards of discipline and, hence, of output and performance. What an employer cannot do himself, he can attain with the active and loyal support of elected workers' representatives, trained in their duties and responsibilities by our trade union movement and by officials of the Ministry of Labour. The question of discipline is, in fact, not the only one with which the workers' committees will have to deal. The committees will be expected to discuss with employers methods of improving production and workers' efficiency, means of providing greater safety measures and other general improvements at the place of work. The establishment of workers' committees will give the workers of Tanzania greater opportunities for leadership than ever before. They will now have, in the industrial sense, the opportunity they have politically as free citizens of a newly independent country. The Security of Employment Act is, therefore, a challenge to members of the workers' movement to accept the responsibilities of leadership. Those responsibilities will demand wisdom, tolerance, courage and devotion to duty, which alone will enable the workers to combine effectively with employers and with government in the many and varied tasks of nation building. As I mentioned earlier, we are justly proud of this Act and, in this connection, consider that we are in advance of many other countries which have not so far tackled these problems, and indeed in advance of the Conference, which is due to discuss the question of grievances and communications within the undertaking at its next session.

In conclusion, may I wish the Conference every success in its deliberations.

Mr. SKINNER (Workers' delegate, New Zealand)—First of all, Mr. President, may I offer you our congratulations on your election to the presidency of this august assembly.

I should like to deal with Chapter II—Major Programme Areas—in the Director-General's Report. With the exception of the years of global war, the state of the world, politically and economically, has probably never been more dangerous than it is at present. It is frightening enough for any thinking person to review the tensions, the small wars, the threats of another major conflagration and the crushing burden of poverty in some countries but it is even worse to see the indifference of the majority of the world's population to these threats of war and to the distress which is so common in some economically backward countries. The fact that people can live in this sort of world and can ignore what goes on as long as it happens to people other than themselves is evidence that the world's population has come to accept as a normal thing a continuing shadow of the threat of war and the existence of suffering and death from poverty in a large part of the world.
Apart from political divisions the nations of the world fall into two groups. There are the developed nations and the underdeveloped nations. The developed nations are prosperous even at the worst of times by comparison with the underdeveloped nations, their trade is buoyant, the very great majority of their people are well fed, well clothed, well housed and healthy. Consumer goods are plentiful and people can afford to buy them. Hunger is rare and people tend to die from over-eating, not from starvation.

In the underdeveloped countries starvation is a constant threat, unemployment is the inevitable lot of many, underemployment keeps workers at starvation level and poverty by our standards is the rule rather than the exception. Half of the world's population lives in areas which are generally underdeveloped and is crying out for aid from the rest of the world to allow it to be fed and clothed and permitted to live and work and support families fit for human beings.

The developed nations have contributed money and given assistance in other forms to the underdeveloped countries but this has not been done to the extent which will provide what is needed. The problem of the development of these countries to standards which will allow them to live in equality with the present developed countries is the most urgent of our time. If it is not faced and dealt with adequately, we will continue to live under the constant threat of war, under continuing tensions concerning world trade and with the knowledge that these underdeveloped and underprivileged populations may be driven to taking by force the things which they have not been able to attain in any other way.

The responsibility to assist them rests with all the nations and all the peoples of the world. It calls for world planning and for an all-out effort throughout the rest of the world. The task of setting these nations on their feet and on the road to economic independence is a tremendous one in its scope, but no matter what price is necessary to achieve this result the cost will not be too high if we can succeed. It is tragic that these countries should be in such a position in the present era of plenty and that our efforts have not had the desired results nor appear likely to do so on their present scale. The real tragedy, however, if we face it, is not that we are losing this fight, but that we are not really trying hard enough to win it. The whole of the rest of the world has a responsibility to do its utmost and it would be encouraging if the delegations to this Conference from the more fortunate countries would agree to recommend to their various governments that a nominal percentage of their gross national income be contributed to a fund for the building up of the underdeveloped countries, such a fund to be administered by the United Nations agencies.

The United Nations has worked through the Food and Agriculture Organisation and through the Economic and Social Council as well as through other agencies, and the Colombo Plan to the relief of problems of development, but these efforts are not on a large enough scale. The means to do what is necessary are available in the world if they can be diverted from other less essential purposes, but before we start diverting money from other useful purposes we should look at the tremendous cost to the world of armaments in anticipation of war, in the fighting of wars, large or small, and we should ask why man must look to other parts of the universe before he has set the earth in order for its own people. What will be gained if we conquer the moon and allow the earth to be destroyed?

Nations have made gifts of money to the underdeveloped nations and have assisted them in technological progress but they are unwilling to open their markets to raw materials produced by the underdeveloped countries or to meet them in other economic difficulties. They have sent medical assistance which has fought successfully against diseases which raged in these countries but after the people have been given life they have been given nothing to live for. It is not sufficient to check the toll of disease and to give assistance which will permit these people to survive; they need immediate and adequate help to make their countries economically self-supporting, to provide decent standards of living for their population and to open the way to continued growth and rising prosperity in the future.

There is a wide responsibility on peoples, and on responsible organisations, to make any contribution within their capacity towards the relief of the problems of the underdeveloped nations. The greatest need lies in Asia, and the assistance now being given is not sufficient to cope with the problems of the moment, let alone to deal with the future. The Asian nations themselves are banded together in an economic alliance within the United Nations, by means of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Other nations are supplying different forms of aid and helping to build the trading potential of the underdeveloped countries. This progress is good, but it does not go far enough and does not have the impact which it should have on the internal economy of the countries themselves.

The nations of the free world know of the contribution which is made by trade unions within their own borders and of the activities of these trade unions in the international sphere. It would not be too much to say that a modern economy, such as is known in the free world, could not operate unless it contained strong, free trade unions. Such unions not only represent the immediate interests of their own members but are also concerned with the welfare of the community as a whole, of which they form a part.

One of the greatest benefits which could be conferred on the underdeveloped countries is the formation in them of trade unions of a calibre similar to those found in the free world. By setting up such unions the countries concerned would be given a gathering point for the working population, from which the workers could state their collective needs and desires, and could achieve these with the minimum disruption and waste of effort. This would not be a one-sided matter, for the employers and the country as a whole would benefit from the orderly solution of many problems which at present may appear insurmountable.
The first step towards this goal would be the setting up of trade union organisations and their introduction to the workers of the countries concerned. The International Labour Organisation is already working along these lines but a greater impetus seems necessary in the form of co-operation and understanding by governments as well as by workers and employers. In the Western world, trade unions had to fight for a right to existence and to attain their present respected position in the community, but the emerging nations should not be put to this agony and wasteful conflict.

Trade unions must, at all times, be independent of government and of employers' organisations if they are to perform their true function in the community. This in itself, however, is not a reason why governments and employers should oppose the initial formation of unions and of nation-wide trade union movements within the countries themselves. It is very much in their own interests that there should be a responsible organisation to represent employees and to co-operate in improvements in skills, in education, and in measures to raise living standards.

The responsibility, of course, does not begin and end with government or with employers. It also rests with trade unions in those countries where the unions are firmly established and work in accordance with established industrial codes. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has appealed to the nations of the world to contribute 1 per cent, of national income towards relief of the underdeveloped countries and aid of this kind can provide the foundation on which to build stable economies and provide decent standards of living. This is very good, but it is not enough to provide money or other material things and expect these countries to do for themselves in a few years the things which it has taken centuries for the developed countries to achieve. What is needed is an extension of the assistance which is being given through the I.L.O. by finding more people who are prepared to go to these countries and assist personally in the day-to-day problems of finding their place in the world of today. Many of these countries, through no fault of their own, have been held back by their own outdated social structure or by their subjection as colonies of other Powers. They now have freedom to advance, but little else. Half of the world's population lies in this area and it is at present the danger spot as far as world tensions and possible warfare are concerned. By helping the people of these countries the rest of the world will be helping themselves and laying a foundation for peace in the future.

The best way to approach any such attempt is from the bottom rather than from the top. International dealings have mostly been concentrated on intergovernmental discussions and treaties, but the basis of world peace and understanding remains, as it has always been, a matter of giving the mass of the people the opportunity to live useful and reasonably comfortable lives. The working people are the mass of the people and the obvious approach to their problems is through trade unions. Where effective and independent trade union organisations exist, there is more general contentment and less possibility of war.

The formation of such organisations should be very high on the list of priorities for assistance to the underdeveloped countries and peace throughout the world.

A continuation of the drift of world affairs in recent years would lead to continual guerrilla warfare over wide areas, engaging most of the countries of the world and it is impossible to predict where this would end. It is just as impossible to predict whether it can and will erupt into major war in the foreseeable future. A tremendous amount of the earth's resources and a vast store of human energy are being devoted to the prosecution of war, to the development of weapons and to the exploration of outer space, primarily for military reasons. If we could bring ourselves to devote the same attention to world peace and to raising living standards in needly countries we would achieve the greatest progress ever known.

The time for resolutions, no matter how well intended, has long passed. The I.L.O., consisting as it does of Government representatives and representatives of workers' and employers' organisations from all corners of the earth has a major responsibility—a responsibility which is ours collectively. It is my hope that before this session of the Conference concludes, we will have firmly resolved to take some immediate action to fight hunger with food, disease with health, and ignorance with learning, so that we may live in peace with our neighbours. If we fail, the free world with all these accomplishments cannot survive, nor, indeed, does it deserve to survive.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ALI KEKE (Government delegate, Chad)—It is a pleasure and a duty for me, Mr. President, to add my voice to those of previous speakers in congratulating you most warmly on your election to the presidency of this Conference. I wish also in the name of my Government to welcome the States which are represented at the Conference today for the first time.

The 47th and 48th Sessions have already provided an opportunity for a summary discussion of the important problems which the Director-General asks us to reconsider today. More than once my delegation has stated from this platform the determination of our State to neglect no effort in improving conditions of life. Our intentions on this subject have been clearly expressed but it is logical for us to point out also the difficulties inherent in our geographical position and inadequate infrastructure.

Nowadays we are interested more than previously in human resources and their utilisation, for we see in them an essential factor of economic and social progress and an element which our country has in relative abundance. One of the great problems of Chad as regards the utilisation of human resources is the phenomenon of underemployment, particularly in the primary sector where it is general. The causes of this grave problem are well known and have been discussed at length. It might be a good thing to do as we are invited and consider how administrative approach might help us gradually to solve it. We have already undertaken to profit by the experiences and knowledge of the developed countries which
were once in the situation which we are experiencing today.

Agriculture alone can raise the standard of life of our population and bring prosperity. But we are aware that we must take greater advantage of it. We must also set up industries for it and apply and fully utilise modern technology.

The Director-General has submitted to the Conference an objective and coherent list of the major programme areas of the Organisation. He has highlighted the problems encountered by the developing countries in using their human resources to better effect. We have been obliged by various development factors, and the urgency of starting our development projects despite evident shortage of skilled workers, to have recourse to a system of accelerated vocational training. However, one must be clear that this kind of training, appropriate though it may be to the problems of the time, must be followed by high-level training so that technical development can be taken into account.

I was speaking of underemployment. A recent inquiry has shown that in Chad the number of our own nationals decreases in a striking manner as the higher occupational grades are reached.

In co-operation with the employers and workers, my Government has, since our independence, undertaken a policy of vocational and advanced training. With this object, apprenticeship centres, technical schools and a centre for rapid vocational training have been established and are operating full time. Another centre is to be established in July 1965 for the training of office staff.

In this field the I.L.O. can play an important part; its assistance and advice in all forms are necessary to us. Working closely together, our planning department and our Ministry of Labour have started preparing, with a view to the first five-year plan, the planning and organisation of manpower and the projection of employment and training needs.

With regard to the Ministry of Labour, it is true that the skilled personnel at our disposal is small in comparison to our needs; however, our labour officers are acquiring experience in Europe; they will be back soon and to some extent they will make up our shortage of staff. The assistance of the I.L.O. will be very valuable here.

The employers' and workers' organisations participate in all advisory bodies which help to work out economic and social programmes. The co-operatives, young though they are, show also by their dedication and unselfishness the interest they take in seeking solutions to the grave problem of development with which the whole nation has to deal.

Problems of vital importance are bound up with the growing role of women in the life of the African countries. At this time of struggle for economic and social development, no active force can be neglected; thus, the women of Africa are being called upon increasingly to take up productive jobs. The intention of my Government is to stimulate the presence of women in offices, in shops, in teaching, in health services and even in the National Assembly. This effort is not the result of chance; it expresses the determination of the Government to use all its human potential in a policy of rapid development and its intention to restore to Chad women their personality and sense of individuality, which they were losing.

As regards the occupational organisations, our country recognises the considerable part which organised workers must play in the development of the active forces of the nation, on condition that they are strong and are fully acquainted with the economic and social problems which are of concern to the whole country.

We are in favour of the development of a unified trade union movement, which would give complete support to the policy of national construction. The importance my Government attaches to the rise of a strong, healthy and democratic trade union movement is embodied in the Constitution, but the unions which we favour must be really national, loyal and effective, aware of the national interest and conscious of their responsibilities towards the workers.

We have about 42,000 employed persons in a population of about 4 million inhabitants. We deprecate any undue increase in the number of trade unions, which is often aggravated by political interference fomented by international organisations or more powerful countries. It is evident that to acquire a strong position for negotiation, the unions must join together. It is not in accordance with our ideas to take restrictive action with regard to trade unions. However, we have repeatedly drawn the attention of the workers to the danger which trade union plurality might entail both for the other classes and for the workers themselves.

Trade union plurality is a grave defect which hampers the efficacy of the trade union movement and must be eliminated by African occupational organisations. The existence of several unions, which is explicable in highly industrialised countries by class and political rivalries, has no place in a country like ours, because it is inappropriate to our economic and social conditions. In our country the multitude of trade unions and their sterile struggle prevent the satisfaction of legitimate claims of the workers and also prevent satisfactory work, whereas the development of the country requires social stability and productivity.

The Director-General explained brilliantly at Addis Ababa that the trade union movement must act within the framework of action by the people and must seek solutions not only to satisfy their own claims but also to promote the welfare of all classes of the nation.

The proposed new National Labour Code now being studied by the authorities ensures freedom of association, the protection of the workers' income and shortens and improves procedures for the settlement of collective disputes.

Our main objective in this field is to combine rapid economic and social progress with the maintenance of the unions' right to defend their interests. Each African leader asks himself how the trade unions, mobilised to give effect to development plans side by side with government, can play their classical role without hindrance.

I should like now to speak of another problem appearing in the Report and of importance to
us; I mean the regionalisation of certain I.L.O. activities. The history, the economic and social situation, the political and administrative organisation of our countries require the structure and activities of the I.L.O. to be reconsidered. It is materially impossible to do this by bilateral negotiation, but it is fairly easy to do so at a wider level, that of the region.

The Director-General asked African delegates, in his Report to the Second African Regional Conference, to give the I.L.O. the directives which will enable it to play its part better in Africa, more practically and more realistically. We have given our views, which make up a long list of needs. The needs are very numerous, but in all circumstances we want to meet the most urgent requirements of our population; economic development is at the basis of the welfare of all nations and the I.L.O. should take more interest in obtaining capital and in using it in a rational manner. Rationalisation will be important only to the extent that regionalisation is effective.

Most of the African countries have not sufficient statistical data to enable the I.L.O. to give sufficient consideration to African problems regarding conditions of work and employment, in order to direct its activities better in our region. Therefore, the African Advisory Committee, the regional conferences, should be really African; they should enjoy real decision-making powers and should meet at shorter intervals to enable delegates better to indicate their objectives. Field Offices, of which there are two in Africa at present, should be increased in the coming years.

All this will guide the I.L.O.'s programme in the rather difficult task of determining the needs in this field and in allotting priorities to them. The I.L.O. programme must reflect the real conditions in our countries but the I.L.O. should keep to its own fundamental objectives and should continue to defend the principles which are the reasons for its existence.

We are glad to see that the I.L.O. is seeking more and more to adapt certain aspects of its methods to the particular situation of the African countries.

The procedure set up in 1919 for the revision of Conventions and Recommendations is no longer suited to the present situation. It is necessary to reflect on this question in a constructive and coherent atmosphere, with all the precautions which such an operation requires. As several speakers have suggested, we in Chad recommend that a special tripartite committee be set up which would have to revise systematically but to a limited extent the existing standards.

International standards are an essential part of the I.L.O.'s work and I must state here that these instruments provide immeasurable assistance to the developing countries in framing their own legislation. For this reason, the Conference should recommend to the Governing Body that this important work should be continued, side by side with its operational activities.

Since I have mentioned the Governing Body, I would like to say a few words about it. Permanent seats were allotted to certain countries for economic reasons—namely the big industrial Powers. This policy, which may have been suited to the wishes of a previous age, is no longer appropriate. The I.L.O. consists of one great family, and it is no longer aimed at serving only the aspirations of certain favoured countries. The direct consequence of the present policy is that the seats in the Governing Body are inequitably distributed, and of course it is the new States Members who have to bear the brunt. Therefore, a solution should be sought with a view to the just distribution of seats between regions.

The Director-General referred in his Report to the main lines of I.L.O. activity in 1964 and asked the Conference to discuss this matter. I have already referred to many points in Part II of the Report. However, I think I should say a few words on one of the principal points which is of importance to us—I mean racial policy, a question which the Director-General deals with in a special report.

All those who have known sad times of slavery, domination and life without relief, react particularly sharply to the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration, where labour discrimination is constant, and to the important Declaration on the shameful policy of apartheid which is still practised in South Africa. The civilised world of today should mobilise all its forces to condemn this degrading, criminal, inhuman policy of the Government of Portugal and of the self-styled Republic of South Africa.

The Declaration of Philadelphia invites not only Africans but the whole world to take part in this battle. Evidently, to all those present here the action to be taken must not be limited to out-of-date slogans and publications. Practical action in the form of political and economic pressure should be envisaged by the United Nations and the specialised agencies and the I.L.O. can make a great contribution in this struggle.

The epoch of foreign domination, which some retrograde spirits would like to retain, is now finished. Aware of the right to develop, all Africans and all the advanced countries conscious of the need for decolonisation in the interests of world peace, must mobilise their efforts to rescue our brothers in Angola from their miserable condition. We say "No" to all forms of colonialism.

The I.L.O. can do a great deal in this struggle for the conquest of the rights of man set out in the Declaration of Philadelphia and embodied in Constitutions of all countries where democracy is the fundamental basis of the régime.

Interpretation from French: Mr. GRANDVAL (Minister of Labour, France)—Since the Report of the Director-General has expressly invited the member States to submit their observations on the programme and structure of the I.L.O., I think we should go as far as we can in this critical but constructive examination of conscience which we are invited to make. I have by no means the intention of submitting to the Conference any concrete proposals aimed at; my specific reference to my intention is rather to voice the thoughts which are inspired in us by a theme so vast as this, in the hope
that their echo may contribute to further inspire this crucial discussion.

For the near half-century that the I.L.O. has been in existence and, especially since the Second World War, the world which it represents has undergone many profound transformations which could not fail to have repercussions on its activities and even on its purpose. In the economic field the problems of labour, i.e. the individual and collective protection of workers, have evolved with the progress of the communities within which these problems arise. In particular, they have extended to the field of employment and income, which in turn are closely related to the field of growth. In the political field, the spread of the Organisation over the globe has been marked not only by an increase in the number of its Members, but also by the diversity among them, which demands, or rather ought to demand, that its action take new forms: diversity in size, weight, internal régimes, levels of development. While the international activity, governed by the old I.L.O. was relatively homogeneous, that in which it attempts to apply its decisions or offer its advice today is basically heterogeneous.

Inevitably, as they took place these changes did have some effect on the orientation of the Organisation, but without its having as yet drawn all the necessary conclusions. The result has been a proliferation of programmes and structures, and the increasingly lively budget discussions which take place every year betray the confusion which sometimes characterises them. We must take the development of the Organisation in hand; it is time to pause for thought—for profound thought—to try to get a clearer concept of what the objectives and conditions of operation of the Organisation must be in the new international context during the last third of the century. Such reflection should, I think, lead in any case to a concentration of the I.L.O.'s activities on more limited, but more concrete and specific, objectives, which would come within the traditional field of competence of the International Labour Organisation. This concentration, moreover, would make it possible to improve in a more coherent and logical way the harmonious collaboration which must develop between the I.L.O. and the other organisations which make up what we call "the United Nations family".

While it is true, as the Director-General has remarked, that almost all the member States today still consider international standards to be the keystone of the Organisation, and feel that the preparation of such standards should continue to occupy a major part of the Organisation's activities, the problem nevertheless arises whether this imposing edifice, which seems to be almost completed, really meets the needs of all its users.

The texts in question, which in most cases are adopted at the instigation of the highly industrialised countries and reflect their own national legislations, do not take sufficient account of the situation of the less developed countries, which, however, make up an important majority of the I.L.O. and the other organisations which make up what we call "the United Nations family". The growing interdependence of social and economic factors, moreover, tends to broaden the field of application of these standards to domains closely connected with national policies, while at the same time rapid technical progress requires that they be adapted to national policies by ever more specialised provisions. This dual tendency stresses the need for differentiating among these standards according to the degree of evolution and the type of organisation of the countries to which they are to be applied, because the value of a law is not only its content but its effectiveness. If such differentiation is not made, the legislator exposes himself to a double risk: that of adopting, out of prudence, only those texts which can do nothing to improve the lot of some of those to whom they apply, but which remain nothing more than a pious hope for the rest.

While there is no question—for France even less than for anyone else—of abandoning the universal character of this standard-setting activity, we can at least for a moment see between, on the one hand, the basic principles from which there could in no case be any derogation and, on the other hand, the specific means of application of these principles to one or another group of nations. The former would be the subject of general Conventions of worldwide scope drafted in the same way as the present Conventions. The second would be developed by regional conferences—the idea of " region " would have to be reviewed in this connection—and could adopt a system of successive thresholds; since the goals set would be more accessible, this would be a greater stimulus to progress.

Observations of the same nature could be made in connection with another sector of Office activity, the importance of which is constantly growing, that is technical cooperation. First of all, let us observe that technical co-operation in the broadest sense benefits all member States, not only in the form of direct aid to the developing countries but also in the form of studies and research. I think this comment justifies a first suggestion. It would appear desirable to limit both forms of I.L.O. activities in this connection to fields where the I.L.O. has sole competence and where its intention can most effectively stimulate real progress. Otherwise the proliferation of most praiseworthy initiatives, only too often duplicated by the activities of other international organisations, would lead to confusion which, in the last analysis, would be sterile and, even worse, discouraging.

Is it really necessary to recall that a more strict respect for its specific nature would protect the Organisation from being turned aside from its own tasks by problems of a political nature, which are not only outside its competence but in which its intervention could have no practical effect?

A closer control over these two types of cooperation should, moreover, help to shed light on the specific role of assistance which is given by the I.L.O. to what we have agreed to call "the non-aligned countries". This would be even more useful in that the constantly growing multiplicity of requests for help from all sides requires here, more than elsewhere, a strong effort to outline a strict and coherent plan of action with a view to avoiding duplication, or
even competition, between multilateral and bilateral aid.

The principle of sharing tasks between multilateral and bilateral aid might be said to lie in the idea that multilateral aid, as in the case of studies and research, should preferably, by the very fact of its international origin, help the receiving countries to define their policies in a given field (this is a right inherent in the exercise of their sovereignty and would help them to preserve their independence); bilateral aid, on the other hand, would ensure their applying this policy. Such a division of tasks would contribute to the dispersal of money and manpower in a field where the shortage of resources available in relation to the needs makes any wastage particularly regrettable. An efficient way of increasing the number of experts could be to call further on the private sector, on the employers as well as on the workers.

In the light of these various observations, reflection on the structure and operation of the Office should lead us to revise not so much its principles as its method of work, with the double objective of economising means and ensuring greater efficiency.

In view of the diversity of régimes which are now represented in the Organisation, its tripartite nature will have to be adapted and will have to meet different realities depending on the country. The specific nature of the functions assumed in different countries by each of the three social partners is in no way, however, affected fundamentally. Perhaps the comparison of their roles in the light of the various régimes may even help each of them to understand better their own independence and their own mutual interdependence. Thus France is profoundly and resolutely attached to the spirit of the Constitution which governs the Organisation. Long experience has already shown, particularly in certain critical circumstances, how solid—and at the same time how flexible—this Constitution is.

The organisation of activities according to the various methods suggested just now should also permit a very considerable lightening of the workload. Thus, in particular, restricting the General Conference to one session every two years would guarantee a better preparation of the sessions of the Conference, and would facilitate top-level supervision of the regional activities, which would in their turn have to be further developed. It would represent, at the same time, a considerable saving in money and, chiefly, in time. Also, to lighten the workload of the Conference, it might be possible to substitute for a long theoretical discussion of the Director-General's Report in plenary session the examination of this Report by a committee which, at the end of the session, would submit its conclusions to the Conference. It would also seem desirable to re-examine the role of the Industrial Committees which, because of the enormous amount of work which each of them has achieved in the last 20 years, could have their meetings at longer intervals. More generally, the desire to control the development of the I.L.O., while protecting it from the temptations inherent in any administrative body, even an international one, should find concrete expression in a very strict budgetary policy.

I have sketched out, in as few words as the occasion allows, some of the ideas which come to mind in this kind of examination of conscience. My ideas in no way envisage reducing the scope of action of the Organisation. On the contrary, my idea is to prune away the dead wood which sometimes hinders it, to make it possible to work more directly and in a more thoroughgoing way. In any case, that was the intention of the French Government in presenting these comments, hoping they will contribute towards the effort at renovation which the I.L.O. must now make. I reminded you a moment ago that the Working Committee of the I.L.O. will celebrate its Golden Jubilee. This fiftieth anniversary will have to be a renaissance. France, tomorrow as yesterday, will be happy to help in bringing it about.

Mr. TABOR (Workers' delegate, Yugoslavia) --In the name of the workers of my country, I would like to express our deepest gratitude to you, Sir, and your fellow delegates for the sympathy expressed to us on the occasion of the terrible accident in our coal mine in Bosnia. We shall transmit your sympathies to the working people of Yugoslavia.

The Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions greatly appreciates the efforts of the Director-General who, in his Report, formulated the tasks of the International Labour Organisation. We also support the proposed programme of the I.L.O. in the field of human resources and economic development, development of social institutions, and living and working conditions.

The working class, whose role in solving socio-economic problems is constantly growing in importance, is becoming a decisive force in determining the course of economic and social development. Along with this, the role of trade unions is also becoming more important. Moreover, the development of human society has made obsolete the classical concept of the purely protective role of trade unions. Of course, the ways and methods used by trade unions differ from country to country depending on the prevailing conditions, but the fundamental aims and principles are the same everywhere. The variety of methods and forms only proves their ability to adapt themselves to reality. This is particularly important for the developing countries which are trying to accelerate their economic growth by industrialisation and diversification of their economies.

The identity of interests of workers and their trade unions all over the world, irrespective of ideologies and organisational affiliation, has already resulted in constructive co-operation and the exchange of experience on a series of questions set forth in the Director-General's Report, namely problems of planning, socio-economic development, distribution of the national income, participation of the workers in management, rapid integrational processes, the problems of the increasing gap between the advanced and the less developed countries, the problems of employment, transfer and retraining of manpower, the education of workers, and many other social questions.

The Yugoslav trade unions consider that all these questions ought to find their place in the programme of activities of the I.L.O. Thus the scope of the I.L.O.'s activities would
become wider and would meet present needs. For instance, the I.L.O. could carry out studies on questions of common interest to workers in both the industrialised and the developing countries, which could be a starting point for co-operation among trade union organisations. This would enhance joint action by trade unions with a view to eliminating disproportion in the world economy and to harmonising economic and social development, thus securing a higher standard of living for all. The workers of the industrialised countries are interested in the accelerated development of economically less developed countries because this would secure full employment, which is now threatened by rapid technological and scientific progress. This could be the I.L.O.'s contribution to filling the gap which now divides national economies in the world, and its contribution towards equal economic relations among nations based on international division of labour in the spirit of the principles adopted at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

The development of co-operation in this field, in our opinion, would contribute also to an exchange of experience and a larger participation of workers in economic management. In some countries remarkable results have already been achieved in the field of workers' management. We feel that the task of finding adequate forms of workers' participation in management should be included in the research programmes of the I.L.O. and entrusted to I.L.O. staff. We would also suggest that occasional discussions should be organised within the Workers' group or among trade union representatives of individual regions, as well as seminars, dissemination of information and the like. The results of this research work would serve as a basis for the preparation of standards in this field, the need of which is increasingly felt.

Moreover, the possibility could be examined of amending the Workers' Education Programme by adding these new elements to it and by giving a more prominent place to the economic education of workers and to an exchange of experience among different social systems. It has been proved in practice that such an exchange is particularly important for the developing countries whose trade unions tend at an early stage to take part in the programming of national economies and the management of enterprises. In our opinion it would be very useful to organise, not later than next year, under the auspices of the I.L.O., an international seminar on education and preparation of workers for participation in the management of enterprises.

The Yugoslav trade unions are ready to make their contribution to research work in this field and to lend full support to I.L.O. undertakings in this direction. Owing to the results achieved so far in my country in the sphere of worker-management we were able to provide material for the I.L.O. publication issued last year concerning Yugoslav achievements in this field. I would add that the experience of other trade unions would be very welcome to us and would greatly help the study of problems of workers' management in general.

Another question mentioned in the Director-General's Report which deserves equal attention and research within the I.L.O. is that of the distribution of income. This research should cover, inter alia, the distribution of gross income. It would help trade union organisations in choosing the proper line of action and in finding their place and role in the distribution of national income. This question becomes particularly important in conditions of accelerated economic development postulating a higher standard of living for workers.

I should like to acquaint this forum with the extensive activities of the Yugoslav trade unions in the further elaboration of legislation in the field of work and labour relations, occupational safety and social insurance. A large number of our workers participated actively in formulating proposals for new legislative acts which mark a very important step forward in the strengthening of the direct role of workers in the solving of these questions.

Of particular importance for the workers is the new law on labour relations. The law defines the rights of economic organisations to administer their income autonomously and to fix the personal income fund and the investment fund of the enterprise, to establish autonomously the standards relating to the employment and dismissal of workers, the distribution of posts, the duration of holidays with pay, etc.

The law explicitly defines the very important role of trade unions. The management bodies of the enterprises are obliged by this law to take into consideration the opinions and the position of trade unions and to rely on them when adopting their decisions.

I should now like to turn to another question and express our opinion that attainment of the aims of the I.L.O. will be possible only if we adjust its structure to contemporary needs and to the changes that have occurred in the world since the setting up of this Organisation. We think that the individual relationships and international trade union organisations should be equally and proportionally represented in all I.L.O. organs. Adequate representation will be particularly important for the work of the Workers' group at this Conference. The existing monopoly of some regions and organisations within the Workers' group makes it impossible for a great number of trade union organisations to make their contribution to the efforts exerted in this direction by our Organisation.

Any further delay in the solving of these urgent institutional questions would prevent the I.L.O. from achieving such results as are rightly expected by the majority of its Members, and particularly by the national trade union organisations. Therefore, it is imperative to solve in a consistent and democratic manner the question of the structural adjustment of the I.L.O.

In becoming Members of the I.L.O., all countries undertook the obligation to respect the principles and accept the standards on which our Organisation is based, namely the Declaration of Philadelphia, the Constitution of the I.L.O., as well as its numerous Conventions, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As we all know, there are countries today in
which elementary trade union freedoms are denied and thus the working class is prevented from performing its important role. A striking example of such suppression of freedoms is to be found in our continent, in Spain. We feel that it is our duty and moral obligation to do our best to help Spanish workers in their 20-year long struggle for their rights. I should like to draw the attention of the Conference to the draft resolution submitted by the Yugoslav trade unions to this session of the Conference which demands that the Spanish Government guarantees fundamental democratic freedoms for the working people of Spain. The democratic world rightly expects delegates at this Conference to give wholehearted support to this resolution, all the more so since international trade union organisations and regional as well as many national organisations have addressed complaints and appeals to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the I.L.O. expressing therein their opinion with regard to the situation of the Spanish workers and the violation of their basic rights.

In addressing this august assembly on behalf of the working people of Yugoslavia, I feel it necessary to express our deep anxiety concerning the existing situation in world affairs. Contrary to the expectations of mankind, the world is again threatened with a universal war which, in this age of nuclear weapons, could destroy all that was ever made by man.

The war and intervention in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic, the situation in the Congo and some countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America show the tendency to legalise the use of force in international relations. In addition, the still existing colonial oppression, the policy of racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa and some other countries and the ever wider gap between the industrialised and the less developed countries also constitute a serious threat to world peace and the progress of mankind.

We therefore consider it the duty of our Organisation, as an important member of the United Nations family, to oppose all attempts which are contrary to the spirit and principles of the United Nations Charter, attempts at domination of other nations, attempts to re-establish colonial relations and discrimination of any kind.

In this connection, I should like to mention that the Yugoslav trade unions fully support the resolution submitted by the Government delegate of the United Arab Republic condemning the Government of Portugal on the ground of forced labour practised in territories under its administration. These conditions, which are undoubtedly a disgrace to our age, still exist in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The International Labour Conference must condemn such practices and give full support to the solution of these problems, thus ensuring its support for the struggle of the oppressed people of Portugal.

The I.L.O. should play an important part in the preservation of world peace. We feel that it should also devote its full attention to the problem of disarmament and should endeavour to contribute more than hitherto to the cause of general disarmament. It is a well-known fact that the expenditure on armaments in the world today amounts to $120,000 million a year, which is about 8 per cent of the total world annual income or nearly the total income of the developing countries. If the resources allocated for armaments were used for economic development and the improvement of living conditions this would not only facilitate development and improve employment possibilities in the less developed countries but would also increase employment possibilities in the developed industrial countries. The attempts to intimidate the working class by false allegations that disarmament would bring unemployment to the workers cannot shake them in their determination to stop the unjustified waste of enormous resources on the production of means of destruction instead of being utilised for general well-being and progress.

The working people of Yugoslavia, organised in their trade unions, will continue to give full support to the International Labour Organisation in its endeavours and activities aimed at the preservation of world peace. They will continue to struggle relentlessly for the policy of active and peaceful co-existence among nations, firm in their belief that only the observance of these principles can save the world from war and create the conditions indispensable for social progress.

Mr. DŽUNOV (Federal Secretary for Labour, Yugoslavia)—On behalf of my country and the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia it is my duty to thank you, Sir, and my fellow delegates for the kind words and condolences addressed to the people of Yugoslavia on the occasion of the accident in the coal mine at Kakanj in which more than 100 workers lost their lives. You can understand how painful this accident is for me, as Minister of Labour, and what a terrible shock it must have been for the families and comrades of the miners concerned. Your words and understanding at this grave moment ease our pain, and we are most grateful to all of you. Thank you once again.

Mr. NDISI (Government delegate, Kenya)—On behalf of the Republic of Kenya, may I associate myself with the previous speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your election as President of this session of the Conference. It is well known that the responsibility placed upon you is great but your experience and long association with this Organisation will equip you to fulfil this important task. With your guidance we shall, I am sure, reach the satisfactory conclusions we all hope for.

I consider it a great honour to have this opportunity of addressing the Conference as a representative of my country. Although this is the second occasion on which Kenya has directly participated in the work of the International Labour Conference it is the first session which my country has attended as a sovereign independent republic. Through my participation in the last session and my continuous attention to the activities of the International Labour Organisation I can vouch for the extent of its work and influence over a wide field.
I should also like to take this opportunity of welcoming to this Organisation our friends from Gambia and Yemen and, in particular, our near neighbours from Malawi and Zambia who have recently regained their birthright and are taking their rightful place here for the first time. We look forward to their valuable assistance in the attainment of the constructive objectives for which our Organisation exists and operates.

We in Kenya are aware that some of our brethren in Africa are still under colonial and foreign minority domination. The Republic of Kenya has from time to time expressed itself strongly on the situation in Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea. We have also made our position on Southern Rhodesia quite clear. We are totally committed to cooperating with other African States through the Organisation of African Unity to secure the complete liberation of Africa. Therefore we cannot consider ourselves fully free until the whole of Africa is free from colonialism and foreign minority domination.

The Republic of Kenya feels very strongly about Portuguese policies in Africa. This is indeed a denial of human rights.

I would also mention that a democratic government in Southern Rhodesia based on one man, one vote, must be recognised. The United Kingdom can rest assured of our full support in whatever action it may wish to take in order to ensure that no unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority in Southern Rhodesia takes place.

The Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of "Apartheid" of the Republic of South Africa contains plenty of food for thought. I should like to express here our full appreciation of the work put into this. The Report is the result of an instrument adopted at the 48th Session of this Conference. Its contents are precise and I congratulate the Director-General on producing this excellent document.

It is a matter of deep concern that the Republic of South Africa should still continue with its apartheid policy. In view of the fact that the Republic of South Africa refused to reply to the Director-General's requests, thus confirming that no useful purpose would be served by referring this matter to the Governing Body for further analysis, it is for this Conference and the member States of this Organisation to consider what action would be understood by South Africa in connection with our effort to supplement the Director-General's proposals.

The Director-General's Report contains a number of important proposals concerning the measures to be taken to promote progress in a variety of fields; these include human resources and economic development, the development of social institutions and living and working conditions.

Obviously, there is a close relationship between economic development and social progress. It is by means of planning that our Government, after it attained independence, immediately drafted and produced a Six-Year Development Plan for the period 1964-70. Our President, His Excellency the Hon. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta had this to say: "We plan in order to attain our goal, to establish new economic institutions and modify old ones, freely choosing our models from the successful economies of the world, adapting them to suit Kenya's conditions and, in the process, developing new concepts of economic organisation."

By pursuing this policy much has already been done in this field, but a lot remains to be done if we are to achieve our declared goals.

The distinctive character of co-operative societies is the democratic control exercised over their affairs by the members. However, the biggest drawback to the movement at the moment has been the lack of co-operative education among members and it is felt that if the performance of the co-operative societies in the economic field is to show marked improvement over the past, great stress will need to be laid on co-operative education. The Republic of Kenya is aware of this, and is anxious to get I.L.O. experts to advise not only on co-operative education but on various co-operative activities such as wholesale and consumer co-operatives, credit societies, banking and insurance, transport, housing, fishing and co-operative farms and ranching societies.

The employment problems faced by a number of countries vary according to the level of wage-earning employment, the density of population and, more particularly, the position of wage earners within the economically active population. The Kenya Government is making every effort not only to increase the volume of employment but also to absorb more of the population in the economic activities of the country. In doing so we are, of course, learning from experience in other countries, and we look to the I.L.O. for practical assistance in this connection.

Particularly in developing countries, it is necessary to have regard to the rapid growth in population. The exploitation of agricultural and mineral resources in any country cannot improve conditions of life unless growth in production outstrips the population increase. We are aware of the need to stem this population increase.

Through our development programmes our Government proposes to take immediate steps towards family-planning education, because we believe that the present high rate of population makes extensive and intensive provision of social services impracticable, the employment problem more intractable, and saving for development harder than need be, thus lowering the rate of economic growth. Here again the I.L.O. can be of assistance.

A major preoccupation of any country which seeks to raise its standard of life is the intensive and rational exploitation of its mineral resources and its agricultural resources which are still insufficiently developed. Kenya's Six-Year Development Plan gives a great place to the solution of these problems, particularly with regard to agriculture which is still the main industry and the chief source of wealth of our country.

In our Development Plan about £9 million is earmarked for land settlement schemes. Through these settlement schemes the Government has already introduced many more Africans into the agricultural economy of our
country. By a vastly expanded programme of agricultural education the Government is providing the African farmer with the knowledge to enable him to compete effectively in the modern world.

We have three enemies facing us: these are disease, poverty, and the lack of education. We deliberately call the disease commonly known as ignorance lack of education, because we believe that, given educational opportunity, ignorance disappears. We therefore consider that it is through hard work and intensive economic development that we can overcome these problems.

We consider that the promotion of employment in the rural areas is essential to the improvement of living conditions and of the prospects of the inhabitants of those areas. Particular emphasis is therefore placed on the development of rural areas and the expansion of rural institutions. It is evident that the people have, more than ever before, become involved in the democratic process of planning and working to solve their problems, thus enabling them to play their part in the socioeconomic progress of the country. The I.L.O.'s co-operation in this field can be of great significance.

In its efforts to eliminate unemployment the Government has established the National Youth Service which, when in full operation, will have an annual intake of 7,000 members. Its object is to provide useful employment for young men aged between 16 and 30 years who have been unable to obtain paid employment but who are keen to contribute to the task of nation-building. The Service will enable them to play their part in the social and economic affairs of the country, and will train them in useful skills and in citizenship.

We are aware that the only possibility of improving living standards is by a more rapid rate of economic development, and we know also that this is only possible if we achieve a higher rate of investment. Investment and savings are essential conditions of economic development. Therefore, in order to reach satisfactory results, the population must make sacrifices now and await the effects of economic development later. We consider that the principal aim of African socialism as applied to planning in Kenya is to improve the welfare and living standards of the people of this and succeeding generations.

The Republic of Kenya is already aware of the problems facing women, and, in recognition of their potential contribution to the economy of the country, we are pledged to do everything possible within our means to overcome those problems which are associated with women in employment.

The absence or shortage of skilled personnel in occupations requiring long-term training is one of the main obstacles to the economic expansion of the developing countries, and the co-operation of the I.L.O. and other specialised agencies of the United Nations will be very useful in establishing and operating training and education programmes.

International action by the United Nations Special Fund in agreeing to support our Government in the establishment of the Kenya Industrial Training and Productivity Centre is greatly appreciated. This is a good example of international co-operation, and this kind of assistance could be intensified in other developing countries. It is hoped that when the Centre is established we will be in a position to widen our training programmes locally.

Greater interest is now being shown in adult education than ever before. There is an increase in the number of people attending literacy classes, and the statistics available at present show that there are at least 40,000 students attending 1,400 classes. This number is most likely to rise. The I.L.O. can again be of great help by providing material and other assistance that might be needed in this field.

Having regard to the importance of vocational and technical training as a factor in raising productivity and wage levels, the I.L.O.'s activities in this field are most welcome. The establishment of the Turin Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training marks a significant new advance in the I.L.O.'s training activities; in addition to this Centre, the I.L.O. should also assist developing countries in their training programmes organised locally to meet local demands.

We envisage setting up new farm training centres in a number of areas in Kenya, and the existing ones will be expanded and improved. A training centre to give industrial training to African industrialists to enable them to compete effectively has been set up.

We believe that the trade union organisations have an important part to play in the harmonious development of young nations. They can help the governments achieve their development objectives by organising manpower, by instructing and educating the workers in their responsibilities and the part they have to play in the general development effort to improve their skills and increase their output. The skills and the structure of the labour force should, therefore, be studied carefully in co-operation with the I.L.O.

We welcome the I.L.O.'s proposed action in the field of labour relations. In Kenya there is a very close relationship between the Government and employers' and workers' organisations - not only by direct consultation but also through the medium of the Labour Advisory Board. During the past few years I.L.O. regional courses in labour administration have been held in our country, and representatives of employers' and workers' organisations have been associated with these courses.

It is our intention to assist trade unions to become involved in economic activities such as co-operatives, housing schemes, workers' discipline and co-operation, training schemes and, in general, to accept their social responsibility. In order to avoid abuses of trade union power and to enable the country to concentrate on economic development, legislation has been introduced providing machinery for the settlement of issues not resolved through the regular bargaining process, together with any other issues that may be needed to avoid strikes.

The Government of the Republic of Kenya, like other governments of developing countries, is aware that there is a growing sector of the population which is divorced from the tribe or clan and from the traditional security which they provided. In this connection, I have to
report that our Government has now taken a further step towards the provision of a comprehensive social security system. A National Provident Fund Scheme is being established and will come into operation towards the end of this year. The Fund, which will be a contributory one with equal payments from employers and workers, will ultimately cover all employed persons but it will be introduced in stages.

These are some of the steps which we are taking in Kenya to deal with the problem so ably outlined in the Director-General's Report.

As I have said, we, as a developing country, cannot hope to overcome our difficulties alone, and we hope that we will continue to have the assistance of the International Labour Organisation and other organisations interested, and without any strings.

Lastly, may I congratulate the Director-General once again on the production of a very constructive Report, and wish this tripartite organisation success in its efforts to promote understanding between men and nations.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)
NINTH SITTING

Tuesday, 8 June 1965, 3 p.m.

President : Mr. Raza

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now continue the discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Mr. THONDAMAN (Workers' delegate, Ceylon)—Let me offer you, Mr. President, my warmest congratulations on your election to your high office. It is in the tradition of the I.L.O. to elect as President such an eminent person as you are.

This year's Report of the Director-General is a very comprehensive formulation of the programme and structure of the I.L.O., showing how I.L.O. programmes can move forward in areas where there has been a consensus of agreement. It also provides fresh proposals and fresh ideas on those matters which require further examination.

Undoubtedly, as the task of the Organisation is one of unprecedented importance, it becomes imperative for all member States to make a comprehensive and objective study of the proposals submitted for consideration at the Conference. The report and the analysis should engage the active attention of all member States and of employers' and workers' organisations as a new signpost in the activities of the I.L.O. The three major programme areas—human resources development; labour relations, trade union development and the growth of sound social institutions; and conditions of life and work—embrace those matters which are uppermost today in the minds of all member delegates.

As the delegate of the workers of my country I welcome the reorganisation of the internal structure of the Organisation. It is, I feel, a step in the right direction. The three large administrative units created thereby correspond to the programme categories contemplated. I do hope that the new departmental structure will facilitate the process of formulating and adjusting programmes to the needs of member countries. It is very necessary to move from general formulation to the elaboration of precise programmes based on systematic reviews of the principal needs of each programme area if the attainment of priority objectives is to be efficiently accomplished. Concentration on essential activities should not hamper the integration and appraisal of current programmes. Rather should we develop a more refined system capable of the evaluation of alternative proposals in response to the continuing assessment of needs.

The establishment of the Field Department should in my opinion galvanise regional activities. The review by regional conferences of the implementation by member States of international labour Conventions and Recommendations in developing countries is very essential. Future action should always be oriented in the light of policies pursued by member governments, and the best assessor of such policies should be the I.L.O. regional organs. I welcome the structure of the Field Department, especially the establishment of three regional branches for the newly developing countries. It is to be hoped that the new structure will facilitate closer contacts with governmental and non-governmental organisations in the countries concerned and will provide assistance by improving the over-all quality of the regional offices' field exports.

The widespread interest in the development and utilisation of human resources has been eagerly shared in my country. The new Government of Ceylon has restated, in the recent Speech from the Throne, that it will be fair to all, irrespective of race, community or religion, and that it will protect human rights at all times. Throughout the programme of policies outlined by the National Government of Ceylon emphasis has been placed on investment in human resources in over-all development planning. Popular support for the tasks of national development and the participation of broad social groups in them have been enlisted by the Government of my country by declaring that the advancement of the interests of employees of all grades in the public and private sectors will be guaranteed. Better utilisation of the labour force through the creation of higher levels of productive employment is now being studied by the Government.

Unemployment has acquired massive proportions in my country and the Government proposes to take resolute steps by integrating human resources policies with economic development planning. The educational system, which is insufficiently geared to economic realities, will be corrected. Employer-employee relationships will be rendered more cordial by ensuring employee participation in manage-
ment and profits. It is here that Ceylon lacks specialists with wide experience of manpower questions and an understanding of planning techniques. It is to the I.L.O. that my country looks to furnish the programmes and structure for vocational training, educational planning, employment promotion policies, worker training and management training. In Ceylon we have to create employment that is fully productive and raise productivity in labour-intensive sectors. The contribution of the rural sector to the national income is by no means insignificant. The plantation workers have a predominant role in the solution of such problems, monetary and financial stability. We realise that active participation by different organised social groups, inspired by mutual understanding for each other's autonomy, is necessary for the growth of workers' and employers' organisations which are genuinely representative and independent.

In pursuance of the third objective of the I.L.O. as stated in the Report, Ceylon requires administrative machinery to deal with the complex problems existing in the field of labour relations. Realising the immense contribution that maintenance of industrial peace would make to the achievement of the goal of economic growth, the Government of my country has established the necessary machinery for the examination and solution of differences that arise between employers and employees. Industrial courts and labour tribunals play an increasingly predominant role in the solution of such differences; the Department of Labour has also contributed in no small measure by applying methods of conciliation, negotiation or arbitration as provided for in the Industrial Disputes Act, a statute which the workers in my country have recognised as the bulwark of their rights against intransigent and uncompromising employers.

All member States will no doubt welcome and appreciate their active support to the proposals of the I.L.O. to enhance the status of the worker and to improve his living and working conditions. It is an indisputable fact that the I.L.O. has done much useful work on many aspects of workers' education in different regions of the world. It is most gratifying that the I.L.O. should have decided to focus its attention on strengthening and improving national institutions for the training of personnel managers. In my country the institution of personnel management, though introduced in recent times, has gained considerable ground and has come to be recognised as a very necessary prerequisite for good employer-employee relations, and it is quite fitting that the I.L.O. should anticipate the adoption in the very near future of an instrument on this question. That the I.L.O. has set the training of personnel managers as one of its objectives has been manifestly proved by the recent seminar held in Ceylon on personnel management for Asian countries.

It is indeed very encouraging and heartening to the teeming millions of workers in all the member States that the I.L.O. had set as its fourth objective the enhancement of the status of the worker, both within the undertaking and in society as a whole. In this connection, as the leader of the largest trade union in my country, I am particularly grateful to state here at this Conference that the Government of Ceylon has given an assurance concerning the participation of employees in management and profits. With this assurance a new era seems to be dawning in the lives of the workers of my country. However, I am alive to the fact that it will be no easy task for the Government to translate these intentions into realities by converting the present system of a wage contract to a partnership contract, with the workers sharing in the profits and management of an industry.

Under the wage contract system, the worker is a sort of stranger and alien to the business; he has nothing to do with the direction of the business or with the profits thereof. Under a partnership contract system, on the contrary, the employers and employees are considered as participating in a joint task of distribution or production for the common good. They both have a part to play in the business enterprise, although this part differs according to their functions.

Profit-sharing normally involves the dividing of a portion of net profits among the workers in accordance with a previously developed formula. This is in addition to a fair wage determined by normal collective bargaining. Such a procedure, it is said, emphasises the common interests of workers and employers, gives labour an incentive to co-operate with management, and tends to increase the workers' loyalty to the employer. On the other hand, it is also a fact that the incentive method of profit-sharing has often caused suspicion and even hostility on the part of organised labour. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there are untapped reserves in the working force which can be utilised only through co-operation. Workers often have suggestions for new methods of production, for devices to increase quality and eliminate waste, etc., which have proved most useful for industries. Furthermore, psychologically speaking, it may even happen that they can work faster without undue fatigue if the proper stimulus is applied. Accordingly, it seems that profit-sharing can be successful provided that it is accompanied by complete trust in the management's integrity and competence. The idea of management-sharing is fraught with more difficulties than profit-sharing.

In the economic domain, management and labour are linked in a community of action and interests. To disregard this mutual bond, to strive to break it, can only betray a pretension to blind and preposterous despotism. Employers and workers are not implacable adversaries. They are co-operators in a common task. Both parties are interested in seeing to it that the costs of national production are in proportion to the output. But since they have common interests why should not a just share of the responsibility in the establishment and development of the national economy be assigned to the workers, especially today, when scarcity of capital and the problem of international exchange are paralysing the free flow of expenditure on national production? I am confident that, with a reorientation of the attitudes of employers in my country, the hopes
of the Government in this regard and those of the workers will not be belied.

Interpretation from French : Mr. NZO-EKHAH-NGHAKY (Government delegate, Cameroon)—Mr. President, may I, in the name of my Government, first of all congratulate you most sincerely on your election to the presidency of this important session of the International Labour Conference. As you said yourself, this election is an honour not only to you as an individual but also to your beautiful country, Pakistan, one of our friends in the Afro-Asian group. Cameroon is proud of this victory, but prouder still of your efficiency, which you have already shown in carrying out the new responsibilities of this high post.

After having read with very close attention indeed the Report of the Director-General to the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference, I should like to thank the author for the clarity, the lucidity and the timeliness of everything that he has said in his Report referring to the future of the International Labour Office itself and, through the International Labour Office, the future of the developing countries in their own. I may add that the delegates at the preceding session of the Conference were very wise in deciding that the general programme of action of the I.L.O. should be geared to deal successively, in the following order of priority, with the development of human resources, trade union activity and the development of social institutions, and conditions of life and work.

We should like to stress in passing the keen sense of timeliness with which the International Labour Office, one of the oldest specialised agencies in the world, has adapted itself to the new tasks and new situations which result from phenomena which have recently affected the political life of a number of States throughout the world and, more particularly, in Africa south of the Sahara. We can only endorse and subscribe to these reforms in structure, the intent of which is to decentralise effectively the action of the I.L.O. and hence to adapt it better to the conditions arising, in particular, out of the accession of a number of States to independence.

We quite appreciate and understand the scope of the reforms made at the Headquarters of the I.L.O., in particular the creation of departments, large administrative units bringing together in flexible and efficient groups all the sectors of the activity of this Organisation. But what was most welcome to us was the constantly increasing share which is being set aside for the study and discussion of regional problems. We feel, in fact, that our African problems will require studies made on the spot, field studies which will enable the solutions to the problems will be adapted to the conditions peculiar to each country. To achieve this result it was obviously necessary to decentralise the activities of the I.L.O. We therefore applaud the creation of the regional services, one of which will be particularly concerned with Africa. Thus the technical competence of the I.L.O. will be effectively and harmoniously synthesised with the desiderata expressed by the Africans within the very framework of their basic concerns. The Director-General's desire to establish the general programme of the I.L.O. taking into consideration the priorities of the real needs of the countries concerned was expressed with the same sense of flexibility and effectiveness and deserves our wholehearted approval.

That is why we are particularly happy to have been able to welcome at Yaoundé the establishment of the Training Centre for Labour Administration, which was organised by the I.L.O. with the assistance of the French Government. This is a regional operation which is perfectly adapted to the immediate needs of the French-speaking African States.

We fully support the proposals with respect to the development of human resources available to our countries. We are in fact convinced that the economic expansion which our countries are seeking is closely and categorically dependent on the development of human resources which constitute our real wealth. Thus we are in full agreement as to the immediate need to establish progressive and concerted plans on the understanding that, at the same time, the vocational training of our workers is actively promoted. Vocational training should unquestionably be promoted in different forms, but all of these forms should lead to the improvement of the productivity of our manpower, and thus to the progressive paying off of the mortgage represented by the compulsory recourse to „imported” manpower. We are also convinced that efforts should be made so that co-operation among the various services responsible for the development of human resources and those services which are concerned with economic planning should be more complete and more fully developed than it is today.

Now, it is quite true that the I.L.O. can play a very effective role in the finding of solutions which can lead to such a result, and we hope that it will make its services available to us in this connection. Such action, however, will have to be complete, that is to say, that it will take responsibility for the various sectors of activity, in particular with a view to the rural development which is the key to our economic development, but also at all levels and particularly that of the higher echelons. It must also take responsibility for the further training of workers who have already received some kind of hasty or superficial training and who seem likely to be able to advance in their occupation. We should like to thank the I.L.O. in this connection for agreeing to set up in Yaoundé a centre for further training of office staff which will begin to operate next October. Such concrete achievements should be multiplied in all branches where the research provided for in the general programme of action of the I.L.O. will show the possibility and the desirability of such training. Only in this way will the I.L.O. continue to help us in the field of the co-operative movement, which we have irrevocably chosen as the means of emancipating our producers and consumers. Such aid could be particularly valuable to us if education experts were sent to our National Centre for the Training of Co-operators. This Centre was established recently and is open to our African neighbours as well as to our own nationals.
Finally, it would be desirable to prepare those who will train others and who can pass on all the grounding that they will have received in such courses.

As regards the part of the programme dealing with the subject of social institutions, we feel that this is a field where one has to walk very warily because of the political overtones which may be involved. We already have in Cameroon legislation which provides for direct, free and confident co-operation between organisations of employers and workers, so it is not the principle to which we have any objection. We have also, and very recently, decided to include representatives of these organisations in the active phase of working out, and perhaps later in the application, of our second five-year plan. We are making every effort, in the same connection, to extend even further the collaboration among the three groups—government, employers and workers—to the social and economic development of our country.

But we feel that the mass of the workers of our country, who are as yet somewhat backward, must be protected against attempts made by certain dishonest persons, operating under the fictitious cloak of workers' movements, to introduce subversion into our country and sabotage its institutions. The recent history of the trade union movement in Cameroon has made us particularly sensitive to this possible action.

As far as concerns the improvement of working conditions, we consider that this is an objective of very great importance. But we want to avoid converting the wage earners into a sort of privileged caste in the country who would be an object of constant attention by the State, whereas the great mass of non-wage-earning workers, in the agricultural sector in particular, could expect an improvement in their lot only through a rise in world market prices for their products. We consider such a distortion would be dangerous and therefore should be avoided.

We are inclined, in view of the present situation of our general economy, to grant wage earners new social advantages only to the extent that they themselves produce higher quality work than they have done so far, particularly as regards conscientiousness and output, it being understood that any adjustments made necessary by the rise in the cost of living would not be affected because of these considerations.

Studies which have been made on these problems bring out that any improvement in the quality of work is closely connected with the vocational training and further training of manpower, and therefore is conditioned by the efforts already made, or to be made, in this field.

We also feel that efforts of the same nature must be undertaken in the case of workers who are members of unions, and particularly shop stewards, so as to complete their training and make it possible for them to take a more active part in the life of the undertakings themselves as well as to carry out objectives which are part of our plan of development. In this field the report of the L.I.O. can be decisive, and we are confident that when we come to ask for help it will not be denied.

However, such activity is a delicate matter, and it seems difficult to decide how exactly it could be included successfully in a programme of development of social institutions common to a group of States. The needs in this field are very different from one country to another, as are the existing structures, and it would seem very difficult to contemplate any action, even if it were not imposed by authority, with a view to modifying these conditions in a harmonious and effective way.

I feel the desired results could be more easily obtained by constantly tightening up the application of international labour standards, through the instruments already worked out by the International Labour Conference.

In this connection we can only endorse the action undertaken with a view to modifying instruments no longer applicable to the political and social conditions of most countries. We consider this operation, which was very correctly termed "the pruning away of dead wood", to be highly salutary. We also think it should be accompanied by a thoughtful search for new standards, which would make it possible to adapt to the requirements of modern life the standards which are already in force. Here it is also desirable that improved adaptation of the rules already established should be carried out parallel with the continuance of efforts towards the application of these rules. Therefore, we fully approve the comments made by the Director-General in the section of his Report concerned with new international labour standards, and we consider that the proposals made are absolutely acceptable and should be adopted.

This is a modest but frank and open contribution which we thought we could make to the Director-General in his search for ways and means of adapting the action of this Organisation to the needs of a changing world.

Interpretation from Russian : Mr. EFRE-MENKO (Workers' delegate, Ukraine)—I have studied very carefully the Director-General's Report to the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference, and I have come once again to the conclusion that the activities and structure of the I.L.O. do not correspond with the rapidly changing requirements of the world. A large number of delegates to the Conference have already expressed the conviction that the Organisation should democratise itself, do away with discrimination, analyse more objectively the economic and social position of the workers in the various countries of the world, and plan its programmes on the basis of such an analysis.

In this connection, the Workers' delegation of the Ukraine has noted with interest the Director-General's proposals regarding the formation imposed by the present world situation.

There can be no doubt that the problems of manpower and human resources development remain highly relevant to the future activities of the I.L.O. The Director-General correctly points out that the activities of the I.L.O. in the field of manpower resources should be based on manpower planning. If the
the I.L.O. had followed genuine democratic pro-
cedures and done away with discrimination, 
bas ing its studies impartially on the careful 
comparison of experience gained in various 
countries, including the socialist countries, it 
would have been able to plan an effective 
policy in the field of manpower resources and 
would have greatly contributed to the whole 
problem of economic and social development in 
most countries, especially the developing 
countries.

We have no doubt that activities in the field 
of labour relations, the promotion of trade 
unions and the promotion of social institutions 
governing such relations are in line with the 
aims of the I.L.O. and can offer a broad field of 
activities for this Organisation over the coming 
years. However, we cannot agree with the 
conclusions in the Report to the effect that the 
I.L.O. should, in its activities, seek to apply 
methods of conciliation and arbitration with a 
view to overcoming the conflicts that might 
 arise between workers and employers, in order 
to achieve more fruitful co-operation.

In order to approach the whole problem of 
labour relations correctly one should clearly 
define the concept of co-operation and possible 
conflicts between workers and employers that may 
 arise in various countries, about which the 
Director-General speaks. One cannot conceal 
the fact that in capitalist countries, where 
private enterprise prevails and where the owner 
of capital dictates his conditions to the worker 
in order to boost his own profits, conflict 
between the workers and the owners of capital, 

between employers' organisations upholding 
the interests of the capitalists on the one hand 
and the trade union organisations upholding 
the interests of the workers on the other hand 
has always existed and will always exist so long 
as the whole system of exploitation of man by 
man is not eliminated, and so long as a fair 
distribution of the fruits of man's labour is not 
achieved. Such conflict simply varies in inten-
sity at different times.

As far as the International Labour Organi-
sation is concerned, in many of the committees 
of the Conference, in the Governing Body and 
elsewhere, it has wisely separated the Workers 
from the Employers by means of the Govern-
ment benches. It would be wrong and absurd 
for the I.L.O. to profess and seek to impose 
this sort of idyllic policy of "co-operation" 
between the workers and the capitalists. At 
a time when the cost of living is rising in many 
countries, when consumer prices and rents are 
rising, when the monopolies are attacking the 
rights of the working class, tens of millions of 
workers are engaged in strike campaigns. The 
violent class struggles in the capitalist countries 
testify eloquently to the fact that the workers 
have the greatest difficulty in achieving, at 
the price of considerable sacrifices, the smallest 
concessions from the employers. Therefore, any 
approach founded on the basic aims of the I.L.O. 
in this field should be extremely realistic, earnest 
and based on an assessment of the facts. The 
form in which the Report approaches the sub-
ject would cause considerable damage to the 
workers and to the whole international labour 

movement.

The workers can support with great satis-
faction the I.L.O. 's aim of contributing to the 
expansion of representative and independent 
organisations so as to enable all sectors of the 
population to participate in economic develop-
ment and to enjoy its benefits with a view to 
associating such associations in the planning 
and carrying out of economic and social develop-
ment plans. A pressing aim of the I.L.O. in this field should be to strive for 
legislative safeguards for the right of workers' 
organisations to participate actively in the 
planning of economic and social development.

Another great victory for the I.L.O. would 
be to secure for trade unions statutory power 
to settle a number of labour problems. This 
relates especially to the promotion of the status 
of workers both in the undertaking and 
and in the community as a whole, which is men-
tioned in the Report. As the Director-General 
has pointed out, this question is linked to that 
of measures to satisfy the workers' desire for the 
application of policies and procedures at under-
takings that would establish the workers' 
opportunity to enjoy the attention they deserve 
as human beings.

We should like to believe that these very 
important principles will not remain on paper 
but that they will be put into effect by the 
International Labour Organisation. For this 
it is necessary, of course, that they be accom-
panied by the appropriate structural changes, 
which connection we believe that great 
importance attaches to the proposals contained 
in the draft resolution submitted by the 
Government delegates of Poland and the 
Ukraine regarding equitable geographical rep-
resentation in the Governing Body and also 
at the Conference. The implementation of 
these proposals will give the representatives of 
Africa, Asia and Latin America and of the 
socialist countries the places that are rightfully 
theirs. Thereby new forces will be able to 
propel the I.L.O. along the lines of its new 
programme.

There is also a need for other structural 
changes. A large number of delegates at the 
Conference, the representatives of the largest 
organisations of workers affiliated to the 
W.F.T.U., have often pointed out the anom-
alties that exist in the I.L.O. as between the 
Conference, as the supreme body of the Organ-
sation, and the Governing Body, with particu-
lar reference to the unrepresentative character 
of the Governing Body, especially as regards its 
Workers' group, whose members represent only 
one-fourth of all organised workers. We can no 
longer accept outdated provisions of the Con-
stitution which are exploited by certain circles 
in the Organisation against the interests of the 
working class and the peoples of many coun-
tries of the world.

I should like to cite a very typical example. 
In the debate on the Director-General's Report, 
as you know, the Minister of Labour of Ghana, 
Mr. Amoa-Awuah, the Minister of Labour and 
Social Development of Zambia, Mr. Mundia, 
and many other representatives of liberated 
Africa have called upon member States to hasten 
ratification of the amendments to the 
Constitution of the I.L.O. stating that the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination is 
incompatible with membership of the I.L.O. 
They also called for the expulsion from the 
I.L.O. of the Portuguese colonialists. In con-

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I have had the privilege of attending sessions of the International Labour Conference on a number of occasions. The first one I attended was in San Francisco in 1948, the year that the present Director-General was appointed, and on every occasion since then when I have taken part in the debates of the Conference I have felt the need to comment specially on the excellence of the Director-General's Report. This year, in Part I of the Report, he has put us on a thin ration of only 35 pages, but the qualities of clear and constructive thinking, directness of presentation and positive leadership are unchanged. Again, I congratulate him on his Report.

Looking back over these annual Reports of the Director-General to the Conference one cannot but be impressed by the leadership which the I.L.O. has had, through them, over the years. Year by year these Reports have not only reviewed the previous year's activities — and I think that that is still their first function — but have assessed the nature and speed of change and probed into the approaching requirements of communities and countries in the face of change. They have steadily kept the Organisation face to face with tasks ahead. I recall, for instance, the 1953 Report with its emphasis on productivity, the 1955 Report pointing up the need for good labour-management relations in industrial development, the 1957 Report focusing attention on automation and the 1960 Report with its special attention to youth and work. To look back over these Reports for past years is a good exercise for anyone who has any doubts about the way in which the I.L.O. has kept abreast of the problems of the day; it is useful medicine for those who feel despondent about our ability to make progress in overcoming these problems. In fact it is amazing to see just how fast the I.L.O. has adapted itself to a changing world and how far it has come in the 18 years of my own association with it.

It is, in fact, this speed of growth and change in emphasis in the I.L.O.'s activities which have made a wholesale review of the Organisation necessary. By the 1960s we were beginning to find difficulties in its having assessed the nature and speed of change and probed into the approaching requirements of communities and countries in the face of change. They have steadily kept the Organisation face to face with tasks ahead. I recall, for instance, the 1953 Report with its emphasis on productivity, the 1955 Report pointing up the need for good labour-management relations in industrial development, the 1957 Report focusing attention on automation and the 1960 Report with its special attention to youth and work. To look back over these Reports for past years is a good exercise for anyone who has any doubts about the way in which the I.L.O. has kept abreast of the problems of the day; it is useful medicine for those who feel despondent about our ability to make progress in overcoming these problems. In fact it is amazing to see just how fast the I.L.O. has adapted itself to a changing world and how far it has come in the 18 years of my own association with it.

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The Director-General's reorganisation of programme services into departments named for the major programme areas certainly has the merit of logic; we hope that it will also give impetus to the concentration of programmes which he himself commends as his aim but which, as has been mentioned in previous years, is extremely difficult to realise amidst the conflicting pressures of international organisations. The same observation applies to the new Field Department; the aims stated for it are impeccable, but we wonder whether, as a working unit, it might not run into trouble between the realignment of technical and servicing departments on the one hand, and, on the other, the hope expressed in the Report that it will be the platform for a "composite endeavour covering all our major areas of concern". In an organisation as large as the I.L.O. the difficulties of co-ordination are real.

The Director-General feels that, on the basis of views expressed at past sessions, he is justified in assuming a "clear mandate" to organise the I.L.O.'s programme for human resources development along the lines set down in his Reports to the 47th and 48th Sessions. Since our support for this section has already been expressed, I shall make only one or two remarks at this stage. Firstly, that we are pleased to see the emphasis given by the Director-General in this and in other sections to the problems of developing countries and the need for practical assistance in solving them.

We underline the word practical as a lead in to our second point, which, although we run the risk of harping on a worn string, concerns research. We have in the past expressed doubts about the amount of studies and research that are inscribed in the I.L.O. programme. There are no doubt areas where insufficient research has been done for the Office to draw coherent and valid conclusions; we would not want to suggest that these areas be skirted round or ignored, but we do feel that over the years during which the Office has been doing this body of work the amount that should have been accumulated, and it now is time the emphasis was changed from the gathering of information to the translation of it into practical advice and training. Concentration of resources on a smaller number of projects and careful co-ordination with other members of the United Nations family becomes even more important here, if only because of the acute shortage of qualified people in the field of economic planning. There is far too little expertise available to developing countries for the I.L.O. to attempt to step, of its own accord, into solo programmes which involve forward planning on human resources. The Director-General has himself emphasised the need for practical action and also for co-ordination with regional organisations. We strongly support these points.

There are still, of course, many aspects of organisation under review, and I would like to mention one of these more particularly. For many years the Industrial Committees played a very important part in the I.L.O. While the I.L.O.'s membership consisted mainly of industrialised countries and its administration was highly centralised, the Industrial Committees were particularly useful. Today, however, in an I.L.O. where levels of industrialisation vary tremendously, where problems are local and regional rather than industry-wide, and where the complexities of development require specialist and expert attention rather than broad and more generalised discussion, the relative importance of the Industrial Committees has changed. They are no longer the most suitable bodies for dealing with a large part of the problems facing the I.L.O. The matters they deal with are no longer the urgent problems and the first priorities. Consequently we feel that, while there is continuing work for Industrial Committees to do, the time has been reached when they should be gradually reduced as to their size, frequency of meetings and cost. We feel that the I.L.O. funds hitherto devoted to Industrial Committees should gradually, over a period of years, be diverted to the support of regional and field organisation and ad hoc meetings of experts.

We are in full agreement with the Director-General's view that security of employment and income is an important and legitimate matter for the I.L.O. to pursue. In many communities, of course, the primary consideration is still the promotion of employment to overcome unemployment, but it is important that, as employment policies develop, provisions to stabilise employment and incomes should be grafted on to them. The matter of priorities has to be considered here as in everything else. It is not a question of whether the I.L.O. should devote attention to security of employment and income but rather a question of how much attention and when, having due regard to other and perhaps more immediate needs.

We have previously mentioned our belief that conditions of life and work might now take a lower priority in the Organisation's work. We agree with the Director-General that the I.L.O.'s programme in this field should be concerted with that of other organisations dealing with social protection and welfare, and that the impetus to the concentration of programmes in this field should be shared by other Members, and to have been taken into account by the Director-General. We have no particular views about the size of the proposed revision committee, but would like to see it kept reasonably small and compact.

We consider that the Organisation, in fixing its future programme, should concentrate on the consolidation of existing standards, on operational activities designed to help in their application rather than on the continuous drafting of new standards. Others may not agree with this view, but it seems sensible that the I.L.O. should reduce its new standard-setting activities to some degree if it is faithfully to apply a priority for technical assistance.
As this is the last session of the International Labour Conference that I shall be attending, may I have the privilege of expressing the hope that the I.L.O. will continue to make progress towards the achievement of its objective of ensuring social justice for all.

*Interpretation from French :* Mr. GORALLAH (Workers' delegate, Chad)—I should not like to break the tradition which calls on me first of all to address you, Mr. President, my warmest and most sincere congratulations on your brilliant election to the presidency of our Conference.

I also take this opportunity of greeting, in the name of the workers of Chad, the delegates of all our sister countries, particularly those who have come here for the first time.

One of the most important phenomena of our time is that the problems of the world of labour—that driving force of world economy—are discussed on this platform every year. It is also an important event to see how this Conference delegates from the young States of Africa, but yesterday neglected and ignored, today an essential element in the group of non-aligned countries, the development and orientation of which conditions the future of the globe.

Many, not to say all, the problems of trade unionism have to be solved by our own countries, including first of all those of training, workers’ education, and occupational advancement. In my view, the essential task of African trade unionism, above the differences of political and social structure which mark present-day Africa, is to seek the basis and principles of a common attitude of all trade unionists in the face of the great problems of Africa.

In the particular case of my country, Chad, the essential task of trade unionism is to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the Government for close co-operation in national construction and the battle for economic development. To repeat a phrase used by the Head of State, “All newly sovereign States have measured the need for an effort to develop their economies.” Chad is no exception, and it, too, appeals to each of you for an effort to promote the well-being of all. The effort required is immense by reason of our geographical, economic and social background. Indeed one of the main characteristics of the economy of Chad, and in this it is not alone in Africa, is a very low standard of living.

Our problems, I have already said, are many, but behind them all lies the existence of a very large traditional economy side by side with the modern developing sector. This juxtaposition of two non-integrated or ill-integrated sectors sets up an imbalance, as a result of which there is still no national economy in the full sense of the term. The disappearance of this structural duality, and it is slowly diminishing, is one of the chief indices of our economic development. Of course, as the traditional economy progressively turns towards the condition of a modern economy, and as the foreign-owned sector identifies itself more and more with the local economy, so our national economy will become more and more integrated and will develop more easily.

Two other problems are acute, that of training and that of underemployment. Indeed, we are faced with the paradoxical combination of a shortage of skilled labor and an abundance of manpower in general. This lack of skills is acute not only at the level of manpower but also at that of organisation and management. Another weak point in our economy is the lack of leadership, both for public undertakings and undertakings in the private sector.

This shows the complexity of our present economic situation and the wide scale of the remedies required. The action to be taken is logical and can suffer no delay. I think the measures that are required can be divided into three sectors—national, regional and inter-African.

At the national level it seems absolutely essential to reform present economic structures in order progressively to eliminate the duality from which they suffer and integrate the traditional sector with the modern economy. In Africa in general, and Chad in particular, agriculture remains the key sector, and the first reform measures must thus necessarily relate to agriculture. The peasant masses must be stabilised, underemployment vanquished, and the national market extended so as to stimulate industrialisation. Industrialisation, in which my Government is at present interested, is necessary to enhance the value of primary production, to improve the basis of trade with industrial countries, to diversify production and increase the national income.

Agrarian reform and industrialisation, which require a wide extension of education and training for the utilisation of material resources, require at the same time—or, indeed, beforehand—the development of our human resources. Development, which is the essential objective of our Government, must have as its main aim the total advancement of man. In this field an immense role belongs to the trade union movement. It must mobilise the masses, arouse constructive enthusiasm, improve productivity, and participate by all means in fighting the battle of development.

As for the regional sector, it is not possible for the African countries to develop in separate watertight compartments. It is a necessary part of our time to seek to harmonise the national development policies on a wider level; that is to say, on a regional level. Such harmonisation could facilitate inter-State planning, which should relate at the first stage to transport, technical education and the rudiments of heavy industry. It should in the end make our African economies within a given region more and more complementary and less and less mutually competitive.

Lastly, at the continental level, it is necessary to intensify exchanges of information, of persons and of missions. It seems equally necessary to develop commercial exchanges between the countries of the continent, by setting up a system of African tariff and commercial preference. As regards finance, the African countries should co-ordinate their efforts with the object of increasing income from the export of their basic products, acting in concert on the great international markets. Such are, in my opinion, the urgent measures which must be taken to bring Africa out of its state of underdevelopment. In this task of economic, social and cultural renewal trade
unionism must play a major role. Chad does not intend to remain behind. In all fields the Government continues its policy of promotion and progress. I have already told you of the great difficulties which we have to face. The advice and assistance of the I.L.O. might be very precious to us in a number of fields.

Regarding trade unionism, Chad follows a policy of unification, with the object of avoiding a waste of skill and effort which would be prejudicial to harmonious co-operation between the trade union movement and the State. In the present period of change and construction in Chad, the trade union movement has an essential role to play provided that it unites. In the purely Chad background, since the Government party is a party of the masses, it seems inconceivable that there can be opposition between it and the trade union forces, since government policy is essentially a policy of economic advancement of the masses.

I should like now to deal with certain problems relating particularly to the I.L.O., as the Director-General already outlined the main tasks which we think the Organisation ought to perform, but these are so many that I shall merely summarise them briefly. The I.L.O., which has to face new problems every day, has managed, one must admit, to appreciate quite accurately the special problems of the African Continent. Our Organisation should therefore facilitate the co-ordination of a common policy in the economic and social fields, and to achieve this object it must multiply and facilitate contacts between African trade union leaders and work for technical and cultural co-operation between our countries and the rest of the continent. The Minister of Labour of Chad has already this morning described to you the technical aspects of our work with the I.L.O., and I shall not refer to them again.

However, I should not like to close my speech without stating our solidarity with all peoples still under foreign domination. Africa, like all the countries of the world, needs friends; it does not need masters. Man is universal and unique. To attack his dignity is the most dire of errors; worse still, it is a crime. All men worthy of the name should unite without distinction to fight the plague of racialism—that hideous thing unworthy of mankind. The nations which are guilty of it should be banned from world society. That is the affair of all. Here, even more than elsewhere, working-class solidarity should come into play.

The I.L.O. has its word to say in securing respect for the various declarations dealing with the battle against racialism and colonialism. Not words, but deeds, are required. We must act, because as long as a single man is ill-treated anywhere no man is truly free.

Mr. TETTEGAH (Representative of the All-African Trade Union Federation)—I come before this august assembly in the name of the All-African Trade Union Federation, representing 38 African trade union organisations on the continent of Africa, some of which are from countries which have freed themselves by their own efforts and are today in the vanguard of Africa’s continuing struggle to break the bonds of brutality and colonialism.

I speak, too, for those still voiceless, the working masses still enchained in imperialism’s few remaining strongholds on our beloved continent—Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, Swaziland, French Somaliland, Bechuanaland, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde Islands, Canary Islands, Mauritius, South Africa, Zimbabwe (which the West still calls by the dubious name of Southern Rhodesia), and all other dependencies which in this twentieth century, despite United Nations resolutions and United Nations opposition to the conscience of all mankind, are still in the thraldom of oppression.

Mr. President, before continuing, may I join the other delegates in congratulating you on your election to the high office of the presidency of this Conference. You will excuse the frankness of my language. I come from the heart and conscience of the African revolution. We are not here to plead. It is a matter of right that the All-African Trade Union Federation, which is independent of all international organisations and whose national centres are also independent, should be recognised as the only African consultative body which is qualified to speak for revolutionary African trade unionism.

Beneath the niceties of international conventions, diplomacy in the final analysis only recognises realities. Whatever may be the dubious nature of the representation being granted Africa today in this council, reality will come to prevail.

Africa’s population is overwhelmingly one which works for its living. That is why her organised trade union movement likewise voices the thoughts and feelings of some 240 millions of African working peasants. The rising industrial working class, which so often returns to the land between jobs, is developing into a new force in the African revolution. All of us are dedicated to the complete liberation of our homeland from the indignities of economic and political bondage and for the political unification of the African Continent.

As I address this august Conference today, there echo in our ears the crash and thunder of the guns and bombs of international imperialism, the screams of Vietnamese women and children intermingling with the roar of battle, victims of torture by napalm bomb, phosphorus bombs, itching gas, sneezing gas, and other allegedly “non-lethal” chemicals which nevertheless poison, kill and maim the innocent and are being used against the national liberation movements. Other shrieks arise from a holocaust on the streets of Santo Domingo in the tiny Dominican Republic which offended the Colossus by seeking its own solutions. Ominous rumblings are audible in La Paz, Bolivia, while the zooming of American planes drowns out the green silence of the Congo countryside outside Leopoldville, where nationalists, against all odds, bloodily contend for social justice and national independence.

How many more people are going to be slaughtered in this great contest between the national forces and imperialism? Is the dream of freedom before social justice is achieved? In all the areas of conflict in the world today, the overriding issue of our time is that of freedom or...
slavery, on which in turn rests the choice of peace or war. We of the A.A.T.U.F. are irrevocably committed to the side of freedom and peace. Such is the atmosphere in which we meet this week that the All-African Trade Union Federation cannot close its eyes to these events and gloss over matters by making nice speeches in the Conference of the I.L.O.

According to the Director-General's Report 12 new African States have become affiliated to this worldwide body since 1960. Equally significant is the effort to link the work of the I.L.O. in Africa to that of the Organisation of African Unity. Here we have a nice Director-General with a most efficient administrative staff, but how can their labours bear fruit when we are unable to reconstruct the Governing Body to reflect present-day realities?

Since the Second Regional Conference of the I.L.O. in Addis Ababa in December 1964, the Executive Bureau of the A.A.T.U.F. has met and has again reaffirmed our unconditional support for the Organisation of African Unity as long as it pursues the objectives of the African revolution, the logical conclusion of which is the formation of a continental union government. Today, in our ranks, trade union organisations in Africa are becoming increasingly mobilised and are expressing their keen consciousness of African unity, which to us is not at variance with the lofty aims of achieving world equilibrium and social justice for mankind.

The A.A.T.U.F., which speaks either for or with the overwhelming majority of mankind, the majority which constitutes the sole guarantee of the goal inscribed on I.L.O. banners—social justice and peace—is dedicated to the struggle under the proposition that as long as a single human being is enslaved by foreign monopolies which support for their own profit alone outdated oppressors like Verwoerd, Ian Smith and others of their ilk on other continents, so long will the slogan "social justice", remain an empty one. Social justice which twists the past to fit outmoded goals is no social justice at all. In Africa we call it neo-colonialism. Therefore, one of the major burning issues which confronts us at this gathering is that of the structure of the I.L.O. It is our considered opinion that only a forthright reorganisation to reflect present-day realities can render the I.L.O. immune to the charge of being an instrument of neo-colonialism however much it may call itself an organisation working for social justice.

The PRESIDENT—Would you please make sure that you do not attack the I.L.O. in your speech.

Mr. TETTEGAH—We cannot, indeed we should not, blink the unfortunate fact that our meeting is even a bit incongruous in view of the state of health of the United Nations. And this fact, we feel, merits your momentary attention because it forms an essential background for any changes in the I.L.O. structure. The United Nations is confronted with a serious crisis, I believe nobody here—at least nobody in his right mind—could or would deny. To put it more frankly, the present crisis derives from the patent unwillingness of the United States to surrender one jot of its manipulatory ascendancy in the United Nations which has turned a potential international forum and parliament into the neo-colonialist instrument of a single imperialist power. A body intended by its Charter to enforce peace is, instead, bringing war—in the name of peace. This happens because its structure no longer reflects the composition of its membership.

Without taking up your time to back these charges with the infinite variety of factual evidence which exists and of which you cannot be unaware, I prefer to ask the charges themselves to ask one question. Can the same things be said of the I.L.O.?

Must the I.L.O. reflect so many of the obvious and unfair shortcomings of the United Nations, or can it, as reality demands, advance beyond the failings of the United Nations? Must the I.L.O. forever talk of "China" when it means only one of China's provinces, Taiwan, while the real China is cited in I.L.O. publications only because the I.L.O. is forced to turn to China's dynamic example in various fields with which this Organisation deals, like cooperatives, agrarian reform and so on? Can the I.L.O. talk of "social justice" and fail to condemn the flagrant destruction of international agreements by the United States in Viet-Nam, a course which not only flies in the face of international law but places the very lives of us all in jeopardy?

Designed as a tripartite body under United Nations auspices to bring to all countries of the world social justice in the specific fields of labour and social affairs, the I.L.O. has evolved, as has the United Nations, under the influence of world events. Furthermore, the I.L.O. has received a rapid influx of African members in keeping with the swift pace of African liberation. The I.L.O. in turn has begun necessarily to pay increasing attention to Africa.

But how does the I.L.O. come to Africa? Speaking for the peoples of Africa through the instrument of their organised workers, I must reveal my mind frankly. The I.L.O. does not yet reflect in its structure these recent changes in Africa.

What of the I.L.O.'s Governing Body? Does it not reflect preponderantly those countries with vested interests in stopping new nations short of political independence? Do they not have a material interest in preventing economic and cultural independence, because therein lies an end to their monopolistic super-profits squeezed for so long out of our colonised peoples, by those so-called "metropolitan" Powers? As long ago as 12 June 1962 Africa called for the appointment of more Africans to higher executive posts in the International Labour Office to reflect the growing membership of African States.

Do not most of the I.L.O. experts and advisers come from the same anti-liberation countries and their self-avowed appendages? At its 46th to 48th Sessions the Conference adopted a number of resolutions. One of these concerned the programme of technical assistance and other activities of the International Labour Organisation in Africa and other developing regions.
Adopting a resolution at its 48th Session in 1964, the Conference asked the Governing Body—that same Governing Body still peopled in major part by colonial or neo-colonial Powers—and here I quote: “to consider, in the context of its regional activities generally, the need to assist African and other developing countries in the field of development at all levels and in the furtherance of workers’ education and vocational and technical training schemes to qualify skilled workers of Africa and other developing regions in sufficient numbers to accelerate the implementation of development projects.”

But reports which list the destinations of I.L.O. projects have thus far been few, in our eyes, far too little done in Africa.

In the light of these facts, I ask you in the name of justice: How can the I.L.O., as it is presently constituted, undertake the task of assisting Africa in development at all levels? Does this currently unrepresentative Governing Body of the I.L.O. feel competent to speak for and about Africa, in total disregard of principles evolved by the African peoples themselves? Does it intend to take upon itself the burden of deciding what is “best” for Africa? If so, how does that differ from our treatment under colonialism?

What pretext does the I.L.O. have to relegate to “regional consultative status” the main representative of united African labour?

The resolution concerning relations between the Organisation of African Unity and the International Labour Organisation is, of course, all to the good if implemented. But, concretely, it is still in the future.

In any case, even in that future we again wonder how the I.L.O. will work with the O.A.U. Will the I.L.O. accept the O.A.U. criteria for action inside Africa or will it insist on imposing its own?

Africa’s members in I.L.O. are mostly “new.” Naturally they must acquire certain new experience as they already are doing. Nevertheless, no outside body with non-African experience, whatever its intentions, can speak for us or even to us without taking into account our old and existing experience and our opinions about our own welfare which spring out of that experience. This is a simple historical fact which cannot be ignored. By ignoring this fact the United Nations is already in the process of destroying itself. This can also bring down the I.L.O.

This is the middle of 1965, an epoch far different from those of the past. Whole new areas of the globe are burning with the fires of liberation. Innumerable peoples have set out determinedly, even grimly, to build their own lives, free from outside economic, political and military interference. Too many such peoples are still forced to do such building with guns blazing in one hand in order firmly to establish their right to independence. And those of us who have set up our own governments and have begun constructing our own economies intend without fail to say how we do whatever we do. We will brook no interference, in whatever name it comes.

But if there is to be effective collaboration between our two bodies in the name of social justice, international consultative status for the A.A.T.U.F. is essential. The Governing Body must cease to represent predominantly the past in the shape of imperialist Powers opposed to our genuine independence and in possession of means to thwart it by using such instruments, supposedly dedicated to the advance of all mankind, as the United Nations and this I.L.O. Greater democracy must be introduced into the entire conduct of I.L.O. business. It must cease once and for all to allow itself to be used as an instrument of neo-colonialism. It must stop playing with historical fiction and admit to membership the genuine representatives of the peoples in the areas where puppets now sit: the People’s Republic of China must be admitted here, regardless of what the United Nations does.

Above all, when aid is directed to our part of the world there must be, at the very least, a beginning made to utilise the growing body of competent technicians which Africa is producing.

The future is in the hands of the labouring peoples of the colonial and ex-colonial countries who form the overwhelming majority of mankind, in alliance with the socialist world. The I.L.O. claims that it wants social justice. Is it prepared to conform to its lofty goal? Is it ready to pay the price?

In our opinion, its attitude towards ourselves and towards our Continent in general will be the acid test which will illuminate its answer to that question.

Africa is no longer a “submerged continent,” content to let others speak and act for it. Africa will be heard. Africa is now being heard. And the All-African Trade Union Federation is part and parcel of the genuine African voice on the international scene. Let justice prevail. Let the future be recognised.

**Interpretation from French:** Mr. FERRERO (Representative of the International Confederation of Executive Staffs)—In the name of the International Confederation of Executive Staffs I should like first of all to thank the President and the other Officers of the Conference most sincerely for having authorised us to make some observations on the Director-General’s Report.

We also wish to congratulate the Director-General on his excellent Report on the formulation and implementation of the I.L.O. programme.

Before dealing with the points which are of particular interest to us, I should like to remind delegates that the International Confederation of Executive Staffs, which belongs to the Workers’ group, is deeply attached to the Declaration of Philadelphia of May 1944.

As regards the agenda of this session, my Organisation is particularly interested in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh items relating respectively to the employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds, the employment of women with family responsibilities, agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects, and the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries.

My Confederation is in entire agreement with the three main programme areas set out in Part I of the Report, namely: (1) human...
resources development; (2) labour relations, trade union development and the growth of sound social institutions; and (3) conditions of life and work.

We also understand that, with a view to studying and taking action on these important matters, it was necessary to provide for some decentralisation, for the establishment of larger units (departments) in the Office and for an improvement in planning and supervision. However, we fear that some particular problems may be relatively neglected in excessively large units, particularly if several departments are concerned with them. We therefore approve of the establishment of the Programme Committee and are glad to learn that three co-ordinators will deal with problems overlapping the scope of the departments which have been created.

However, my Confederation would like consideration to be given to the setting up of a co-ordinating unit for all problems affecting executive personnel, particularly those which are the concern of several different departments. We believe that the Non-Manual Unit is just the body to act as such a co-ordinating unit for all problems of executive staffs throughout the I.L.O. If that should be impossible, then we would ask that an ad hoc co-ordinating unit be established.

The International Confederation of Executive Staffs would urge that a meeting of experts on problems affecting graduate engineers and senior graduate technicians be convened in 1966 to study the replies to document PITA/1964/1, which is a review of the specific problems affecting these and assimilated groups of personnel. Having regard to the importance of these problems, my Confederation would be glad if one of the experts could be chosen from among our specialists. We have already asked for authorisation to send at least a delegation of observers to the meeting, which we hope will be convened in the near future.

We also hope that the Working Party appointed by the Governing Body will have due regard to the wishes we have expressed. We take a great deal of interest in the advanced training of executive staffs, as may be seen from the fact that our Confederation organised at Rome, in October 1964, a European conference on the subject, which was studied very thoroughly as regards both industrial and developing countries. A report on the Rome conference will be published very soon.

Although we agree that the advanced training of managerial personnel is important, we feel that executive staffs should not be forgotten where advanced training is concerned, for the reasons mentioned in our speech at the Conference last year. It goes without saying that technological progress and economic advance depend on the development of research.

As regards social institutions, we should like to express our agreement with the five main objectives—and particularly the fourth and fifth—mentioned in Part I of the Report, where the Director-General stresses the urgent necessity of doing everything to establish harmonious and confident relations between employers and workers.

We should also like to urge strongly that freedom of association for executives and supervisors should not only be recognised in theory but put into practice everywhere.

We are very glad to note that the revision of the Conventions concerning old-age, invalidity and survivors' pensions (Nos. 35-40) is to be undertaken at the 50th Session of the Conference next year. At that time we shall call attention to the important problem of elderly non-manual workers.

In the Conference committee on the fifth item of the agenda we shall refer to the importance of part-time jobs for women with family responsibilities.

We are, of course, still interested in the International Institute for Labour Studies and the Turin International Institute for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training, with which we have very good relations, particularly through our Italian organisation.

At a time when executives and supervisors are becoming more and more important throughout the world, in both industrial and developing countries, the International Confederation of Executive Staffs, having a universal scope, wishes to obtain the consultative status which would enable it to secure its rightful position and to play fully the part to which it is entitled. Being of an essentially occupational and universal character, my Confederation would like the I.L.O., pending the grant of general consultative status, to consider providing for a special occupational consultative status. With this object we have asked the Director-General to transmit to the Governing Body our request that the establishment of such a special status be considered. We believe that a status of this kind might directly interest all international organisations with universal scope and occupational objectives. We therefore wish to call the attention of the Conference to this necessity at a time when executives and supervisors are becoming increasingly important in the world.

Lastly, I should like to inform the Conference of two preoccupations which are particularly important for executive staffs, namely the maintenance of Industrial Committees as tripartite bodies and the maintenance and strengthening of the tripartite Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers.

If I may sum up, we should very much like the following ideas to be considered: first, establishment of a special occupational consultative status; second, establishment of a co-ordinating unit for all problems affecting executive staffs which overlap the scope of the I.L.O.; third, maintenance of the Industrial Committees; fourth, maintenance and strengthening of the Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers; and, fifth, revocation as soon as possible of a committee of experts on problems affecting graduate engineers and senior graduate technicians.

I wish to ask the Conference, in the name of my Confederation, to take the above suggestions into account. Having done so, it only remains for me to thank you for your kind attention.

(The Conference adjourned at 4.45 p.m.)
TENTH SITTING

Wednesday, 9 June 1965, 10 a.m.

President : Mr. Raza

FOURTH REPORT
OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE1:
SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda is the fourth report of the Selection Committee. I call on Mr. Menon, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the report.

Mr. MENON (Government delegate, India; Chairman of the Selection Committee)—I have the honour to present to the Conference the fourth report of the Selection Committee, the text of which has been distributed to delegates. This report relates to changes in the composition of certain Committees. I commend the report to the Conference for adoption.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now open for discussion. If there are no objections, I take it that the Conference adopts the report.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from French : Mr. BACATSELOS (Minister of Labour, Greece)—It is with pleasure, Mr. President, that I associate myself with preceding speakers who have warmly congratulated you on your election to the presidency of this Conference. I should also like to convey the greetings of my Government to the Conference and all the distinguished persons who are attending it.

Twice already the Conference has had the opportunity of examining carefully the programme and structure of the International Labour Organisation. Thanks to the excellent Reports of the Director-General and the discussion which took place last year, I believe that this year the Conference will more easily reach a consensus on the three main programme areas of the Organisation, namely human resources development, development of social institutions, and the improvement of the conditions of life and work, and that it will be able to put forward definite proposals in respect of them.

I consider that by adapting the methods and means of action of the I.L.O. in revising its strategy, the Conference may effectively help the countries which are meeting with difficulties in their efforts to make economic and social progress. During the United Nations Development Decade, developing countries such as Greece must advance at a greater rate than that set for the Decade since otherwise they will not be able to reduce the gap between themselves and the highly industrialised countries. The policy of economic development is, moreover, only one means of reaching the social objectives which the Conference, by an agreement of principle, has decided to include in the I.L.O. programme. The utilisation and development of human resources are extremely comprehensive objectives. They call above all for manpower planning and the expansion of vocational and technical training. I.L.O. help to the developing countries in this field will no doubt favour their economic development. It is therefore desirable for the Organisation to continue this useful work. The Greek Government has already benefited from effective I.L.O. assistance in the field of accelerated training, and it is grateful to the Governing Body and the Director-General for the experts whom they were good enough to make available to it.

This direct aid by the I.L.O. to the countries which need it, supplemented by the coming action of the Turin International Centre, creates favourable conditions for the development of human resources.

The strategy of the I.L.O. in the field of labour-management relations and the development of the trade union movement should be guided by a desire to assist the trade unions of the developing countries as long as they cannot achieve a solid organisation based on the principles of the I.L.O. Such useful aid may be given directly by the Organisation.

As regards the third sector of the I.L.O. programme, I agree with the Director-General that, in pursuing their economic and social development, countries should not lose sight of the need for lasting improvements in conditions of life and work. Plans for occupational safety and health, conditions of work, social security and housing should not be neglected.

My Government, under the leadership of Mr. Georges Papandreou, a statesman who is firmly attached to the principles of social

1 See Appendix I, p. 486.
democracy, has actively dealt with all these problems since it took office at the beginning of last year. As part of its economic and social development programme, the Government has spared no effort to raise the standard of living of the workers by a more equitable distribution of the national income.

In my capacity as Minister of Labour I have tabled in Parliament a whole series of Bills, already adopted, relating to important sectors of the social policy of my Government. I shall mention here only the most important of these achievements. Thus, one of our first concerns has been to draft a Labour Code corresponding to the new conception of labour legislation. The preliminary draft for this Code has already been elaborated and distributed to all the employers' and workers' organisations for their opinion. A group of specialised legal experts has started drafting the final text to which all of the international labour Conventions ratified by Greece will be appended. I hope that the Labour Code can be tabled in Parliament before the end of this year. Considering that the experience of the I.L.O. in this field would be most useful, I have asked the Director-General to be good enough to give us the Office's advice through experts, so that the final text may be even more fully in line with international standards.

In the field of remuneration we have created conditions which have enabled wages to be improved by from 10 to 15 per cent., either by collective bargaining or by arbitration awards. Furthermore, we have given the workers, in the form of a holiday allowance, additional remuneration equal to the wages which they would have earned during their holidays. This allowance is now payable to all workers. In addition, family allowances, which had been payable in respect of only two children in each worker's family, have now been extended to all children under the age of 15 years.

As regards housing, a big programme of modern workers' housing, under which houses are provided to workers on extremely favourable terms, is being carried out.

The achievements in the field of social security have been particularly important as may be seen from the following facts. The retirement age of persons employed in arduous and unhealthy work has been reduced by five years from 65 to 60 for men, and from 60 to 55 for women. The pensions of all handicraftsmen, extended to all pensioners. Supplementary insurance has been introduced for all those who may be seen from the following facts. The retirement age of persons employed in arduous and unhealthy work has been reduced by five years from 65 to 60 for men, and from 60 to 55 for women. The pensions of all handicraftsmen, extended to all pensioners. Supplementary insurance has been introduced for all those who may be seen from the following facts. The retirement age of persons employed in arduous and unhealthy work has been reduced by five years from 65 to 60 for men, and from 60 to 55 for women. The pensions of all handicraftsmen, extended to all pensioners. Supplementary insurance has been introduced for all those who may be seen from the following facts. The retirement age of persons employed in arduous and unhealthy work has been reduced by five years from 65 to 60 for men, and from 60 to 55 for women. The pensions of all handicraftsmen, extended to all pensioners. Supplementary insurance has been introduced for all those who...
In closing I should like to congratulate the Director-General for having so brilliantly summarised the main conceptions which should govern the action of the International Labour Organisation in the coming years. In the name of the Government of Greece I wish the Conference every success and feel certain that under your guidance, Mr. President, it will successfully discharge its heavy task.

Mr. CHINAI (Employers' delegate, India)—The Director-General deserves our compliments and thanks for the labour and judgment with which he has prepared the Report to the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. In his Report the Director-General has admirably summed up the discussions on the structure and programme of the I.L.O. at the previous two sessions of the Conference in 1963 and 1964. He has identified the different proposals in their many aggregations and has broken them down into major categories which come under two broad heads, those that are controversial and those that reveal a general consensus.

This is the third year in succession that the General Conference has been called upon to concern itself with the future work of the I.L.O. It is appropriate that this important matter is being thoroughly discussed in the sixties, which have been designated as the Development Decade by the United Nations. It is also most appropriate that in this year 1965, which has been designated as International Co-operation Year, we should come to definite conclusions on the subject that has engaged our attention for two years now. The Director-General's Report has summed up three areas for the development of the I.L.O. programme. They are: (1) Human resources development; (2) Labour relations, trade union development and the growth of social institutions; (3) Conditions of life and work.

While there is no disagreement that these three categories of programmes should form the focus of I.L.O. interest, there is room for considerable difference of opinion on the specific problems in each of these categories that deserve attention, as also the priority to be accorded to them. In this matter, it is inevitable that the viewpoint of developing countries is likely to be different from that of the industrialised countries. For obvious reasons, the conditions and needs vary substantially. For example, the developing countries are primarily concerned with problems of eradicating acute underemployment, with rising population, lack of technical skills, low wage and productivity levels and inadequate organisation of workers and employers. On the other hand, industrially advanced countries are faced with the opposite problems, such as shortage of labour, wage-price inflation, trade union tyranny, restrictive trade union practices, automation, although from time to time they are also faced with acute pockets of unemployment in certain areas.

It is, of course, not true to say that the problems of the underdeveloped world and the advanced countries are mutually exclusive, because every country has to face these problems, though not on the same scale and in the same measure. Despite the fact that the I.L.O. is a universal organisation, and should serve the world as a whole, emphasis should be placed by the I.L.O. in its activity on such programmes as will favourably influence the destinies of the developing countries. In a spirit of big-heartedness, the advanced countries will have to become reconciled to the need of the less privileged countries to narrow the gap of disparity in economic development.

Of all the international bodies the I.L.O. is perhaps one of the oldest and it is also unique by virtue of its tripartite character. It was in 1919 that the I.L.O. was established. The Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity adopted a Preamble, which sets out as its objective universal and lasting peace based on social justice. Indeed, time has, I think, reinforced rather than diminished, the truth of the central principles the Preamble has laid down. This reinforcement has assumed a new dimension with the gaining of political independence by a large number of countries. It is axiomatic today that, as between individuals, serious economic inequalities should be reduced; and there is hardly any country which has not taken measures in some fashion or other to protect weaker sections in the community. We have reached a stage when this may now need to be extended to apply to the economic relationships between countries. And the events of the last decade provide explicit confirmation of this. Are not the disparities between nations, large as they already are, growing in a period, practically speaking, of continuous economic expansion in advanced countries with only some temporary and minor slowing of their annual economic growth? Let us cast a glance at the membership list of the I.L.O. In 1919 the membership was 44. During the last year the strength was over 110. How many new countries are poor and underdeveloped?

It is only right that the I.L.O., which has continually sought to offset the disequilibrium in the working conditions of labour in different countries, should devote thought and energy to offsetting the imbalances among nations as a whole. No doubt, there are other international bodies the I.L.O. is specifically interested in monetary stability, trade balances and the economic problems of developing countries. Even so, the I.L.O., which is primarily concerned with social justice, should take a direct interest in economic growth. I believe that the I.L.O. should
energetically offer its services to this new objective in the conviction that the more difficult the task and the higher the ideal, the more lofty will be the performance. The welfare of labour and economic growth are closely interlinked. The problem of improving living conditions can only be solved by meeting the larger problems of economic development. More preoccupation with standard-setting will take no one anywhere. Each nation must be strong enough economically to provide the wherewithal to improve working conditions. It is in the course of development, and only through development, that injustices are eliminated.

So, in my view, the I.L.O. should give a rest to its old work of standard-setting on a universal basis and enter the field of economic development. There are many problems currently facing developing countries—lack of capital, paucity of foreign exchange, inflationary pressures, runaway birth rate, acute shortage of trained personnel at all levels, low agricultural yields and the like. All of them, individually and collectively, bedevil the present efforts and future hopes of the developing countries. I submit that the I.L.O. can well choose its own special area, that is the development of the human personality through the acquiring of wider and deeper knowledge of different kinds of skills. The I.L.O. will better serve its own objectives by improving the quality of the labour force and also by improving the tools available to it. I am aware that the I.L.O.'s expenditure on technical assistance programmes has been growing. With a modest budget of $353,100 in 1966, it increased to $1,454,000 in 1965. The budget for 1966, however, is only $1,925,000 towards technical assistance. The increase is far too meagre. On the other hand, the general budget of the I.L.O. is increasing by leaps and bounds. As against $16 million in 1964, the outlay in 1966 is proposed at more than $20 million.

It would be far better from the point of view of developing countries if the general budget were severely pruned so that greater sums may be earmarked for technical assistance. I, for one, would even suggest that the General Conference need not meet every year, but once in two or three years. Such biennial or triennial sessions should suffice once standard-setting is evolved on a regional basis.

The instruments should be gone into in the light of the problems existing in each region, and should permit each country to make marginal changes with a view to giving effect to the instruments. The universal aim which has hitherto been attached to standard-setting should be shifted to the sphere of economic development on a balanced basis.

When the I.L.O. was set up, it represented a new perception in the thinking of mankind. The acceptance of a principle to improve the quality of life of humanity in general cannot but be viewed as an important landmark in the long history of human thought. However, it would be wrong to assume that any organisation will continue to function effectively, merely, as it were, on the basis of its preamble or inaugural clause. Self-analysis and self-criticism are the real instruments. The universal aim which has been attached to standard-setting will continue to function effectively, merely, as it were, on the basis of its preamble or inaugural clause. Self-analysis and self-criticism are the real instruments against the dangers of remaining static. Every individual and every organisation has continually to face new challenges and evolve appropriate measures based on experience. The challenge today is the economic growth of nations which for historical reasons have remained underdeveloped. The I.L.O., more than any other international organisation, can help the barrier of poverty to be crossed in a spirit of goodwill, with a sense of determination and on a co-operative basis.

One last word, addressed to the members of the Secretariat of the I.L.O. I would ask that each one of them approach his tasks as a person, working and doing things for people the world over, and not as mere functionaries of an impersonal institution, where delegates and advisors gather in hundreds to argue in a distracted or portentous manner.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. THAYER (Government delegate, Chile)—First of all, I should like to read to you a letter of greetings to this session of the Conference which I have the honour to transmit to you from His Excellency the President of the Republic of Chile, Mr. Eduardo Frei.

"Mr. Director-General, I should like to convey my cordial greetings through you to the Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates of the whole world attending this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

"In its efforts to improve the living conditions of the workers of Chile my Government is determined to base itself on the standards
adopted by the International Labour Conference and contained in the International Labour Code. My Government is also determined to fulfil completely and faithfully all the obligations arising out of various international labour Conventions which Chile has ratified. In fact, proposed legislation has already been sent to the National Congress which will make possible the unrestricted application of the Right of Association (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 (No. 11), and the ratification of Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 on freedom of association and collective bargaining. Other similar measures will follow to bring the labour legislation of Chile, in its daily application, into conformity with the standards adopted by the International Labour Conference.

“Recent months have shown that the population of Chile is firmly determined to rouse the country from its economic and social stagnation. It is prepared to make all the efforts and sacrifices necessary but it wishes to make them democratically. This resolution in freedom includes action against inflation, true agrarian reform, tax reform and many other fundamental changes. It also involves the absolute necessity to make up the arrears which we have incurred in such fields as education and housing, having in view the ever closer economic and social integration of the Latin American Continent.

“In this enormous and complicated task my Government knows that it can count on the support of the United Nations and the specialised agencies. In the field of labour the standards adopted by the International Labour Organisation and its programmes of technical co-operation constitute a positive factor of which we firmly intend to take full advantage.

“May I express my most sincere wishes for the success of the work of the International Labour Conference.

(Signed) EDUARDO FREI,
President of the Republic of Chile.”

First of all, I should like to express, in the name of Chile, the satisfaction of my delegation, Sir, at your election to the presidency of this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. I am sure that your outstanding personal qualities, your experience and your wisdom led the delegates to elect you to this honourable and highly deserved office, so as to ensure beforehand the success of the work of the Conference.

The President of Chile, whose message to this Conference you have just heard, arranged for me, as Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, to attend this session to bear witness, from the very beginning of its term of office, to the deep interest of my Government in the activities of this Organisation and because it is convinced that many of the achievements of its programme are based on the principles of the I.L.O.

I am attending this Conference with the feelings inevitable in the representative of a Government which has just come into power and which has drawn up a programme of complete transformation aimed at thoroughly changing the social structure of the country.

The people of Chile, from the miner in the North to the cattle-herd in the southern plains, have brought us, by a majority of votes never seen in the unsullied history of our electoral system, from opposition to power, because they have chosen our programme of revolution in freedom.

We have come to power to carry out the programme which we offered to the people. We have made a commitment which is a point of honour, and we are determined to carry it out at any price in order to provide each Chilean with the education and training which he expects from us and which is called for in the world of today.

We have already started our task, from the very first day, and with enthusiasm, knowing that we can count on the support of a nation which has placed in us its confidence and its faith.

Therefore it is with deep feeling that I am participating in the work of this Conference. Each item to be dealt with by the Conference concerns very important matters affecting the social progress of the people of Chile, and the action envisaged in the Director-General’s Report coincides with the proposals of the Government of Chile in the social field.

I wish to refer to the main points of the Director-General’s Report in relation to the various tasks which we are going to undertake.

The Director-General, this time, has put his finger unerringly on the all-important problem of human resources in economic development. Already, in his previous Report, he had indicated the three main objectives to be pursued as being, first, better utilisation of the labour force by creating higher levels of productive employment; second, improving the quality of the labour force by vocational education and training; and, third, enlisting popular support for the tasks of national development and the participation of broad social groups in them.

It would be difficult to put into more concise and meaningful language the great task which has to be undertaken in the labour field by the developing countries and which at present is engaging the main efforts of the country which I have the honour to represent. It is, of course, an unquestionable fact that there has been an enormous delay in social planning as compared with planning for economic development in most of the Latin American countries. For example in Chile, after a great deal of work a ten-year economic development plan for the period 1961 to 1970 was worked out and put into operation. Unfortunately, that plan, while it represents an important step forward, is hampered by the fact that the studies in the field of human resources required for its fulfilment have fallen behind.

The Development and Production Corporation, along with INSORA and other institutions, have published surveys relating to projected demographic growth; the number of students registered at universities, and probable future demand for university graduates; civil servants and public employees; projections relating to matriculation candidates and education on different levels; classification of occupations and of the public sector as a common basis for studies relating to the demand for manpower in various
economic sectors; and, recently, a pamphlet on the training of manpower in Chile. However, all this only illustrated my worry that I had expressed about our having fallen behind in the study and development of human resources in relation to plans for economic development.

This is not the first time that the human element has yielded pride of place to the economic element. No institution can bear witness more dramatically or with more experience than the I.L.O. to the history of the efforts of so many countries to make economic progress by giving due consideration to human factors and to human beings involved in the task of progress.

The third point stressed by the Director-General—the support and participation of the people in development activities—sums up very wisely the importance of restoring to the worker his dignity and his role of main protagonist in economic and social development.

In this connection, I feel bound to state that the concern in this respect expressed by the Director-General in his Report constitutes the very core, the most substantial part, the irreplaceable foundation, of the whole social programme of the Government of Mr. Frei, of whom I am the unworthy spokesman at this assembly.

In order to fulfil the promises made publicly and repeatedly during the presidential campaign, my Government sent to the National Congress on 19 February of this year a Bill aimed at the revision of the Labour Code. It provides for an entirely new Part III dealing with trade union organisations and the text was carefully revised by an expert kindly sent to us by the I.L.O., Mr. Geraldo von Potobsky. This new text gives general recognition, without discrimination, to the right to organise, covering urban and rural workers in both the private and public sectors. The Bill, which we are endeavouring soon to have approved by Parliament, involves not only strict and complete application of the Freedom of Association (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 (No. 11), which has been ratified by Chile, but also would make possible the ratification of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87).

The Labour and Social Legislation Committee of the Chamber of Deputies is currently studying this Bill, and it will be followed by others on collective bargaining and collective agreements which will make it possible for us to ratify the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), which is complementary to the above-mentioned Convention No. 87. Moreover, as a result of the proposed legislation we shall be able to stop arbitrary dismissals and to adjust our practices to Recommendation No. 119 adopted at the 47th Session of this Conference concerning termination of employment at the initiative of the employer. I think that I should stress at this point that, simultaneously with the adoption of Act 16250 of 21 April 1965, we made temporary provision for suspending the rules on dismissal while working out a law based on the Recommendation to which I have just referred. Moreover, with my agreement, the Chamber of Deputies recently extended the above-mentioned stability of Employment Act pending the entry into force of the new legislation.

I should not like to conclude without stating before this assembly that the committees which are studying the complete reform of our Labour Code, the reform of our undertakings and the reform of our social security system (in which latter task they are being assisted by Mr. Alfredo Mallet, through the generosity of the I.L.O.) are basing themselves on the view which has been expressed publicly so many times by President Frei and confirmed in his letter which I read to you that our social policy should be guided by the principles of the International Labour Code and should be carried out with the support and assistance of the International Labour Organisation. This is no more than a natural and logical conclusion of a premise which is the essential basis of a true democracy, namely that the economy and progress exist and are justified only so long as they serve man and human dignity. Therefore, there can be no economic development without the advancement of man, nor can there be any representative democracy without the participation of the people. Therefore also, in the name of the Government of my country, I am happy to state before you that the lofty principles enunciated by the Director-General are such as to ensure the co-operation of Chile in the future action of the International Labour Organisation.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. MISHEV (Chairman, Labour and Work Remuneration Committee, Council of Ministers, Bulgaria)—The Bulgarian Government delegation welcomes the efforts of the General Conference which, during the past three sessions, has been exploring and working out measures with a view to bringing the programmes, structures and methods of work of the I.L.O. into accord with the social changes which occurred in the world during the past decades.

The Director-General's Report gives us a chance to make proposals and to engage in useful debate. In the course of the discussion, most countries which are interested in turning the I.L.O. into an instrument for the promotion of peaceful co-operation and the improvement of working and living conditions for the workers have made a number of useful proposals designed to help draft these new programmes and to improve the structure of the Organisation.

Whilst greatly appreciating the quality of the work of these past sessions, the Government delegation of Bulgaria has also made certain comments and proposals during the past two sessions, and following that we commented in writing in a memorandum to the Governing Body. As far as we know, the same has been done by most member States of the Organisation.

During the final debate at the 48th Session, the General Conference adopted a resolution in which the Director-General was requested to prepare a complete and objective analysis of the proposals that had been received and to submit a report on the programme and structure of the Organisation. The resolution stressed the great importance of this most important
task. The Director-General’s Report describes three basic programme areas—development of human resources; labour relations and social institutions; and living and working conditions. We do not propose to dwell on these in detail, even though we have a number of comments to make on the various points raised by the Director-General.

From the Director-General’s Report and also from the proposals of the Working Party which has been studying this question, we can judge the unsatisfactory nature of the implementation of the Conference’s decisions. Without wishing to underrate the subjects relating to labour and social questions, which are, of course, entitled to a central place in all future programmes of the I.L.O., we think it would be pointless to revert to matters on which the Conference has already reached complete unanimity.

The main concern expressed by almost all Government delegates who spoke in the debate was the need to strengthen the national income and its distribution. The growth of national income depends basically on two factors: on the one hand, a steady expansion in manpower resources in material production and national income depends basically on two factors. Without wishing to underrate the subjects relating to labour and social questions, which are, of course, entitled to a central place in all future programmes of the I.L.O., we think it would be pointless to revert to matters on which the Conference has already reached complete unanimity.

The main concern expressed by almost all Government delegates who spoke in the debate was the need to strengthen the national income and its distribution. The growth of national income depends basically on two factors: on the one hand, a steady expansion in manpower resources in material production and their qualifications, and, on the other hand, increased productivity. Those are the essential factors in the growth of national income and, provided that there is also fair distribution of wealth, they determine the standard of living of the workers. As I have already said, we do not in any way underrate the economic and social problems which should perhaps be covered in two central sections of the programme—I am speaking of that part of the I.L.O. programme which will deal with scientific and research work on these problems.

However, I should like to dwell briefly on a number of other programme areas which were mentioned in the debate but which are not reflected in the Director-General’s Report. At a time when the aims and nature of the I.L.O.’s future policy and purpose are being formulated it would be wrong to ignore such vital problems in which millions of workers throughout the world are involved. This matter has been more fully expounded in our memorandum to the Governing Body. What are the problems which, in our opinion, are so important and which were omitted in the Director-General’s Report but which should, nevertheless, be reflected in the I.L.O.’s programme? Our Government delegation considers that the I.L.O. should focus its attention on three fields: first of all, maintaining and strengthening peace as the basic condition for improving the living and working conditions of the workers. Questions relating to the preservation of peace and disarmament are matters of international politics, some speakers at this Conference have said. However, they seem to forget that these problems affect the workers of the world economically and socially also. Of course, the I.L.O. is a specialised body, but within its terms of reference we find both social and economic problems and yet one cannot single out these problems and separate them off as isolated political questions. How can one discuss the problem of improving the standard of living of the workers when a vast part of the national income and the product of human labour is being expended on armaments and supporting vast armies? One hundred and twenty thousand million dollars a year are spent on such purposes and 20 million workers are lost to military service. How can one deal with problems of public health and other social problems if peaceful cities and villages continue to be bombed and innocent women, children and old people are killed? How can the I.L.O. remain a passive bystander with regard to the key problems of war and peace in our time?

The second field which should be included in the programme of activities of the I.L.O. is the final liquidation of colonialism and its aftermath, the elimination of discrimination against workers and economic and social change in the developing countries.

A third field is that connected with the development and utilisation of human resources, labour relations, living and working conditions and the question of trade union development. The matters which the Director-General reflects in his Report. Here we should find all the legislative, operative, standard-setting and scientific and research work of the I.L.O.

Another group of questions which was not duly reflected in the Director-General’s Report was discussed at length at the last General Conference, namely the question of democratisation of the structure and methods of work of the I.L.O. We have already submitted written proposals to the Governing Body on these subjects and therefore I will merely list them here. First of all, we have suggested that the General Conference should be made the supreme body of the I.L.O. It is composed of all member States of the I.L.O. represented and it should be the sole organ empowered to decide the policies, programmes and activities of the Organisa­tion, to take decisions that are equally binding on all bodies of the I.L.O. and to appoint the Director-General. We have further suggested a clearer definition of the rights and functions of the Governing Body as the most important executive body although having no right to assume the functions of the General Conference. We have suggested that all member States be given equal opportunity to partici­pate in the work of the leading bodies of the I.L.O. In this connection we fully share the views expressed in the joint Polish-Ukrainian resolution. We have proposed that all countries be given fair representation in all the organs of the I.L.O.; the Workers’ and Employers’ representatives of all countries should be given equal opportunities to participate in all the organs of the I.L.O. We have proposed that the principle of equality between the various countries should be respected whatever their size, political system or level of economic development. This is an immutable rule of international law to which the I.L.O. is subject, and all countries should therefore be given equal opportunity to participate in its activities.

A number of delegates have expressed their concern from this rostrum about the situation in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic. On behalf of the Polish delegation I wish to express our feelings of profound indignation at the military aggression in Viet­Nam and the Dominican Republic. We call
upon all participants in this General Conference to condemn this military intervention, which represents a serious threat to world peace.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. LENHII (Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Libya) — Mr. President, allow me first of all to associate myself with other speakers in offering to you sincere congratulations on your election to preside over this distinguished assembly. May I also take this opportunity of extending warm and fraternal greetings to the new member States of Zambia, Malawi, Malta and Yemen represented at this Conference.

It gives me great pleasure to have the opportunity of participating in this session, acting on behalf of the Kingdom of Libya which believes strongly in the noble message of the International Labour Organisation. I have had this honour a number of times at previous sessions and have found these meetings inspiring and have seen for myself their valuable and positive results, which gives me great confidence in the outcome of the present session. I sincerely hope that our deliberations at this session will be as successful as in the past and that God will help us to reach unanimous and wise conclusions in all matters which we have been called upon to consider.

The Director-General’s Report this year gives us, as usual, full details of the duties and responsibilities of our Organisation based on the achievements of the past. It shows clearly how the responsibilities of this Organisation have constantly increased following the latest changes in its Constitution and Governing Body. We share the Director-General’s opinion on many points raised in his comprehensive Report and suggest that such points should be carefully considered. We also share his view that the development of human resources through education and training and the development of administrative organs in the field of labour relations are of the utmost importance and must be given full consideration and support.

In this field Libya has already taken the necessary steps to establish new rules for such organs to enable them to perform their duties in an efficient manner. Similarly, conciliation committees have been formed within the different organisations, companies and factories for the settlement of labour disputes arising therein. These committees have proved successful in settling the greater part of the labour disputes which arise, and thus the Government’s burden in this field has been lightened. We also consider labour statistics to be of vital importance in the field of economic development and believe that no development plan designed to increase national income will be successful unless based on sound statistics. That is why our Government is now conducting a statistical survey in both the industrial and the agricultural field as well as in the labour sector with a view to determining the availability of resources as compared with our future needs. Through this survey we shall obtain valuable data and information regarding the development plan and the future economy of our country.

In connection with the Director-General’s reference to the structure of this Organisation and the rules and regulations of the General Conference, the Governing Body and the Industrial Committees, we wish to reiterate that a special conference should be held to consider these matters. We share the opinion of the Director-General that the rules and regulations to be approved during our deliberations should be supple, flexible and adjustable to the needs of a rapidly changing world.

Our Organisation bears a great responsibility towards the peoples of the world and it is able to carry out its noble role most successfully. The valuable technical assistance this Organisation offers to the developing countries is an example of its achievements in the field of international co-operation for the progress and welfare of humanity. Among its many other successes is the common attitude of reprobation of the racial discrimination policy practised by the Government of South Africa which resulted in the expulsion of this Government from this Organisation and also in the amendment of the Constitution of the I.L.O. so as to give power to the General Conference to expel or suspend from membership any member State practising racial discrimination. There is no doubt that the Constitution of this Organisation in its new amended form will increase the efficiency and strength of the I.L.O. in facing its responsibilities and taking the necessary action against any member State deviating from the principles and objectives of the Organisation. My country welcomes and appreciates these amendments and declares its firm adherence to the principles approved by the International Labour Organisation. At the same time, it condemns the various torments to which the legitimate peoples of Mozambique, South Arabia, Palestine, Southern Rhodesia and Angola are being subjected. We therefore ask this Conference to use all its powers to take severe action against any member State that practises such a policy of discrimination. We also urge those member States which have not yet ratified the latest amendments to the Constitution of this Organisation to do so as soon as possible.

Following the changes effected in the general structure of the I.L.O., the amendments to its Constitution and the changes in the Governing Body, we feel that it is now time for the Organisation to adopt a new plan of action compatible with such changes. There is also another subject which, in our opinion, needs discussion by the Conference—namely the unnecessary privilege granted to certain member States as stipulated in article 7 of the Constitution whereby ten of the Government members shall be appointed from member States of chief industrial importance. In our opinion such a provision is not compatible with the principle of equity which is the basis of international relations, and we suggest that it be amended.

The economic prosperity which Libya has now attained has paved the way for the achievement of the noblest of the people, once only a daydream far from hope of realisation. Oil has played the most important role in the changing of the Libyan economy and constitutes the main source of our national income.
We are endeavouring to utilise this income in the development of the country by promoting all public services and utilities for the achievement of a fair distribution of wealth among the people of the country.

The Libyan Government has already approved the first Five-Year Development Plan, which covers many economic and social projects, for which some £L.169 million have been provided, and a high council for national planning has been set up to supervise the execution of the plan.

A sum of more than £L.10 million, as compared with less than half a million in 1953, has been allotted in this year's budget for medical treatment, which is free to all the people. As for education, some £L.29 million have been allocated in the same budget compared with £L.600,000 in 1953, and the number of students in Libya rose from 7,000 before independence to about a quarter of a million nowadays. Education is free at all stages from primary schools to universities.

We have already embarked on the largest housing programme ever known in Libya. Our scope is to enable everybody with limited income to have a suitable house within the shortest possible period at a nominal price. The construction of houses under this scheme is at the rate of 10,000 houses a year.

On the other hand, we are not depending upon oil alone. We have taken all necessary steps for the promotion of agriculture, which is one of the main sources of our national income, and have allotted the necessary funds within the framework of the Five-Year Plan for its development. We have also established the Agricultural Settlement Institution, which is assisting farmers technically and financially and providing satisfactory agricultural lands with a view to reducing migration of the people from rural areas to petroleum regions where employment is abundant and the wage is higher. Another purpose of this Institution is to help agricultural workers to become the real owners of the land they till.

Taking into consideration the importance of agriculture in our national economy, we hope that the Conference will be able to draw up practices, proposals and recommendations relevant to the improvement of the situation of agricultural labour. Our Government is at present carrying out preliminary studies aimed at organising the conditions and terms of employment in agriculture and at bringing them closer to those prevailing in industry.

My Government's main object is to establish full social justice by improving conditions of work and co-ordinating the Libyan labour legislation in such a way as to guarantee the protection of legal rights of the working class and to prevent any form of exploitation to which the workers might be subjected in their lifetime, also to establish better conditions of employment in a proper atmosphere of equality and justice. However, our main concern, whilst containing all forms and elements of underdevelopment, is the great shortage of skilled manpower, a fact which has obliged us to make use of a large number of expatriate skilled workers and technicians for technical jobs. We do hope, however, that our efforts in the field of vocational training will enable us, in the near future, to have well-trained national workers to meet the country's requirements.

A special institution for vocational training will start operating around the beginning of 1966 in co-operation with the United Nations Special Fund and with the assistance of the International Labour Organisation. In addition to this we have the existing training programme in the industrial sector.

My Government believes that no community can really prosper and achieve good progress without the participation of all its members. Thus we encourage women's organisations and assist them morally and financially to enable them to carry out their activities in the most favourable circumstances. Libyan women play an important part in the direction of social policy and have entered the fields of education, nursing and public services. Under our national Social Insurance Law the Government gives medical and maternity care to working women. Our Labour Law has laid down the principle of equality in wages between men and women in case of equality of jobs.

Finally, I sincerely hope that the work of this Conference will be most successful and that all of us will be able to find satisfactory solutions for the many difficulties confronting us in our efforts for the prosperity and progress of humanity.
organisation on a regional basis. This organisation corresponds to the need for decentralisation, but also to a desire for strengthening the more and more numerous practical activities of the Organisation.

As for the I.L.O. programmes, the Director-General's Report seems to stress three essential priorities to which I.L.O. activities will mainly relate in future years, namely human resources development, labour relations and the development of sound social institutions, and conditions of life and work.

My delegation has already spoken on these priorities at the last two sessions. I can only reaffirm our point of view by stressing particularly the need for developing human resources.

We are aware of the importance of the rational and judicious use of human resources in economic development.

In Tunisia human advancement in economic development is one of our essential objectives. In the chapters which make up the plan document an important place is given to the development of human resources and the training of skilled labour. Still more important in the choice of economic objectives is the need for developing employment and improving its quality. We cannot therefore be insensible to the efforts of the I.L.O. in this field, and particularly to the study and research which it proposes to undertake in order to utilise the best experience in the field of human resources utilisation.

We agree with the Report that particular interest should attach to the development of employment in rural areas. It is true that the problems of unemployment and underemployment in the developing countries stem from inefficient farming.

Nevertheless, while believing in the possibility of improving the level of employment in the primary sector, we do not think that agriculture alone can resolve the problem of underemployment and unemployment.

The agrarian reform of which the consequences will be studied at the present session and the use of more rational and productive methods in agriculture should aim above all at guaranteeing better incomes for peasants and farmers, insomuch as it is inexpedient without a big reduction in the mass of agricultural labour. In other words, it is above all the quality of employment which must be improved in rural areas, and in our opinion the excess manpower can only be reabsorbed by the fundamental reconversion of agriculture hand in hand with progressive industrialisation. In any case, that is what we decided in Tunisia, and we expect that in the next six years the percentage of the active population engaged in agriculture will drop from 58 to 37 per cent., while the average number of days worked by an agricultural worker in the year will increase from 150 to 250. It is therefore problems of adjustment of agricultural labour to an industrial and urban background that we would particularly like to bring to the notice of the I.L.O.

Similarly, the industrialisation of the developing countries, the modernisation of agriculture and the raising of the level of employment in general raise the problem of training. In this regard we cannot but welcome the interest which the I.L.O. is constantly taking in this problem. This interest is reflected particularly in the increasing volume of its technical assistance and practical work. Nevertheless, study and research in this field should be intensified so that the developing countries can meet their need for skilled labour. Stress should be placed on the need for giving the best possible training as quickly and as cheaply as possible. These are, we believe, the proper objectives for the training programmes of countries like ours which have a big need for skilled labour, and it is towards these objectives that we would like to see the action of the I.L.O. directed.

While stressing the need to give a particularly important place to the utilisation of human resources in the programmes of the I.L.O., I should not like to minimise the importance of the other two major programme areas of the Organisation. I think that the development of healthy labour-management relations in undertakings will greatly facilitate lasting social peace and increase productivity. The existence of occupational organisations which are aware of their role in the economic and social advancement of the population greatly facilitates the establishment of a climate of understanding and co-operation without which any effort must fail. It is therefore right that the I.L.O.—the only institution which has a tripartite composition—should have a particular interest in this problem. As for the development of social institutions, we believe with the Director-General that this can only be done to the extent that the need for such institutions is felt and understood by all the parties concerned.

Lastly, since the objective of economic and social development is to improve the moral and material conditions of the population, my delegation can only support any step or I.L.O. programme which may have a positive influence in this field. Such are the few observations which I thought I should make regarding the I.L.O. programmes.

As regards structure, and particularly as regards the views expressed by the Director-General regarding the decentralisation of the I.L.O. and the increase in the role of the regional advisory committees and the regional conferences, my delegation cannot fail to express its satisfaction. However, there is one point which has not been mentioned in the last Report—namely the desirability of equilirium within the various organs of the I.L.O. and particularly between the Governing Body and the Conference. If we take it that the Governing Body is an emanation of the Conference. Evidently, therefore, it must be able to interpret the general policy of the Organisation worked out in the Conference, put it into operation and supervise its application through the Office. However, some of the rules regarding the composition of the Governing Body do not appear to correspond to our conception of the role of each of the organs of the I.L.O.

Indeed, as we know, the members of the Governing Body are not all elected by the Conference. Some States are permanent members of the Governing Body for reasons which may have been valid 20 years ago, but which
nowadays seem rather out of date. Without wishing to minimise the important role of the industrialised countries in operating I.L.O. programmes and applying international labour standards, we think that the time has come to reconsider the representation of the States on the Governing Body, with a view to bringing it more into line with present realities and with the legitimate aspirations of peoples and States towards equality and democracy. Although this suggestion may appear audacious, I am sure that it will benefit our institution, which has always proved itself to be in advance of world events; indeed, that is the secret of its success.

My Government has followed with much interest the efforts made by the Organisation over the last three years to adjust its structures and programmes to the requirements of our time and to the needs of the States Members. We are greatly gratified that our initiative in this field has been followed by other international agencies. Therefore, we can only support any effort which tends to strengthen the work of the I.L.O. and other agencies at the international level, for we are sure that by forging within these agencies friendship and co-operation between States and peoples, we will strengthen the international solidarity in which we believe. If we stress this it is because my Government has always believed in the principles of the universality of international agencies and co-operation between peoples and States. It has never hesitated, at the risk of disturbing valued friendships, to take up attitudes in relation to international problems which are dictated by reason. It has an aversion to demagogy and has gained experience in the bitter struggle of its people to recover independence, to build a sound State and to move forward on the path of progress and prosperity. If sometimes, unfortunately, we momentarily disturb some people, at least these attitudes have the merit of safeguarding the future, preserving human friendship and preserving the friendship of peoples.

In closing, may I warmly welcome the new Members of the Organisation—Yemen, Zambia, Malawi and Malta.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. PITHART (Government delegate, Czechoslovakia)—May I first of all congratulate you, Mr. President, on the occasion of your election to your responsible post? I hope that under your leadership the Conference will proceed in a spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation, and that it will lead to good results.

We have come to this Conference in order to apply our efforts towards adapting the Organisation and its programmes, structures and methods of work to those changes which have occurred in the world and, also, to those new tasks the complexity of which exceeds that of all preceding activities of the Organisation. During the past two sessions of the Conference, in the course of a very useful debate which was then continued in the form of written monoranda, a number of proposals were made and positions were ascertained, so that now our Organisation can forthwith start to adopt the first necessary measures.

However, compared to the past two ses-

sions, we meet today in an atmosphere of heightened international tension as a result of the military aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the intervention in the domestic affairs of South Viet-Nam, and the totally unjustified military intervention in the Dominican Republic. This evidence of a recrudescence of imperialist policy based on a position of strength, which realities from an attempt to paralyse the normal activities of the United Nations General Assembly, represents a genuine threat to world peace and consequently to the successful future work of our Organisation. Such a development is also dangerous to the future of certain positive developments which have occurred on the international scene during the past few years as a result mainly of the constructive peaceful efforts by the socialist and developing countries and which have also had a positive effect on our Organisation.

On the other hand, the continuation of aggression, intervention and the preparation of war could disrupt the work of this Organisation too, since the preservation of peace is a basic premise for social progress throughout the world. Peace and social progress are inseparable, and that is why the International Labour Organisation, which is a member of the United Nations family, and has as one of its basic aims, as stated in the Preamble to the Constitution, the establishment of lasting peace throughout the world, cannot remain inactive in the face of such a situation. Indeed it must make every effort to serve the cause of peace. Reality convinces us that an effort to do away with the danger of a new thermonuclear war and to preserve and strengthen peace must be one of the permanent, crucial tasks of the International Labour Organisation. It is essential for the Organisation to proclaim this far and wide and to contribute through all its activities to those measures that may lead to a slackening of international tension, liquidate the causes of war and bring about a policy of peaceful coexistence between all States whatever their constitutional or other differences. The International Labour Organisation must contribute to the noble cause of securing a general and lasting peace throughout the world, especially within its own orbit of activities and structures.

Among the more important questions that face us is the urgent liquidation of colonialism and the struggle against neo-colonialism, whatever its forms or manifestations, liquidation of the adverse consequences of colonialism in the social field, especially as regards the working and living conditions of the workers in those countries that have freed themselves from the colonial yoke, as well as active support of rapid economic and social progress in those countries. As far as the I.L.O.'s participation in studying the question of the social and economic consequences of disarmament is concerned, this Organisation must take steps to speed up practical and useful research. In addition the I.L.O. must contribute to securing the other basic rights of man that have been solemnly proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and fight against every type of discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other con-
victims, national or social origin, in whatever sector of life or work these symptoms of discrimination may appear. The Organisation should also make a more effective contribution so that human rights be secured in the field of labour, working conditions, wages, leisure, social security, etc. The same should apply to the recognition and extension of the rights of trade unions and the struggle against violation of trade union rights.

In this connection I would like to stress the importance of the resolution presented by the Yugoslav Workers’ delegate which demands freedom of association in Spain. This demand is quite legitimate and the Czechoslovak delegation will support the Yugoslav resolution.

Equally important is the support of such forms of collective economic organisation which would make it possible to ensure a rapid, planned rise in the economic level of countries and a just distribution of the fruits of economic development; other measures to be advocated include a fair international distribution of labour and promotion of international trade and economic ties between all countries generally. In the belief of the Czechoslovak Government, as stated in our remarks on the document concerning the programme and structure of the Organisation, the basis for the functioning of the Organisation should be reflected in a basic programme document. This programme would provide a useful stimulus for expanding the new, creative activities of the I.L.O. in accordance with the requirements of our time. The Czechoslovak delegation has moved a draft of such a document which, together with a number of similar proposals, could serve as a basis for the discussion of a new programme document. I suggest that we all realise the need to revise the programme of our Organisation, as was stressed in the resolution on the subject adopted by the Conference at its last session. It is regrettable that so few concrete results have been achieved to date. I deem it highly desirable that we speed up the discussion of these questions without in any way neglecting the need for thoroughness in examining the various proposals and comments.

But of course, what concerns us is not only the programme. It should be clearly recognised that in order to heighten the effectiveness of this Organisation one should also carry out changes in its structure and working methods, for it is upon that that the successful implementation of the programme depends. So that the Organisation may act correctly and work successfully it is necessary to secure full equality of rights for all Members of the Organisation also as regards their representation in the various bodies—the Governing Body and its Committees, the bureaux of these bodies, the Industrial Committees, the expert groups, the various organs of the Conference, and the International Labour Office. There should also be strict respect for the democratic principles regulating the relationships between the various bodies of the Organisation, especially the Conference and the Governing Body. Here much remains to be put right, as many delegates have pointed out during past sessions of the Conference. We should particularly condemn the discrimination to which the socialist group of countries is subjected inside the Organisation. This discrimination has gone on for many years on the part of certain groups in the West, especially in the Employers’ and Workers’ groups, where the Employers and the representatives of the trade unions of the socialist countries, which represent more than one-third of the population of these countries and also a similar share of world industrial output, are being denied their rights. This can be seen from the membership of the various organs of the Organisation, including the Governing Body and the Office, especially in the leading posts, as well as in the membership of the Committees of the Conference and the distribution of functions at the Conference. For instance, among the former Presidents of the General Conference we see no delegate from a socialist country. Typical examples were seen in the elections to the Industrial Committees and to the responsible posts at this Conference last week. We are talking about discrimination based on strictly political considerations, which is in gross disaccord with the basic principles governing the structure and methods of work of international organisations and is also contrary to the Constitution, aims and interests of our Organisation. Whilst the interests of this Organisation and the main tasks it faces, necessitate a revision of the efforts of all Members, as well as of those countries which—without the slightest justification—have been refused admission to this Organisation, the partisans of discrimination establish within it a state of tension and distrust as a result of which much energy and time are wasted. This discrimination is also a potential threat to the very existence and unity of our Organisation. The tasks facing it demand an urgent and conclusive solution to this problem. The first decisive step in this direction should be taken by the present session of the Conference, by endorsing the principle of equitable geographical distribution with regard to offices in all the organs of the I.L.O. The adoption and application of this principle of equal rights for all member States could not fail to be reflected in the atmosphere of trust and co-operation which would enable this Organisation the more rapidly and better to perform its tasks.

At last year’s session of the Conference there was a Polish-Ukrainian resolution on the subject which, however, was not considered. As a result of the situation which I have attempted to describe, the Czechoslovak delegation considers that at this session we should give priority to this resolution. The adoption and implementation of the resolution therein, which have been recognised and are being applied in all other international agencies, would be a great step forward for this Organisation. It would introduce fairness and order in representation on the various organs and would do away with unnecessary friction and discontent which is totally superfluous and is harmful.

I am convinced that if this Conference and the whole Organisation show the desire and make the effort to do so, it should be possible to complete the implementation of essential changes in the programme, structure and methods in time for the next session of the Conference, which would not only be a fitting
celebration of the 50th Session of the Conference but would also be extremely useful for its whole future development.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. PAREDES (Government delegate, Panama)—We should first like to congratulate the President on his election to his high office by the plenary session of the Conference and we extend our congratulations to the other Officers of the Conference. We should also like to extend fraternal greetings on behalf of our Government to the new Members of this Organisation. May we express our hope that their activities may be crowned with success.

The item on the agenda relating to the discussion of the Director-General's Report offers a magnificent opportunity to make a complete critical analysis of this very important document. However, because of the requirements contained in the Standing Orders of the Conference, we shall have to refer exclusively to those points which we consider to be of the greatest importance amongst all those subjects dealt with in the Report of the Director-General.

The International Labour Organisation is an institution which lives and moves in a modern world in full evolution; it has for some time past needed a structural reorganisation which would make it possible for it to keep up with the changes and adjust itself to the development and progress of science so as to enable it at all times to pursue its aims. Therefore, we are very glad indeed to see that certain steps have been taken to keep the Organisation in line with the needs of today. Amongst the structural changes which have been mentioned our attention is particularly drawn to the creation of the Field Department, which is designed to contribute to the development of regional activities and their more effective and rational co-ordination.

On this subject, we feel that in order to secure the actual benefits which we expect and hope for from this decentralisation, it is essential that it be accompanied by a decentralisation of the administrative and policy-making power which is maintained in Geneva. It is all very well to decentralise activities and this can be done, but such physical or geographical decentralisation must be accompanied by the administrative and policy-making authority which will enable it to develop in a truly practical, functional and effective way. In other words, we feel that there is room for independent co-operation at the regional level, quite separate from the more general type of co-operation which is exercised through the I.L.O. at the world-wide level.

In so far as concerns the sectors of activity of the I.L.O. programme, the vital importance of human resources for economic development is acknowledged. In a period when technology has become the deciding factor between stagnation and development, when one can no longer speak solely of the traditional factors in production but must add to those factors new ones in the form of technology and entrepreneurial capability and when one realises that these last two factors mean no more or less than educated and skilled manpower, one has to agree then that the key to total modern economic development is the harmonious training and full utilisation of human resources.

We share the legitimate concern of the Director-General on this subject. We are happy to inform the Conference that, as a result of the action taken by President Robles this year, the National Assembly of Panama set up the Institute for Training and Utilisation of Human Resources. This is an autonomous and independent body, one of the first of its kind in Latin America, and it is responsible for carrying out the delicate, difficult and vital task of channelling the human resources necessary for the development of the country. In this way the Government of Panama has taken a tremendous step forward which will have incalculable future repercussions in the field of labour and its dynamic role in production.

With respect to the development of social institutions, the Director-General indicates that, as he sees it, the Conference wants the I.L.O. to try to achieve the growth of representative and independent organisations which will enable all sections of the population to participate in and benefit from economic development; the association of these organisations in the formulation and implementation of national development plans; the development of adequate labour administration machinery within government services; the strengthening of machinery for negotiation and co-operation between employers and workers at all levels; and the education and training of those who are involved in labour relations questions—in short, almost the whole scale of activities relating to social institutions which the Director-General himself then proposes should be covered by a single programme of action which will be coherent and co-ordinated. He stresses his desire to obtain the opinion of the delegates on this point.

These ideas are absolutely elementary and basic, as far as we see it, and the programme, which would be called the "programme for the development of social institutions", is interesting and represents, in our opinion, an ideal objective in this field. But, this ideal, like all ideals, tends to be good and acceptable, and if we do not want to risk disillusionment I think it would be wise to stop and think a little before rushing ahead full speed. Are we prepared, in most of the member States, to receive and to put into effect this programme? What institutions are indispensable for the suitable development of this type of programme in our countries? We think, to take one example only, that it is indispensable to have a Ministry of Labour which will act as such. We cite this case because no one is unaware, I am sure, that you have to have other complementary institutions in operation in order that the Ministry of Labour can operate properly. In Panama we have made efforts to establish a Ministry of Labour which would really carry out the functions and objectives required by the most elementary needs of the world today, but unfortunately we have not as yet been able to achieve this objective.

We do not want to discourage the I.L.O. in its good intentions, but we think that it is wise to call a halt and to stop and reflect on this subject, since it might well be more
appropriate at this time to stress activities which prepare the ground for future action rather than to rush headlong into an adventure entailing the possibility of complete and total failure.

Conditions of life and work, on the other hand, can never be forgotten or laid aside by the I.L.O. or by the national governments represented at this Conference. While we understand that action in this field, even though possibly yielding no immediate fruits, is connected with economic development, on the other hand we are not unaware that an unlimited or unbalanced eagerness for production and economic benefits may slow up and may even reverse the advance which we have already achieved in this field. Therefore, we should like to say with all the emphasis at our command that our attention should be fixed permanently on the improvement of the living and working conditions of the workers. Thus, the I.L.O., Panama and the whole world should organise to achieve complete economic development, that is development where the distribution of wealth will be made with justice, and in a democratic and equitable way; where the employer and the worker will freely enjoy the economic and spiritual benefits arising from the fruits of their labours; development which will make it possible for man to express his feelings and achieve the most complete spiritual development; in short, the type of development which will make it possible for every worker to come back every morning to his job with renewed enthusiasm and courage.

In this connection, President Robles has personally taken far-reaching and extremely encouraging measures. The Panamanian workers see in the new Government prospects of dealing with worker-employer relationships and the problems of living and working conditions in a spirit of justice, understanding and progress.

So far we have referred to the International Labour Organisation and to a few of its activities, taking as a basis for our statement the Report of the Director-General, following the custom and system which has been established for a long time. Our analysis has been sincere and objective, considering the I.L.O. and the Conference as realities to which we cannot shut our eyes. But, having fulfilled this formal and routine commitment, we can hardly continue without at the same time fulfilling an obligation which we feel in all conscience bound to carry out. Thus with all respect to the I.L.O. and with the permission of delegates, we should like to take the liberty of raising some wide-ranging questions which concretely express the doubts and concern which we feel in connection with the I.L.O., its appropriateness, its achievements, and even its very existence.

To what point and to what extent has the I.L.O. carried out its tasks and achieved its objectives? Does the I.L.O. contribute positively and effectively to the economic and social progress of the peoples of the world? Has the I.L.O. realized that, in fact, today economic development is a sine qua non for the achievement of the aspirations of the workers? Has the Conference perhaps become a pretext and an opportunity made use of by certain governments to send delegates on a nice trip without really having a genuine and sincere interest in the activities of the Conference? What concrete benefits are obtained from the Conference apart from the personal contacts which may be made?

Has the Conference perhaps become an arena where, instead of dealing with matters of great importance, political problems are threshed out in the most barefaced unmannerliness, and empty and repellent demagogic speeches are made? These questions are being raised, and while they are being raised—and we are not the first nor shall we be the last to raise them—and while the I.L.O. continues to engage in discussion as it has been doing for years and years, far away in the countries of Asia, America and Africa, and also right here in Europe, hunger is increasing, unemployment is rife and the difference between the developed countries and the developing countries is growing to fearful proportions.

Today, when satellites and manned spaceships whizz through space, here on earth the peoples who are anxious to live decently and who have discovered that men are not equal are growing ever more restive in their desires. Science in its extraordinary progress has surprised many countries in a state of stagnation and backwardness. But science itself has a duty which cannot be passed on of contributing to the material, cultural and spiritual improvement of the peoples.

On reading the Report of the Director-General and some other documents, one sees the great concern that exists within the I.L.O. in connection with the need for accelerated economic development which will put a stop to all these plagues on humanity. It is even proposed that the workers' organisations should take part in the economic planning bodies at a national level. Perhaps this is the path the I.L.O. should follow at the international level.

Integral and total economic development—the very foundation of a better life of peace and harmony for all—can be achieved only when there is a common force, well balanced and harmonious, which is capable of unifying co-ordinated productive forces. This is the scientific way in which we must look at the problem. Making a dispassionate analysis of the situation, we might reach the conclusion that a scientific solution to the crisis through which the Organisation is passing would be to incorporate it into an international body for economic development.

Naturally, this would not mean doing away with the essence of the I.L.O. It would cease to operate as an independent body, but its functions and basic objectives would continue in force except that they would be given a new focus and more dynamic dimensions in keeping with the realities of the world today. If we...
were not to incorporate the I.L.O. into another body already in existence, one might think of creating a new international body for total economic development which would combine, like the I.L.O., other spheres of activity which represent various basic factors of production. We repeat that we are in no way suggesting doing away with the functions and objectives of the I.L.O., but rather wish to give these functions and objectives the vitality which they lack today because the Organisation is separated from those organisations dealing with economic development, and because it lacks the necessary impact on national governments to give its Conventions true force. Moreover, with a solution such as the one we have proposed, the strength and experience of the I.L.O. would reinforce the new body so that it would be in a position to achieve, in the field of economic development and in the field of labour, goals which had never even been thought of earlier. We understand that this question is perhaps only marginal to the sphere of competence of the I.L.O., but it is of such basic importance and is so closely related to the activities of the I.L.O. that we feel it is our duty to mention it clearly.

We have thus put before you our points of view on certain aspects of the Director-General's Report in particular, and of the I.L.O. and the Conference in general. It is our hope that we may have thus stirred up the spirit of the staff of the I.L.O. and of the delegates to the Conference. If we are right, we hope that the necessary measures will be taken soon to find a solution to the crisis. If we are wrong, we will be glad to know it, in order to correct our attitude, but if we are wrong we are anxious to have our error shown to us specifically.

In any case we can assure you that our Government will continue to have every faith that the I.L.O. will reorient itself bearing in mind the enormous changes which the world of today is undergoing.

Interpretation from French: Mr. LEDOT (Government delegate, Central African Republic) —It is with pleasure for me to speak for the first time from this rostrum where, for years, eminent men and women of various origin have been speaking in defence of the interests of workers and to promote effective labour legislation.

I should like first of all to congratulate you, Mr. President, in the name of His Excellency, President David Dacko, and his people, on your brilliant election.

I have no doubt that your experience and your wide knowledge of the problems of labour relations will enable the present session to reach fruitful conclusions. This is also an opportunity for me to add my congratulations to those already expressed to the Director-General for his remarkable work, and to the Office which he so ably leads amidst the convulsions of the modern world. This year the Director-General deals with new and interesting problems. The desire to analyse this objective, serene and far-seeing Report is a real temptation to us. However, each speaker is obliged to refer only to those of its many aspects which are of particular interest to him, all the more so because the document itself invites us so to act that the discussion of it can lead to decisions which will, I am sure, make it possible to determine the main lines of I.L.O. action on the basis of the guidelines laid down by the Director-General. Therefore, one should not spend too much time on tributes, and I will pass to the observations of the Government of the Central African Republic.

One cannot doubt what the main objectives of the I.L.O. must be. In general, they consist of improving conditions of work and employment throughout the world.

However, the way in which they should be incorporated in the programmes drawn up in the light of the needs of member countries must be precisely and realistically indicated. The I.L.O. should pay particular attention to the formulation of programmes which would have regard to the rapid development of the member countries, and especially the developing States, to their new needs and to their determination to accelerate the process of economic and social decolonisation along the lines which each prefers.

The studies made by the Director-General and the changes introduced with the approval of the Governing Body have the entire support of my Government. However, we believe that the procedure of the Conference and the Constitution need to be reviewed so as to take into account the situation created by the admission of new Members to the Organisation.

The extension of the powers of the General Conference would certainly contribute towards an improvement of the work of the Organisation by democratising it in such a way that it would become, in fact as well as in name, the highest organ determining the work of the Organisation and controlling its activity.

The composition of the I.L.O. is only fully reflected in the composition of the General Conference, which has very limited powers. The composition of the Governing Body, the other organs, and particularly of the Office itself, by no means gives full effect to the principle of equality of rights and obligations of States Members and the need for equitable representation of all systems.

It is rightly pointed out in the Report that most of the developing countries are now going through a crisis of underemployment and unemployment. However, we have given these questions particular attention, with the result that, in the pure sense, there is no unemployment in our country. Nevertheless, my Government, at its National Congress last year, elaborated an economic development programme based on voluntary labour in order to enable us to reabsorb part of our unskilled manpower. This measure is in no way based on compulsion. It amounts to the organisation of the masses, making it possible to regroup the living forces of the country. They are trained and their efforts are directed towards development programmes which are expected to become economically viable. Rural resources are thus developed and their effect on economic policy is most important.

Moreover, the Government of the Central African Republic attaches particular import-
ance to the international labour Conventions and Recommendations, for the workers in our country are one of our fundamental forces. It is therefore indispensable that labour standards should be conceived in a manner which permits balanced and harmonious development. My Government has accordingly ratified 35 Conventions and applied three Recommendations, thereby committing itself to formulate legislation which will be in conformity with the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Philadelphia. However, in this field also, the I.L.O. must have regard to the great diversity of national conditions and must take into consideration that countries follow different paths to reach the economic objectives which it sets them.

In the Central African Republic economic development has been defined as a priority objective and the whole population has been mobilised to bring it about, including the employers', workers', young persons' and women's organisations. These groups actively participate in all advisory bodies. Moreover, the trade union organisations understood the need for co-operation to such an extent that they freely amalgamated so as to form one dynamic union which can fight poverty side by side with the Government.

The studies which have been made by the I.L.O. on the problems of women are in line with the preoccupations of my Government. Recently His Excellency David Dacko said that the policy of the Central African Republic did not exclude the advancement of women, who represent a genuine potential in which we wish them to be properly organised and to have leaders who can play their due part in the I.L.O. on the problems of women are in line with the preoccupations of my Government. Recently His Excellency David Dacko said that the policy of the Central African Republic did not exclude the advancement of women, who represent a genuine potential in which we place much hope in connection with rational manpower planning to meet the needs of our rapid economic and social transformation.

The Government of our Republic is particularly aware of the role of the trade unions, but it wishes them to be properly organised and to have leaders who can play their due part instead of closely following the big foreign central organisations which build up ambitious theoretical programmes which they have not been able to put into effect in their own countries.

We feel, therefore, that the I.L.O. can help us in this particular field to set up schools which will enable us to educate leaders in respect of the freedoms inherent in this discipline.

I would be failing in my duty if I did not mention the burning, dramatic problem of South Africa and the Portuguese colonies. It is quite clear that Portugal has no intention of responding to the appeal of mankind. This uncompromising and arrogant attitude is a threat to peace and, particularly, an open rebuff to the I.L.O., which is the symbol of social justice.

We believe that we should not close our eyes to what is going on for it is a breach of the sacred rights laid down in the Constitution of our Organisation.

The I.L.O. should intensify its work so that these humiliating, degrading conditions of work, this discrimination, may be stopped and peace and social justice introduced instead.

Mr. ABEBE (Employers' delegate, Nigeria)— Permit me to associate myself with all those who have expressed profound joy at the election of Mr. Raza to the high office of President of this august assembly. I wish you, Sir, God's guidance in the discharge of your great task. To all the new member States I extend a hearty welcome and congratulations.

The last two sessions of the Conference rightly devoted a good deal of time to considering the programmes and structure of the International Labour Organisation. The Director-General is to be congratulated on the manner in which he has set out in this year's Report the practical steps he intends to take in giving effect to those proposals upon which the last two sessions reached some measure of agreement.

The changes through which the world has passed since the programmes and structure of the I.L.O. were first designed justify the attention which this review is now receiving. Any programme by an international organisation which hopes to attain its purpose must recognise the special needs and circumstances of the area it seeks to serve. This is why those of us from the developing countries must welcome the increasing attention which the I.L.O. has paid to our problems in recent times. The rapidly changing pattern of the social and economic conditions in the new member States makes it essential that reappraisal of the programmes and structure of the I.L.O.—an organisation to which they look for so much—should be a continuing process.

The I.L.O. is now a very much larger body than it was 20 years ago and the emphasis appears, and quite rightly so, to be shifting to the many newly independent countries which have gained admission into the Organisation during the last two decades. These new Members look to the I.L.O. for help, advice and guidance but their problems are not always the same as those of the older Members. Whereas the older Members have met many of our major problems as they arose over the course of many years, we have had to face serious problems which demand urgent and immediate solution in circumstances which are unique to each individual country concerned. The development of these countries would depend very much on their ability to mobilise their human and natural resources.

For many years and until very recently the items which have featured on the agenda of the I.L.O. have been generally divorced from reality as we know it in Nigeria. It is therefore a matter for rejoicing that attention is now being focused on matters which are of direct concern to developing countries. I believe the I.L.O. has produced enough international instruments to last any average developing country for many more years to come. If the extension of operational programmes and technical assistance to countries that need them is pursued with the same vigour and enthusiasm as have been given to the adoption of the multitude of international instruments, the pace of social and economic development in the less advanced countries will be greatly accelerated.

In the belief that they will together provide the necessary essential services and technical aid to developing countries, I welcome the formation of the three arms of the I.L.O.—the Human Resources Department, the Social
Institutions Development Department and the Conditions of Work and Life Department. Their effectiveness must not be marred by lack of co-ordination, duplication of effort or conflict in their fields of operation. I hope they will justify their existence by addressing themselves immediately to the tasks for which they have been created, thus making their presence felt in our respective countries, but only after consultation with the local people, by which I mean employers and workers as well as governments.

Our countries are faced with a multitude of problems, the solution of which calls for both human and material resources which have been created, thus making their presence in our problems complex and challenging. Time and resources are limited. The technological expertise and the wealth of experience acquired by the I.L.O. over the years should be placed at our disposal as a matter of utmost urgency. In my country the education of workers involves hundreds of thousands of people, hence only a crash programme can produce the desired results. We want experts who, against the background of our local problems, can train experts to teach others. Only by this snowball effect can the ground be covered quickly enough. To start with, training in the techniques of teaching must be given only to those who will utilise it in the best possible way and who will spend all their time passing on their knowledge to others. The good work which other international bodies are doing in order to tackle this problem in Nigeria is appreciated. But however well-meaning they may be, their good work can suffer from insufficient knowledge of the real needs and background of the people, and it is for this reason that I plead that all such assistance should be channelled solely through the government of the country.

The plans outlined in the Director-General’s Report for improving the quality of the labour force can only provide a nucleus of the trained personnel urgently needed in countries where the vast majority of the working population is still illiterate. While there may be good reason for tackling the problem on a short- and medium-term basis now, the speed with which progress and technological changes occur suggests that long-term planning is in the final analysis the hope for a lasting solution. The research programme which the I.L.O. proposes to mount should provide useful information about the size and scope of the problem as well as the areas to which greater effort is to be directed.

The Director-General’s anxiety to examine how the workers’ concern with security can be met in the different member States under study and the immediate need for consideration of yet more international instruments, be they Conventions, Recommendations or resolutions, let us consolidate our position and ensure that all countries fully appreciate the implications of, and can and do follow those already established. I have already said that from my humble opinion the I.L.O. has produced enough instruments to last any developing country for many years, and I might add that in spite of the progress made in the last few years there is barely enough technical assistance to last a year. Many countries are finding from experience that new legislation is required in the fields of trade unions and labour relations. Such countries need the help of experts from other countries who have had the history of industrial relations have met similar problems and found a solution for them.

Coming as I do from a country rich in untapped natural resources, I ask your indulgence if I touch on a matter very close to my heart. Too much reliance and hope are often placed in the belief that industrial development is the guarantee of stable and rapid economic growth, but in most developing countries the vast majority of the people are connected with the soil. In my country the economic growth and rapid development of the country can be assured. Technical assistance to develop our land and modernise our agriculture, together with experts to train local teachers, constitutes one of the most urgent forms of assistance needed by the country. The aim should be to take urgent steps to give agriculture its rightful place and show to all its importance and the recognition that farming is a skilled and honourable profession. By this means, school and university leavers may be encouraged to go into agricultural enterprises and the alarming drift to the towns may be reduced.

The Director-General’s plans for the structure of the Organisation’s field operations call for a brief comment. If decentralisation can be carried out without dissipating essential resources the proposal will be welcome as it will bring expertise nearer to us. We must, however, move with caution, at least initially, for we do not know the above coat according to our cloth, because to decentralise to the degree that the available expertise is dissipated would be unwise. It is essential that regional offices be adequately manned by experts who must work through the tripartite organisations of government, employers and workers of the country. Natives of the regions in which the offices are located should be encouraged and trained to join the staff of the regional offices so that the offices can be seen to identify themselves more intimately with the problems and aspirations of the people. If the available instruments and resources are limited and I.L.O. programmes should truly reflect the priorities and actual needs of each country. If the new
structure facilitates closer and more frequent contacts with the tripartite organisations in the countries concerned, these priorities should easily be settled. We know that the problems grow greater and more complex every day. Let us therefore stop dividing our attention and dissipating our energies on political issues which are better left to political organisations and not contemplate including among its government programmes a constantly growing improvement of the standards of living to which the so-called economically weaker classes are entitled, which must be provided by the State and by the economically stronger sectors, with the contribution of the worker himself, as part and parcel of the factors of production. Only thus can one conceive of true social peace, which is a basis and foundation for political stability of a State and a living expression of the principle of human fraternity. But, among the items referred to in the Report, I should like to refer more particularly, as far as my country is concerned, to the new agrarian reform act which has been distributed in our underpopulated Atlantic region. This land will be given to Nicaraguan peasants resident in the country, and also to immigrants who have been in possession acting as owners for more than a year. In some places agricultural cooperatives have been set up, particularly for cotton, which today is one of the greatest sources of income in the country, and other crops and other types of agricultural products.

By this Agrarian Reform Act all kinds of technical assistance are provided, as well as agricultural implements, economic assistance, and so forth; in the agricultural settlements healthy and comfortable housing is being built through the National Housing Institute. This year 300,000 hectares of land will be distributed in our underpopulated Atlantic region. This land will be given to Nicaraguan peasants resident in the country, and also to our nationals who would like to come back to their country. For these reasons many living outside our frontiers—and also to immigrants who will be contributing their knowledge in the field of services. In addition to being constituted by developing countries, Central America is carrying out a true economic integration. It is achieving a Central American common market with positive results. It is achieving a true union in the economic and commercial field, which is being used as an example for the South American countries and which has been praised by international bodies and experts in this field.

But to carry out successfully and more rapidly this social and economic integration of the six countries of the isthmus, including Panama, we need the technical assistance of the I.L.O. in various aspects of particular interest to the Central American region. We feel this technical assistance will have to be kept separate even from other areas of the American region. This assistance will have to include training and manpower, development of human resources, ways of increasing productivity and so on, but it must be provided through skilled experts who are familiar with our habits, our customs and our idiosyncrasies.

At the first meeting of the Ministers of Labour of Central America held in Salvador in April 1964 under the auspices of the Organisation of Central American States, one of the resolutions adopted urged this greater and increased technical assistance from the I.L.O. for the Central American region. This resolution must have reached the I.L.O. in due time. We would also express our appreciation of the recommendations made by the I.L.O. when we consulted it in connection with a proposed revision of our Labour Code, which will shortly be submitted to the National Congress for approval.

Two important points will be discussed at this Conference; the first, agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects, and the second, the role of cooperatives in the economic and social progress of developing countries.

With respect to the first of these points, I should like to say that on 3 April 1963 my country adopted an Agrarian Reform Act which is being put into effect with encouraging results. It is operating under the direction of the Nicaraguan Agrarian Institute which has been distributing land among peasants in various sections of the country, and to those who have been in possession acting as owners for more than a year. In some places agricultural cooperatives have been set up, particularly for cotton, which today is one of the greatest sources of income in the country, and also other crops and other types of agricultural products.

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agriculture. This region will be endowed with all that is necessary for the success of these settlements, since it is the slogan, and not only the slogan but also the conviction of the President of the Republic, Dr. Schick Gutiérrez, "that in Nicaragua there should be no land without men, nor should there be men without land."

To come to the second subject, co-operatives, I should like to say that the National Planning Office will be introducing a project for co-operatives, which will bring together all the provisions on co-operatives now embodied in different enactments, such as the Commercial Code, the Labour Code, and the Agrarian Reform Act.

With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to express to this assembly the concern my Government feels for the welfare of the workers of my country, and in this connection I should like to say that the present President of the Republic is formally committed to establish next year, before his presidential term comes to a close, a workers' bank which will be financed by a contribution of 1 million córdobas from the State, 1 million dollars loaned by the American Institute for Development of a Free Trade Union Movement, with headquarters in Washington, and economic assistance from the trade unions and other workers' organisations. For the study and preparation of the groundwork for this bank, as far as technical aspects are concerned, in April this year I signed, as representative of my Government, a Convention with the United States Agency for International Development, and the A.I.D. will be sending experts in this coming month of July.

In conclusion I should like to extend to you, Mr. President, and to the other Officers, my congratulations on your well-deserved election. I most earnestly and sincerely hope and desire that you will continue to preside over our discussions with the skill and ability which you have shown so far.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. OBUKHOVICH (Workers' delegate, Byelorussia)—At its preceding sessions the General Conference has discussed questions concerning the I.L.O.'s programme and structure which were overdue for consideration. Analysis of the proposals made shows the concern of delegates with the need further to improve the activities of the Organisation, with a view to bringing its methods and the content of its work into line with its growing tasks and the realities of our world. Unfortunately, these proposals are not being put into effect. The views expressed by most delegates to the effect that the I.L.O. must actively participate in taking steps to help to secure peace throughout the world and to promote broad co-operation between peoples led us to hope that in 1965—this International Co-operation Year—concrete steps would be taken by the Organisation and a clear programme would be mapped out to this end.

However, in the Director-General's Report there are no concrete plans even being drawn up to provide assistance to the countries concerned. This slowness shows that insufficient attention is being paid to the wish of the Conference, as expressed in that resolution.

An important factor in the development of the contemporary world is the economic and social development of the countries of the socialist community. A typical example of the character and extent of the changes occurring in these countries is provided by Byelorussia. The yearly rate of growth of our gross industrial production during 18 post-war years has averaged some 21 per cent. Having overcome the aftermath of wartime destruction our people have achieved high rates of economic development and are now engaged in selfless effort to carry out even more ambitious plans. The proportion of the national income devoted to popular welfare funds is steadily increasing. Last year in Byelorussia we raised the wages of medical personnel and teachers by an average of 21 per cent. We are increasing a large number of workers engaged in non-productive areas of the economy. Last year grants and subsidies in terms of pensions, and finding solutions having a direct bearing on consolidation of peace. This is all the more necessary, since this year there have occurred events which have violated peace and normal relations between peoples, and which have directly affected the lives of workers in a number of areas of the world. I am referring to the bombardments of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and to the armed aggression in Southern Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic. Evidence of the workers' anxiety can be found in the protests by trade unions in many countries against the provocations and aggressions of the imperialistic forces. The Byelorussian Council of Trade Unions, on behalf of more than 2 million organised workers in Byelorussia, adopted at its plenary session a resolution of protest and indignation against the policy of aggression of the United States in Viet-Nam. How can one not help feeling horrified at the mass extermination of peaceful people, the use of poison gas and napalm against women, children and old people, and the systematic destruction of the means of livelihood of a whole people?

We believe that the I.L.O. cannot remain indifferent to this. It is our duty to condemn these aggressive actions which can lead to catastrophic consequences for all mankind. I also think that the representatives of the South Vietnamese régime have no place here, and I support the proposal by the Workers' delegate of the U.S.S.R. that their credentials should not be accepted.

In our day, the problems of economic and social development in each country are not only of national but also of international significance. In this connection we should stress the need for more energetic action on the part of our Organisation in implementing the resolution of 1962 regarding activities of the I.L.O. to contribute to the eradication of the consequences of colonialism in the fields of the conditions of work and standards of living of the workers. The information in the annex to Part II of the Director-General's Report leads us to conclude that during the past three years no concrete plans have even been drawn up to provide assistance to the countries concerned. This shows that insufficient attention is being paid to the wish of the Conference, as expressed in that resolution.
rapid economic and social progress of Byelorussia is being carried out on a massive scale. During the past year more than 300,000 workers moved into new homes or improved housing. Among the factors which have secured the rapid economic and social progress of Byelorussia, we should note the successful promotion of manpower resources and labour relations.

The following example is typical. Economists have calculated that some 25 per cent. of our national income in 1962 represented the fruits of increased investment in education and, as a result, improvement in the cultural level and occupational skills of manpower. Since there are no exploiting classes, and since the means of production are publicly owned, labour relations in our country are characterised by the sincere personal concern of each employee to ensure maximum effectiveness in his work. This is expressed in the participation of the workers in the management of their plants. Through the adoption of new technological improvements suggested by our workers, we were last year able to save 34.5 million roubles. The trade unions of Byelorussia are also making a major contribution to ensuring the most satisfactory labour relations.

In labour relations the I.L.O. can play a useful part only if it helps to promote the trade union movement. These activities on the part of the I.L.O. will be useful only if the sovereignty of the trade union movement is not violated, for only the workers themselves can set up their trade unions, and only through active promotion of the rights and interests of the workers is it possible to train experienced and authoritative trade union personnel. This is of particular importance for the developing countries. Therefore, it would be useful to study the actual situation of the trade unions in the colonies and dependent territories. For this the Director-General should present to the Conference a special report on the rights and development of the trade union movement in the dependent countries and outline the measures that might secure the implementation in those territories of I.L.O. Conventions concerning freedom of association.

We agree on the urgency of the problems connected with development of manpower resources, labour relations, social institutions, and working and living conditions, as described in the Report of the Director-General. However, progress in solving economic and social problems is dependent upon respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms and upon the liquidation of colonialism and its consequences. That is why, in order to achieve the high purposes formulated in its Constitution, the I.L.O. must pay increased attention to these problems. This is all the more necessary since the appeal made by the Conference Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations at the 48th Session with a view to persuading member States not yet bound by the human rights Conventions to ratify those Conventions has not been heeded by many countries, even highly industrialised countries. More persistence is needed in securing the ratification by every member State of the Conventions on freedom of association and human rights, which follow directly from the obligations contained in the Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia.

The Organisation cannot ignore such flagrant violation of human rights, such persecution and such terror as are practised through the policy of *apartheid*. *Apartheid* is a shameful system of oppression, racial discrimination and exploitation and it continues to affect a large part of mankind, especially persons of African origin. Yet a number of countries, ignoring the decisions of the United Nations and the I.L.O., maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of South Africa and are even expanding their trade by sending capital and armaments to countries practising a policy of *apartheid*. The fascist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia could not exist without the support of international monopolies. The General Conference must receive systematic information regarding the measures that are being taken by governments of all countries in accordance with the Declaration concerning the policy of *apartheid* adopted at the 48th Session of the International Labour Conference.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the new and complex tasks which face the International Labour Organisation will require more radical measures in improving the structure, methods and activities of the I.L.O. than those which have been outlined by the Director-General. The drafting and implementation of such measures require that the General Conference should play a greater and a more responsible role, and that its procedures and methods of work be democratised; the solution of this problem is impossible without securing equitable geographical representation in all organs of the I.L.O. and in the election of the various Officers according to the various social and economic systems and geographic areas of the world.

The trade unions of Byelorussia are prepared to give every support to the I.L.O. with a view to effective promotion of the social progress of mankind.

*The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.*)
ELEVENTH SITTING

Wednesday, 9 June 1965, 3 p.m.

President : Mr. Raza

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL:
DISCUSSION (cont.)

The President: We now continue the discussion on the Report of the Director-General.

Mr. MERRIMAN (Minister of Labour and Social Security, British Guiana)—May I tender to the President sincere congratulations on behalf of my Government, my people and my delegation on his election?

My Government, elected six months ago, appreciates the honour conferred on our not yet independent country in being represented as observers at this 49th Session of the Conference. I can assure delegates that we are anxiously looking forward to our attendance again next year under full International Labour Organisation membership as an independent country, to make our contribution to the tripartite objectives of the International Labour Conference. I can also assure delegates that my people are not unaware of the heavy responsibility borne by this Organisation, and that we are eager to associate ourselves in the common work when the time comes for us to share full membership. My Government feels that only when we can shoulder our fair share of the burden of world responsibility can we assume and deserve the dignity of a people working for universal and lasting peace based on social justice for all peoples.

The birth of the trade union movement in South America took place in our country before the appearance of the International Labour Office on the world scene. But how can my Government be proud of this fact when we have not yet been able to play our part as an independent country? However, we are eagerly looking forward in the very near future, and as envisaged in a recent statement by our beloved Prime Minister, Mr. L. F. S. Burnham, not later than 1 February 1966, to sharing this burden.

Nevertheless, I can assure delegates that the objectives of this Organisation are continually before our trade union and employers' organisations; and its principles and objectives have been a source of inspiration and guidance to my Government. Our country unfortunately has not been favoured with short-cuts to national wealth, but we have other resources and no doubt the greatest of all resources, that of a free, resourceful and determined people. In looking back, my Government views with deep regret the fact that there was bitter disharmony between the former Government, on the one hand, and our free trade union and employers' organisations on the other. This was evident at the 48th Session of the General Conference. The position has since changed, and our people are looking forward to independence next year, which democracy and social justice will bring to a free and united people.

My country perhaps differs from emerging and other nations of the old world, in that the majority of our people are not indigenous to our territory. It differs also from the greater number of other countries in the world in that our people are integrated and work together. Our problems are many and our progress may have been relatively slow; and because of our peculiar problems of integration, our way of living together must of necessity be different to the way of life in countries with homogeneous or with unintegrated populations. Our development has involved us in a search for a design under which several component groups uprooted from the old world, with all their long traditions, can live and work together. Perhaps our way of life, perhaps the development of our way of living together, may have been hampered by the superimposition of a culture foreign to our original traditions. Perhaps our way of living together may have been unduly interfered with by power blocs, seeking strategic advantages over other power blocs.

We are anxious to promote the development and proper utilisation of human resources as outlined in the Report of the Director-General, but they tell us that things must be perfect and balanced in Guiana before we are allowed to go on our own. This is a unique criterion. This standard was not applied to any of the countries that have become independent since the war. Is this fair to us? The British cannot solve our problems; only we can rescue our country from the worst. Now that there is a Government supported by a majority on the basis of adult suffrage there is no other condition to fulfill. Give us the freedom to manage our affairs like all the nations present here.

Nevertheless, through the years, our design for living and working together under pressures from within and without has taken shape; and
although punctuated by compromises with traditions, and modifications and adaptations, our emergence way of life cannot be described in terms of those of any other people or culture. Our way of life is a vibrant, dynamic and positive approach towards integration and working together, and reflects a maturity new to the older and established nations. It has its own standards—a compound of the good and bad of all races mingled in the melting pot of a plural population, and tempered in the fires of trial and error. This challenge we willingly and enthusiastically accept.

The workers of British Guiana are regarded as the special friends of my Government. We have already taken steps to increase the basic minimum wage of workers in the public sector by 28 per cent. and have requested technical assistance from the I.L.O. in the setting up of a national pension scheme. My Government believes that for the success of any national development programme the support of the free trade unions and employers’ organisations is necessary. In the implementation of this belief we have decided to set up a labour advisory board on a tripartite basis. The board will deal with all matters affecting employer-employee relations and this will include the ratification and implementation of international labour Conventions and Recommendations.

My Government believes in joint consultation, collective bargaining and consultative democracy, not only at the national level but at all levels of employer-employee relations necessary to promote and maintain industrial peace and harmony, an essential ingredient in a developing country pressing on for independence and economic sufficiency. My Government believes these are the basic essentials for nation building.

My Government believes that the attention of our people should at all times be focused on the interdependence of employer-employee cooperation, on the role our human resources at all levels will play in national development, and on workers’ emancipation, as important contributors to the economy of our country and as partners actively participating in the growth of our nation. We also believe in the right of employers and employees, organised to participate responsibly in protecting and promoting their mutual interests, to remain free in an independent country. We recognise the role of our human resources in building our national economic strength, and believe in a fair distribution of the fruits of economic development.

My Government is proud that our people have not only been the initiators of militant trade unionism and employer organisations, independent of political parties and government, and have accepted the tripartite ideals of the International Labour Office for living together. Our people are aware that the success of free trade unionism depends on economic growth to offset the erosion of morale through poverty, illiteracy and disease and to afford higher standards of living.

My delegation has studied the Report of the Director-General. We have observed the policy review to adapt the I.L.O.’s programme and structure to the needs of underdeveloped countries. We have noted the planned design for the unification of the total effort of the I.L.O., and the creation of a Field Department to determine the priorities of the actual needs of each country. My delegation is happy to note that consideration will be given to human resources policies and programmes, in relation to integration and gearing with economic planning; and it also notes the interest in the problems of improving living and working conditions compatible with the requirements of rapid economic development.

My delegation notes the accentuated interest on the development of social institutions, to relieve acute unemployment and underemployment, and will welcome assistance in gearing our people for the economic realities and psychological problems of adaptation to a new working milieu and the discipline of a liberation government. My delegation agrees that the creation of full employment, while an imperative need, is not an end in itself, and that activities in the field of human resources should aim at employment that is productive of national and economic growth in the long term. My delegation observes the high ideals of the International Labour Organisation, that the goal of economic growth will not be attained or brought any nearer by eliminating the very notion of conflict and we look forward to learning of improved concepts in consultation, negotiation and arbitration procedures designed to bring about and emphasise the elements of fruitful cooperation in the interest of all sectors of the economy.

My delegation believes in undertakings, policies and procedures through which our people will receive the consideration due to them as human beings, and we look forward to learning of progressive methods of negotiation and cooperation between management and labour organisations. We are particularly interested in the problems of grievance procedure and communications within undertakings, not only at the national level but at all levels of employer-employee relations. We are also interested in methods to enable all sections of our population to participate intelligently in and benefit fairly from economic development.

My delegation desires to congratulate the Director-General on the presentation of such an excellent Report. We, in British Guiana are moving forward. We have already ratified and implemented approximately 40 international labour Conventions. We hope, Mr. President and fellow delegates, that with your goodwill and assistance we shall soon take our place among you not as observers but as the representatives of a free and independent nation.

Mr. LATIF KHAN (Government delegate, Pakistan)—I deem it a great honour to have the opportunity of addressing the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. Allow me, Sir, first of all, to congratulate you on your election to the highest office of the Conference. Your election is not only a tribute to your personal qualities of head and heart, but it also signifies the esteem in which the country which you represent is held, and the role that it has played in the International Labour Organisation. With all sincerity and humility I wish to thank all fellow delegates for their overwhelm-
ing support and for the confidence that they have reposed in you.

In 1963 we, in this Conference, received an extremely thought-provoking and comprehensive Report from the Director-General, which provided an excellent analysis of the problems that required to be examined and solved in the light of the changing circumstances and the world situation. It set forth a new theme for discussion which was pursued with keen interest at the 47th and 48th Sessions. Since the Conference had a very heavy agenda and the General Body could not itself scrutinise the report, the Government delegate from Pakistan suggested in 1963 that the new Governing Body be entrusted with this onerous task. It is gratifying to note that the Working Party of the Governing Body has accomplished the task in a praiseworthy manner and has produced its first report, which indicates how I.L.O. programmes can move forward in areas where there is a substantial measure of agreement.

No one can deny that (1) human resources development, (2) labour relations, trade union development and the growth of social institutions, and (3) conditions of work and life are the three most important programme areas, and the Working Party has, very realistically, assigned priorities. But in order to achieve results expeditiously it is thought appropriate that the Working Party, in its future deliberations, be strengthened and streamlined, and entrusted with the work of implementation. It is hoped that the Working Party, in its future deliberations, will give due consideration to this suggestion because remote control from Geneva may not yield satisfactory results and adequately cater to the needs of developing countries, particularly of Latin America, Asia and Africa. It will be appreciated that these regions need greater attention and due representation, not only in the Secretariat but also in the Governing Body, which needs to be reorganised now on the basis of geographical considerations and population. With the passage of time the principles of nomination and permanent membership of the Governing Body appear to have become outmoded. It will be in the fitness of things if all seats are now filled by election.

In common with countries which are not yet fully developed, my Government subscribes to the above-mentioned three major I.L.O. programme areas selected by the Working Party, and it has accordingly already prepared plans which have set objectives and definite goals. Only two weeks ago a third Five-Year Plan was approved and announced. We shall be embarking on a reasonably ambitious programme of development in July 1965. Having been encouraged by the achievements in the Second Plan period, and the co-operation from the international aid-giving agencies like the I.L.O., the scope of the new Plan has been considerably enlarged.

Four major areas can be identified in which the Plan either strikes out for the first time or which it greatly stresses compared with previous plans.

In the first place, the new Plan is the first to draw up within the context of a long-term plan with an explicit set of national goals. This gives it a more definite focus as compared with previous plans. Secondly, it is more consciously concerned with policies, especially those pertaining to considerations of economic justice and distribution. Thirdly, it greatly emphasises the investment in human capital, and fourthly, it takes the first definite step towards tackling what is perhaps our biggest single problem—the unchecked growth of population; the Plan makes the first determined onslaught on this uninhibited growth.

The main objectives of the Third Plan are:

(1) to attain a rapid growth of the national economy with a view to ensuring a breakthrough to self-sustained growth in the shortest possible time; (2) to reduce the degree of disparity in incomes; (3) to provide at least 5.5 million new job opportunities to absorb the entire increase in the labour force during the next five years, as well as reducing the existing level of unemployment by at least 20 per cent.

An important feature is that the Plan takes the view that the point has been reached where the ground must be prepared for a society in which economic dynamism and social justice can both be secured. To this end a number of concrete proposals have been made for dispersing the ownership of industrial capital, for encouraging newcomers into fresh industrial ventures, for preventing the formation of cadres and monopolies, for developing a rational wage policy which gives to the worker a share in the benefit of his increased productivity; and for reviewing the role of the public sector in future economic development.

Investment in human capital is emphasised by greatly increasing the allocations for education, training and improvement of skills in the manpower sector. This corresponds to and coincides with the I.L.O. programmes in which we have been receiving guidance and assistance.

It has been observed, in paragraph 29 of the report of the Working Party, that the active and free participation of the population in the tasks of development was essential, that the whole population should be fully associated through the medium of representative organisations, and that if these requirements are not met such development programmes may prove ineffective. It is exactly in conformity with this philosophy that the Government of Pakistan has decided to implement all its development programmes through the representative institutions at all levels. The system of basic democracies introduced by the President of Pakistan ensures that the entire population is involved in the benefit of his increased productivity; and this was the main secret of the success of the second Five-Year Plan. The Government intends continuing this policy of involving the people more and more in its development programmes.

We are also glad to see on the agenda of the Conference two items which are of great significance to countries such as ours that are primarily agricultural. These are the role of co-operatives in economic and social development, and agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects.
As far as the co-operative movement is concerned, in the last ten years it has received a great impetus. In a country like Pakistan, where 90 per cent. of the people are of limited means and knowledge, the co-operatives can provide a third sector as distinct from the public and the private sectors. The Government has realised that the co-operative organisation is one of the most effective instruments in raising the tempo of economic growth and a major means of promoting social justice. For an efficient and uniform programme for the co-operative movement, a planning and advisory body has already been set up. Numerous co-operative banks, credit societies, marketing societies, etc., have been registered and, along with the basic democracies, the co-operatives have been organised at the lowest level, that is, the union council level. The Third Plan provides for a considerable expansion in the size and scope of the co-operative programme and its institutional framework. We recognise that the co-operative movement can play a large part in the acceleration of economic development and promotion of social justice. It can indeed play a very vital role as the third sector in preventing undue concentration of wealth and means of production and distribution in the hands of a few.

The question of agrarian reform has been under consideration by the Government since the very foundation of Pakistan. Agrarian reform and agricultural development have found a very prominent place in all three development plans. The Government has fixed a ceiling on land ownership; peasants have been given proprietary rights; security of tenure has been ensured; land consolidation has been undertaken; credit and marketing facilities are being extended through co-operatives; and many other incentives have been provided. Great emphasis on investment in agriculture to utilise surplus manpower and increase average yield per unit has been made. The development of agriculture, agrarian reform and the co-operative movement are very closely interrelated matters, and we are, therefore, greatly interested in the deliberations of these two committees, and will endeavour to achieve maximum co-ordination and co-operation with the I.L.O. in this respect.

Last, but not least, a word about apartheid, which weighs very heavily on the conscience of humanity at large. The Government of Pakistan believes and reaffirms its faith in the equality and the universal brotherhood of mankind. It considers discrimination in any land on a communal basis or on the basis of religion, colour, creed or caste as barbaric, and condemns it emphatically.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ben EZZEDINE (Workers' adviser, Tunisia)—As representative of the Tunisian working class I should like first of all to join my voice to those of others who have already congratulated you, Mr. President, on your election to your high office, and, further, to express the pleasure and satisfaction which I feel in participating in the discussions of this Organisation, to which we are particularly attached and have belonged since our country became independent in 1956. After 45 years of existence, the I.L.O. may be justly proud of its fruitful activities and of the very useful services which it has rendered to workers throughout the world in its vigorous endeavour to promote true social justice everywhere. The efforts made by the Organisation to encourage a sincere exchange of ideas and technical knowledge and to reinforce mutual aid between States Members have clearly constituted a great contribution to co-operation for social progress.

The international programmes which the I.L.O. has long been carrying out now affect the lives of tens of millions of men and women, including the great mass of African workers, who seek to secure a worthy and prosperous life in a balanced society free for ever from oppression.

The agenda of our Conference includes a series of questions which very closely concern the future of many countries in which increasing economic prosperity is tending to improve the conditions of life of their populations. We find that action undertaken in the last few years is being amplified and diversified in order to help the developing countries to co-ordinate their programmes for social progress.

The reorganisation of the internal structure of the International Labour Office should be an important step towards more effective action in the various fields. It will, undoubtedly, facilitate concentration of the mighty efforts made by member States to determine priorities within the framework of the tasks to be undertaken.

The expansion of the regional activities of the I.L.O. and the establishment of new field machinery will ensure improved results by making it possible to supervise more vigorously the work done in areas where the shortage of technicians threatens to hamper all serious efforts, despite the good will of those who work for economic progress.

The establishment of regional field offices encourages the belief that the work of the I.L.O. will be more homogeneous and more flexible wherever programmes require to be adjusted to the needs of particular countries.

Returning to I.L.O. programmes, we think that the development of human resources cannot otherwise be dissociated from economic development. The interdependence of these two factors has induced the public authorities and the occupational organisations to pay attention first of all to the development of human resources. To neglect the problem of human resources would be to deny the requirements of rational economic development. My country has followed a co-ordinated policy in formulating programmes in this respect and has thus paved the way for the implementation of its economic development plans. Our second such plan, the four-year plan, allocates about a fifth of our investments, i.e. 21.48 per cent., to the problems of human advancement, including education, supervisory training, raising the level of productive employment and vocational training.

Several apprenticeship and vocational training centres have been set up in various parts of the country. A national productivity centre has been set up and is operating under the supervision of I.L.O. experts; the results obtained are encouraging.
Being entirely convinced of the leading part which the working class must play in economic and social advancement in Tunisia, the Tunisian General Labour Union has not been content merely to support the action of the Government but, better than this, while calling on the working class to improve its output and increase productivity in all sectors, it has also effectively participated in the fight against underdevelopment by popularising the establishment and promotion of worker's co-operatives in all fields—production, consumption, transport, handling, printing, housing, etc. There is no doubt of the expansion now taking place in this regard, thanks to the workers' efforts.

Positive results have also been registered with regard to employment creation, and the improvement in the standard of living of the co-operators is indisputable. We hope to draw further benefits by setting up welfare establishments such as rest homes, sanatoria, holiday settlements and old persons' homes, etc.

To achieve the objective of better utilisation and a quantitative and qualitative improvement of manpower in connection with economic development tasks. This policy is carried out thanks to the general understanding which we have been able to inculcate in the working class as part of the national effort.

In another field, but again on the initiative of my organisation, the Tunisian Government has issued an Act setting up works committees. This has enabled human relations in the larger undertakings to be improved. Ever since, there has been more loyal and fruitful co-operation between employers and workers wherever works committees have been set up and developed. Some difficulties inherent in the early stages of any new institution have still to be overcome. However, it should be noted that the experiment has produced in some undertakings a new spirit which will lead to greater co-operation and convince the parties that their interests are interdependent and indissolubly linked with the prosperity of the industry and an improvement in the conditions of life of the workers.

The development of I.L.O. activities as regards conditions of life and work is a matter of major importance for the underdeveloped countries. Action in this field seems to mark a decisive turning point when one looks back at the path followed for some years which has taken the form not of constant reaffirmation of the fundamental principles laid down in the Conventions and Recommendations but of organised initiatives which have been more and more directed towards action aimed systematically at a specific end—the scientific evaluation of manpower requirements by means of surveys and analyses based on statistical data. This action should be supported by research into the possibility of adapting the underdeveloped countries to the conditions of a balanced society.

We believe that the new structure of the International Labour Organisation will facilitate the study of these different problems which confront the underdeveloped countries and contribute to solving each of them, or at least point the way towards understanding and action by those directly concerned.

As for the procedure for the revision of Conventions and Recommendations, we think that it is not opportune to envisage systematic revision but we do support the idea of initiating a simplified procedure for the revision of some provisions in order to bring them into harmony with the internal developments in technology and social organisation. Such developments may induce us also to clear the ground for the preparation of new international standards.

Ideas regarding the role of the I.L.O. are thus being modified with the emergence of new nations whose problems differ from the outset from those of the highly industrialised countries but must be integrated into the over-all action to be undertaken for better social equilibrium.

The way is now clear and one may state that the I.L.O., with its internal structure renewed, will be able to act more effectively in all the fields of social life, with the constant aid of the States Members and the occupational organisations, in the struggle for social justice and welfare wherever these are lacking.

May I add that, with the internal changes in the Office, the time has perhaps come to discuss seriously other amendments to the Constitution or Standing Orders in order to make our Organisation a coherent machine able to do its job with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of suspicion.

I am persuaded that discussion of these various points by the Conference would be really useful to us and would strengthen our resolution to pursue our search for means of reaching the ideals of progress and justice which are so dear to the working class.

Thus, thanks to constructive debates, our Organisation would be able to pursue its role of architect of progress in the world and to point the way towards better co-ordination of the tasks of all while fixing for each of us the ultimate objective of social justice.

But how can one speak of social justice, progress, universal principles and freedom without thinking of those who suffer and struggle for their dignity, such as our brothers in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and Palestine who have been expropriated by armed force? And there are others too. Therefore I would like to express the hope that the principles of peace for which animate us and are the essence of our Organisation may be applied effectively in all corners of the world. So may we have the joy of contributing to the triumph of human values in a world which aspires to freedom, dignity and progress.

Interpretation from Polish: Mr. BOGACKI (Employers' delegate, Poland)—In addressing the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, I should like first of all to stress the validity of many of the points contained in the Report of the Director-General of the I.L.O. and in particular the references to full employment and manpower resources.
I attach particular importance to the following statement: "That there should have been such widespread interest in the development and utilisation of human resources bears witness to an increased recognition of their importance as a key factor in economic growth, which is dependent upon an accumulation of knowledge and skills, on fuller and more effective deployment and utilisation of manpower, at all levels and in all sectors..."

I may say with great satisfaction that in the past 20 years these principles have been fully applied in the economic policy of my country. They have in fact produced positive results in the form of the complete elimination of unemployment and the maintenance of full employment for people capable of working, whether men or women.

As director of one of the most important textile consortiums in Poland I am particularly happy that the question of the employment of women workers is on the agenda of this Conference. It has always been a matter of priority for Polish employers to ensure healthy and safe conditions of employment for women. In my country women with family responsibilities are the subject of special protection. They are treated on a footing of equality with men from every point of view and without any discrimination. They can obtain training in all fields and occupy responsible posts. In the textile industry, which I have the honour to represent, 4,500 women occupy managerial posts. The work problems of women and their conditions of life have always taken an important place in the activities of Polish employers and particularly in the textile industry, about 70 per cent. of whose employees are women.

Aside from the successes which we have achieved, we have also encountered some difficulties. It is true that in the textile industry, which has always been considered the domain of women, we provide for increased supplies of skilled manpower thanks to the vocational training schools in the production establishments. In other branches of Polish industry, however—for instance, in the electronics, precision tool and metallurgical industries—there are much greater difficulties. It is sometimes difficult to persuade young women to take the opportunity to follow courses which enable them to follow careers traditionally considered to be reserved for men. In order to attract as many women as possible to apprenticeship, we are trying, as employers, to create the best possible conditions for them so that they may acquire new qualifications both in their work and in their lives as mothers of families.

In his Report the Director-General gives particular importance to improvement of workers' skills, which is undoubtedly one of the essential elements in the rapid economic development of any country. I believe that the improvement of vocational training and conditions of work for women, in our country as well as in all the other countries of the world, will only be possible if the countries can develop fully from the economic point of view that is, if productive forces increase and the cost of production decreases. In my opinion this objective can be attained through broader international collaboration in the economic and commercial fields, among other things.

It has been agreed for a long time that the development of economic and commercial co-operation among all the countries of the world, and particularly between the East and the West, can and must be the lever to set in motion economic and social progress.

Many facts have shown us that, in spite of some difficulties which have been encountered, the process of rapprochement and broadening of the basis of this co-operation between the East and the West is becoming more and more intense.

In this process Poland is not only a partner but also often an initiator. Thus we have signed an agreement for economic co-operation with Belgium, and we are now negotiating the development of trade with the European Economic Community. In Paris Franco-Polish negotiations are under way with a view to conclusion of a commercial agreement for a five-year period starting in 1965.

The Polish proposals in the context of the "Kennedy Round" are familiar; these proposals look towards an increase in business with the countries associated with the G.A.T.T. Trade between Poland and the United Kingdom is solidly established. I can cite as proof the bilateral agreement with the United Kingdom which we signed in 1964. Year by year our trade with the United States grows. During the years 1961-64 trade with the United States increased by 45 per cent.

We may say without fear of exaggeration that if the commercial relationships between East and West continue to develop at the same rate, the outlook for economic expansion for underdeveloped countries will become better and better.

The deterioration of terms of trade of the developing countries results from falling prices of primary products and agricultural products which are the traditional goods of those countries. At the same time the prices of manufactured products, exported by the industrialised countries to their former colonies, constantly increase. Instead of markets in industrialised countries of the capitalist world, it is those in Poland and other socialist countries which are opening their doors to goods from the developing countries.

In spite of a threefold increase in the value of goods exported from developing countries to the socialist countries in the period between 1950 and 1962, these socialist countries receive only some 10 per cent. of the exports from the developing countries. To increase the share of the socialist countries in the importation of goods from the developing countries is indispensable to the economic development of those countries. Such imports are paid for by the socialist countries mainly through the export of capital goods.

Poland has always been favourable to the idea of "aid through trade". Putting this idea into practice, we increased our imports from the developing countries in the period between 1962 and 1964 by more than 40 per cent.

The new world organisation for trade and development will have to reconcile contradictory interests, break down barriers, and
smooth out difficulties which are still lying in the path of normal development of international trade. Close collaboration in this field is indispensable between the authorities of that Organisation and the new organs of the I.L.O.

The possibilities of development of economic co-operation between East and West are certainly very great. In many sectors this co-operation can be still further broadened. Particular attention, I think, should be given to direct collaboration with a view to laying the basis for international distribution of functions in production, in marketing and in the solution of certain technical problems which are connected with these matters.

The advantages of such collaboration, if it is based on sound economic principles, would result in better use of means of production already in existence, the possibility of solving problems of shortages and surpluses, reduction of production costs, and acceleration of technical progress, in short, a better and more complete use of manpower, and an improvement in the standard of living in countries collaborating in this action.

The I.L.O., which since its inception has worked to improve the working and living conditions of workers in all the countries of the world, should in future also give its active support to all initiatives looking towards the development of international trade. The International Labour Organisation can play a major role in the solution of the social problems which may arise.

Speaking for the first time in the discussions of the International Labour Organisation, I should like to make one point in conclusion. I was very much surprised when I saw the attempt at discrimination by certain Employers towards the representatives of the Employers of the socialist countries, preventing them from taking part in the work of the committees, trying to limit their right to vote, and so on. I am all the more surprised because, in the course of my very long direct contacts with representatives of economic circles of the capitalist countries of Europe and of the United States, I have generally encountered full understanding of the need to maintain good relationships in an atmosphere of growing collaboration. I must stress most emphatically that there is no room in the International Labour Organisation for such practices as I have mentioned. Only a sincere and constructive collaboration, based on equal rights in all the committees of the Conference and all other organs of the I.L.O., can ensure the peace and welfare of all the countries in the world.

Mr. ALEXANDER (Representative of the International Co-operative Alliance)—Thank you, Mr. President, for this opportunity to address the Conference. I wish to refer very briefly to the Director-General's Report, in particular the section on "Co-operative Institutions" in Part II.

The decision of the 157th Session of the Governing Body in November 1963, to place the question of the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries on the agenda of this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference, was immediately welcomed by the International Co-operative Alliance and the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, and I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of both these organisations, to thank the I.L.O. for the priority which has been allocated to this important subject when the pressure of other vital matters on the short time at your disposal is so great.

Various meetings which have been held by our organisations, including the South-East Asian Co-operative Ministers' Conference held in Tokyo in April 1964, for which the theme was exactly the same as the wording of item VII on the agenda of this session of the Conference, have revealed a very considerable degree of unanimity on most of the issues involved and the discussions at these meetings have tended to increase the extent of such agreement, both between representatives of different nationalities and between government representatives and the representatives of national co-operative movements.

Since November 1963 we have been encouraging our affiliated organisations to keep in close touch with their national governments, and we have received information of the effective preparations which have been made in many countries. Governments, trade unions and employers have in some cases agreed to include in the membership of their delegation to this session of the Conference a leading member of their co-operative movement, and in other cases designated members of government delegations have consulted with their national co-operative movements to ensure adequate understanding of the opinions held by them and recorded, in most cases, in written reports. Many co-operative movements have reported their views to the International Co-operative Alliance as well as to their governments. Thus it would seem that adequate consultation has taken place during the preparatory period for item VII and should enable this Conference to reach useful and constructive conclusions.

Some points which we have felt to be worthy of particular emphasis at this stage have been recorded in a written paper which we have submitted to the Conference. This paper deliberately refers to all different types of co-operative organisations, although it is realised fully that co-operatives which serve the agricultural community are those which must play a most vital role in the immediate future in most newly developing countries. We have also mentioned some limitations on government action to assist co-operatives, but we have been both reassured and pleased to note the nature of government replies to our questionnaire, which indicate a clear sense of responsibility for government action to sponsor and back co-operatives through legislation, education, and vocational training, and a realisation that co-operatives must be allowed to play a full part in the process of economic planning for development. The growing collaboration between government and co-operatives in the industrialised and the newly developing countries for the giving and receiving of co-operative technical assistance will, we are confident, lead to a really significant improvement in the long-term effect of future technical assistance for co-operatives. We wish to express the apprecia-
tion of our organisations for these types of government support and hope that they may continue to increase.

Finally, the International Federation of Agricultural Producers and the International Co-operative Alliance look forward to a period of increasing collaboration with the I.L.O. in the field of co-operative technical assistance, especially in respect of education and training. The proper supervision of co-operative technical assistance projects is vital to their success and yet we note that the co-operative staff of the Co-operative, Rural and Related Institutions Branch has increased by only one since 1948, since which year the I.L.O. membership has doubled and the number of experts employed on co-operative projects has increased from only one to two to about 40. We hope that delegations will continue to give their support to the Co-operative, Rural and Related Institutions Branch, and will allocate to that Branch the highest possible priority when it comes to the approval of its budget.

Mr. PLANT (Representative of the Public Services International) — The Director-General states that he is anxious to have the views of the Conference on the need for formulating a coherent and fully co-ordinated programme of action. He calls it a " programme for the development of social institutions ". There can hardly be a single participant in this Conference who would deny the desirability of a complete and well-balanced design that ensures the perfect interplay of social institutions. However, great things are being achieved most of the time without an all-embracing plan. Forceful men or groups of men take action with valid ideas as their only guide, in response to needs felt in more or less narrow fields. They do not wait because they cannot wait and that is all to the good.

In matters of industrial relations the I.L.O. has formulated and disseminated sound ideas for many years together with a vast amount of relevant knowledge.

The Report of the Director-General to the present session of the Conference is a further contribution to the pool of ideas and knowledge. Among the ideas the following deserves to be thrown into relief: "Governments must also aim at establishing the necessary machinery for the examination and solution of differences which might arise between workers and employers, taking into account the interests of the nation as a whole. The goal of economic growth will not be attained or brought any nearer by the elimination of the very notion of conflict, but rather by attempting to prevent conflicts from arising or, when they do, by applying methods of conciliation, negotiation or arbitration in order to bring out and emphasise the elements in the situation on which a more fruitful co-operation might be built."

Amongst the activities related in Part II of the Report, I noted with particular interest the following: "A significant trend in developing countries is the increase in the number and size of state-owned undertakings. In view of the importance of these undertakings for the national economy, the development of good labour-management relations in the public sector has assumed critical importance, and the government has to set an example in its own undertakings in the private sector. As a result, governments need assistance both in developing a policy for the improvement of these relations and in establishing appropriate personnel departments in these undertakings."

Whilst I acknowledge and appreciate the valuable work done by the I.L.O. in this field, I must also voice discontent in the ranks of the membership of the Public Services International, that is, I.L.O. and their distinguished co-workers, that with the matter are of the opinion that there is no problem here. From time to time even in highly developed countries there comes unrest in one group or another of the large body of public servants. Strikes in the public service and even in government offices do occur and prove the need for creating and perfecting procedures and institutions by which public servants can obtain justice without being driven to inflicting hardship on the public. Technical innovations have the same consequences in the public service as in industry, trade and finance, namely they create difficult transitional problems of a social nature. Whilst it is I.L.O. doctrine that workers' organisations should have their say in economic matters, no such plea is made for the organisations of public servants. They are left out of consideration although the economic issues which arise in highly developed countries just as acutely as in developing countries affect them just as much as they affect wage and salary earners in trade and industry. In the public service there is room for co-operation as well as occasion for conflict in matters of productivity, and the I.L.O. can render society a service in fostering co-operation between public employers and public employees.

Therefore, where there is talk of development of social institutions there should also be an explicit statement of the need to develop the institutions through which government and public authorities in their role of employers, and public servants in their role of workers, deal with each other, conclude their agreements, settle their disputes, join hands in efforts to improve the public service, and share the benefits of economic and technological advance. Two years ago I advocated here the creation of an I.L.O. institution that could make a worthwhile contribution to the development of national institutions concerned with industrial relations in the public service. After referring to the very first step taken in the post-war era to deal with public servants' affairs, namely the decision to convene a group of 15 experts, I said: "We are grateful for the decision to convene this one meeting, but we should be more grateful still if we could have from time to time, at intervals of, say, three to five years, a conference at which we met face to face with our employers and at which we could argue with our employers and hammer out with them a set of agreed principles to be recommended to all public employers and to all public employees' organisations."
In a report to the Governing Body my statement was summarised as "a suggestion that meetings of experts on the conditions of public servants should be held regularly (as had been the case before the war), possibly at intervals of some three to five years". In I.L.O. parlance the term "meeting of experts" has a special significance. I feel it necessary to point out that the words I used should have conveyed the idea of a bipartite body. Meanwhile three international trade union bodies, which are defenders of the public servants' interests, have applied jointly for the creation of an international joint committee for the public service.

The question that preoccupies us now is: When will the I.L.O. act?

The Director-General refers us to the budget for 1966 which reflects next year's plan of action. In that budget there is no provision for any I.L.O. action to follow up the recommendations of the experts on conditions of public servants, or upon the application to set up an international joint committee for the public service, or upon the application to convene a bipartite meeting to deal with the hospital and health services, a branch of the public service in which there are urgent problems to be solved. The study of the 1966 budget has brought home to me a most untoward trend.

Meetings of committees in which employers and workers engaged in the same industry or field of endeavour met face to face in the presence of governments were the new great feature of the post-war I.L.O., introduced at the initiative of Ernest Bevin. They were the logical outcome of the progress and growth achieved by the I.L.O. between the two wars, for after having marked out the main lines of social progress for the benefit of all the people working for wages, it was logical to specialise and to deal with the problems arising in individual sectors of employment. A brief perusal of the ten budgets 1957 to 1966 shows that the share of the I.L.O.'s financial resources devoted to this kind of activity is diminishing constantly. In the budget for 1957 the sum set aside for meetings of Industrial Committees and kindred bodies was 5.1 per cent. of the total expenditure. The percentages for the following years are: 1958—4.4 per cent.; 1959—4.2 per cent.; 1960—4.5 per cent.; 1961—3.8 per cent.; 1962—4.1 per cent.; 1963—2.8 per cent.; 1964—2.6 per cent.; 1965—2.2 per cent.; 1966—2.8 per cent.

This is an illogical development. One essential function of the I.L.O. is to supply a forum where people who have to solve identical or similar problems, who also have to take care of identical or similar social interests, can meet, hammer out common policies designed to improve conditions of life and work and further the cause of justice. Much of this forum activity must of necessity be specialised. That is for a large part the raison d'être of the Office with its staff of over 1,100 people and its budget of over $20 million. It is illogical to provide this vast Secretariat, research institute and publishing house and then to prevent the holding of meetings which the machine is designed to serve.

I understand that further discussions on programme and structure will take place and that the applications concerning public servants are still to be considered. I trust that those who hold the purse strings by which the I.L.O. lives and works will realise that cheeseparing is unconvincing as a way of proving attachment to the institution. Those who hold the strings of the purse can make the I.L.O. useless. Those who wish to ensure that the I.L.O. shall be useful should look closely at the case of the Public Services International, the Postal, Telephone and Telegraph International, and the International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions. These three international bodies of public servants seek to make the I.L.O. serve the interests not only of their members but of the whole of society.

(The Conference adjourned at 4.15 p.m.)
TWELFTH SITTING

Thursday, 10 June 1965, 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Gurinovich

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL:
DISCUSSION (cont.)

Interpretation from Russian: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Gurinovich)—We now continue the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. CHAMBERS (Employers' delegate, Jamaica)—My first very pleasant task is to offer, Sir, through you, to Mr. Raza, warmest congratulations on his election to the eminent office of President of this Conference, and to wish him and his country every good fortune in the year ahead.

In his present Report the Director-General has wisely, after his full and much-discussed Reports of 1963 and 1964, dealt with only a limited number of general questions bearing on the I.L.O. programme and structure, about which, he feels, there already appears to be a clear consensus in the Conference. The opportunity is now given of confirming, as the Report suggests, this apparent consensus on any of the specified matters and, what is much more important, of pointing out the great desirability for appropriate emphases and orders of priorities of I.L.O. programmes in these fields.

The suggestion that action in the field of better utilisation of the labour force, improving the quality of that force and of enlisting popular support for tasks of national development ought best to be directed principally at problems currently facing developing countries is most warmly welcomed. The rapid narrowing of the gap between current living standards in the developed and developing countries is essential for the very existence, as we know it, of world bodies like the I.L.O.

There must by this time be very few developing countries not able to express gratitude and appreciation for practical and highly skilled help given by the I.L.O. in varying fields of activity. It is in fields of technical assistance that this Organisation can make its greatest and most needed contribution to developing countries such as Jamaica. Very few, if any, of these countries are wanting in aspirations or plans for moving forward towards higher living standards, increased industrial development, fuller employment and a better industrial relations climate securely based on the understanding by employers and workers that each has a responsible part to play in national development. These plans and aspirations can only be helped along by an international labour Convention or Recommendation in a very limited sense. Indeed, instead of providing limited help, the setting by either such instrument of too high a standard can be a great embarrassment to some governments and a cause for a sense of frustration to many people.

Technical aid, which we have already gratefully acknowledged in Jamaica in our social security planning and productivity drives, could well be extended, where this has not yet been done, to training schemes at and for all levels of management and workers. There are the vocational training problems of new entrants to the labour market and of those who have to change jobs because of technological progress in existing industries. There is the need for efficiently organised industrial relations institutes for trade unionists, for personnel managers in government and the private sector, and for others participating in industrial relations discussions and problems. There is the need, too, for the co-ordination of training schemes, whether at an industrial relations institute or a productivity institute or elsewhere, to ensure a balanced approach to industrial relations, management and worker training.

The Director-General has considered it "imperative that the I.L.O. should have a full understanding of the situation in each country and in each region". This is vital and very welcome. Understanding will indeed make it possible for the I.L.O. to support appropriate measures for meeting critical needs in each country and to point out, as the necessity arises, the strength to be gained in all national development thrusts by tripartite consultation and discussion.

As regards standard-setting, to which I have already made brief reference, I do not dispute that international standards were the backbone of the I.L.O. I wished rather to imply that the size and composition of that backbone in the body of present circumstances should be reasonably appropriate. A number of vertebrae require surgery either for complete removal or for extensive manipulation to comply with present conceptions. But we are agreed on this course, and it only remains for the procedures to be laid down and the massive task put in hand.

My strong advocacy that maximum emphasis be placed by this Organisation on practical
assistance and aid is advocacy in a very real sense for a type of standard-setting at the national level. An international instrument the terms of which are beyond our present capacity is of little help to us. An instrument to which we can readily agree takes us no further on our way. But the setting up of, for example, a social security scheme or an industrial relations institute with I.L.O.'s advice and assistance, based on the experience and standards of other countries ahead of us, capable of being improved upon but in accordance with our existing means, is a standard indeed for us and for all those countries who aspire to follow suit. These are the types of standard that we would like to adopt in developing Jamaica and, I have no doubt, in other developing countries.

Finally, I heartily endorse the move for giving "the regional conferences and regional advisory committees better and more frequent opportunities to assess the priorities for action within the regions through an evaluation of their social needs and problems". In conformity with the hopes of the Director-General and the wishes of the countries concerned, these regional activities are aimed at ensuring that the I.L.O.'s total programme truly reflects the priorities of actual needs of each country. There could not be a more laudable aim than this for the International Labour Office.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. ARAYA BERNAL (Workers' delegate, Panama)—First of all I should like to congratulate the President most warmly in the name of the Panamanian workers on the confidence shown in him by the Conference and to express our most sincere hope that we will conclude our work successfully under his enlightened guidance.

The Panamanian workers are living in an atmosphere in which there are many employers with a definitely mercenary attitude, which is sometimes carried to the point where they do not understand our problems at all and oppose the workers with violence; they are completely ignorant of the trials of the workers and peasants because, owing to their lack of feeling, they have never deemed to take the time to look seriously at the very grave problems in which our society may be involved.

There have been many cases of individuals who have no knowledge whatsoever of the atmosphere in which the workers exist, who know nothing of our way of thought and of our aspirations; in short, they are in complete ignorance of everything concerning those who have aided them to build up capital to become rich. But this is not all, there are even some who go so far as to consider that to be a worker or the son of a worker means to be incurred by theroughest work and that to be of humble origin means that one has no aspirations for one's own future or the future of one's children.

It is that type of element which constitutes a sector of the Panamanian oligarchy and which hinders any measures in favour of the workers because its own interests would be seriously affected. Their action includes attacking the trade unionists and the exertion of pressure on workers' leaders to prevent them from taking social measures which would improve the situation of the workers. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at that there have been abrupt dismissals of capable officials, who have been replaced by incapable ones. This was what happened to Mr. Rosario Oller de Sarasqueta, a lawyer, who up to about one year ago occupied the post of Inspector General of Labour in my country, simply because he acted against the interests of the United Fruit Company, a North American undertaking which has been established in my country and which is characterised by attacks on freedom of association, the integrity of the workers, and by continual violation of the collective agreements which are in force. This absurd measure was taken in complete violation of the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947 (No. 81).

These de facto measures are taken in my country because in that way it is much easier to manipulate the parliamentary blocs so that they cut down, by means of Machiavellian manoeuvres, the share of the national budget earmarked for the government department responsible for everything concerning the I.L.O. and, therefore, for everything relating to the ratification of Conventions and the application of Recommendations, as well as the credits allocated to the departments responsible for advising the competent authorities in order to prevent them from sending reports and from complying with everything affecting our relationship with the I.L.O. This method of hindering the advancement of the workers benefits the selfish interests of bad employers and bad undertakings.

There are also undertakings such as the Hotel Continental, which threw out trade union leaders by physical force with no respect for labour court decisions. Finally, there is a case which occurred only three weeks ago, where a former Minister of State, Mr. Pablo Barés, shut down his shoe-leather factory because we had organised a trade union there. What I have mentioned so far relates to employers as individuals, but we have even more serious cases when the employers act as a group. Thus, recently, CONEP, the National Council of Private Undertakings, a kind of economic Mafia, succeeded through pressure, threats and well-organised publicity campaigns in forcing the resignation of the last two Directors of Revenue, because they were responsible for applying the Tax Reform Act. Because they were serious and responsible officials they had them dismissed. The same thing occurred in respect of the application of the Maternity Act and the Minimum Wage Act. This is just a very brief sketch of what is happening in our country; we feel we must come before this Conference and expose these matters because otherwise we would not be faithful to our trust. Panama has ratified only 11 Conventions, which one could call general types of Conventions, and it has not ratified any of the Conventions on seafarers. Some Conventions are not ratified for the reasons I have indicated above. Sometimes, as in the specific case of seafarers, non-ratification is due to the fact that there are very well entrenched interests which involve international problems at world levels and prevent them from taking social measures which would improve the situation of the workers.
duals who regularly break the law, wherever they may be. As conscientious and responsible workers, the Confederation of Workers of the Republic of Panama has begun to take the necessary steps to achieve its objectives.

The workers of Panama have come to this Conference, in line with the intentions of the Report of the Director-General, in a constructive spirit and not with a view to seeking out points of friction between the nations which make up this Organisation. Therefore, we urge that no mention should be made at this Conference of the Panama Canal Zone—a territory by right under our complete and exclusive sovereignty—as a non-metropolitan territory of the United States, since it would provoke an unforeseen situation at this great Conference and might even affect the future relations of our countries just at the moment when an agreement is being negotiated. I must say that these negotiations are moving along very slowly but Panama is not exactly responsible for this delay.

Finally, I should like to refer to the part of the Director-General's Report where he refers to the reorganisation of the activities of the Organisation under broader categories through the establishment of 11 departments. Although I am not fully acquainted with the staff recruitment policies and procedures of the I.L.O., I do know that very few staff come from what may be called the less powerful countries. This creates a situation unfavourable to our countries—some of our nationals should be employed by the Organisation, of which we are Members with the same rights as all the other Members. Thus, I would propose that, in the same way as considerable thought has been devoted to the programme of entertainments, a fairer recruitment programme should be laid down, not only for the Headquarters in Geneva but also for the future regional offices.

In conclusion, I would convey to you the belief of our Confederation of Workers of the Republic of Panama that all our work must be devoted to man in all his aspects, both spiritual and material—he must be the focus of all action in the social, cultural and economic fields until we finally achieve fulfilment of our aspirations based on the common good and true social justice.

Interpretation from French: Mr. LARAUQUI (Government delegate, Morocco)—I am happy to ask you, Mr. President, to transmit to our friend, Mr. Raza, warm congratulations on the confidence which the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference placed in him when it elected him to direct its proceedings. I am convinced that under his presidency and thanks to his competent assistants the results of the present session will further the economic and social progress of all countries, particularly the developing countries.

I should also like to congratulate the Director-General for the excellent Reports which he submits to the Conference.

The last two sessions of the General Conference have not resulted in a large measure of concordance of views on the very important questions of modifying the programmes and structure of the I.L.O., in order that it may meet as well as possible the needs of a developing world.

Nevertheless, some parts of the comprehensive programme put forward have been welcomed by a large majority, and others, following the resolution adopted last year by the Conference, are to be carefully studied by the Governing Body. We have before us the first report of the Working Party which the Governing Body set up in order to examine this question. This report, having indicated the objectives in the field of human resources development and utilisation, stresses the need for a large-scale programme in this field and the close co-operations which this programme must have with other important programmes, particularly regarding social institutions and conditions of life and work.

An administrative reorganisation was necessary to enable the I.L.O. to follow and co-ordinate all the questions relating to these three fields, and this reorganisation took the form of setting up 11 departments and three large administrative units corresponding to the sectors I have mentioned.

I hope that this new conception of the administrative structure of the I.L.O. will enable it to increase its efficiency in drawing up co-ordinated programmes adjusted to the essential needs of States Members.

But there is one aspect of the reorganisation of the I.L.O. on which I should like to congratulate the Director-General. I refer to the establishment of the Field Department, which was set up following the adoption, at the last session, of a resolution concerning the regional activities of the I.L.O., and following the discussions at the Second African Regional Conference.

The establishment of this department shows the intention of the I.L.O. to continue its efforts towards decentralisation and multiplication of field offices. The increase in the number of States Members requires an increase in the regional activities of the I.L.O.

However, as regards Africa, I think that there are still too few field offices. It would be a good thing, as I pointed out on a previous occasion, to set up a new office in North Africa as soon as possible, because the countries in that region are economically and socially homogeneous and have a sufficiently large population to justify special attention from the I.L.O. I am glad to note that the I.L.O. has created a post of regional co-ordinator for Africa who will co-ordinate the work of the field offices and experts with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. I congratulate the Director-General on appointing Mr. Albert Tevoedjet, an outstanding African, to undertake these functions.

This appointment shows clearly that the I.L.O. has had regard to the wishes expressed by the first two African Regional Conferences and has started recruiting more African officials, in accordance with the principle of geographical distribution of posts on the staff. Likewise, it would also be highly desirable, as requested in a resolution adopted at the Second African Regional Conference at Addis Ababa, that there should be close relations between the I.L.O. and the O.A.U., with a view to
rationalising, harmonising and intensifying cooperation between these two organisations so as to improve working conditions and assist social progress in the African countries.

I should like now to indicate rapidly the reasons why my country endorses the principles set out in the Director-General's Report regarding the development and utilisation of human resources, harmonisation of labour-management relations, development of social institutions and the improvement of conditions of life and work.

Regarding the utilisation of human resources, it is by creating work for idle manpower and improving manpower in general that the developing countries can raise their standards of living.

These principles have already been applied in Morocco. In order to bring the inhabitants of our marginal zones into the economically active and productive sectors of the nation, we have established a so-called national promotion institute.

In order to mark the importance of this undertaking, which is directly linked to our economic and social development plan, our Constitution has associated it with the plan by means of a body known as the Higher Planning and Promotion Council. The King is the Chairman of the Council, which is composed of ministers, presidents of regional and provincial assemblies and representatives of employers' and workers' organisations.

At the provincial and local level, thanks to the active co-operation of the competent authorities and of the elected representatives of the people, it has been possible to put under-employed rural inhabitants to work on improving the soil and raising their standard of living.

National promotion is a continuous and developing task, aimed at using available resources on investments which will bring maximum advantage to the rural population. In the spirit of its promoter, national promotion is above all a task of human advancement. It corresponds to the philosophy of our Organisation both in its social and in its labour policy, the supreme object of which is the development of man in the world.

In the industrial sector, my country, since it recovered its independence, has been making efforts to improve its manpower. The three-year economic and social development plan, approved by the National Integration and Planning Council and adopted by Parliament, while stressing agriculture and tourism, gives priority to vocational training so that Morocco may have as soon as possible the skilled national workers whom it requires in all fields.

To this end, within our development plan, the number of vocational training centres will be increased and their instructors will be provided by the National Supervisor Training Institute extended and improved thanks to help from the United Nations Special Fund.

I should like to thank the United Nations and the I.L.O. very warmly for the precious aid their experts are bringing to Morocco in this regard.

As regards labour-management relations and social institutions, I should like to say that economic and social development in my country follows I.L.O. standards and has the co-operation of freely established employers' and workers' organisations.

The Moroccan Constitution recognises for all workers and employers the right to join the unions of their choice and guarantees the workers the right to strike.

Lastly, it is indispensable for the I.L.O. to continue to study possible improvements in the conditions of life and work of the workers.

New I.L.O. standards in this field would be of great interest for the developing countries.

My country, which already has social legislation comparable to that of the most developed countries, constantly seeks to improve the well-being of its workers to the extent to which its economic conditions permit.

Measures are now being studied to strengthen the protection of workers against certain occupational diseases, to render industrial medicine more effective, and to extend social security cover to new classes of workers.

In Part II of his Report the Director-General describes the work of the I.L.O. in 1964 and traces the main lines of its programme for 1965.

Examination of this balance sheet reveals that the share in programmes of technical cooperation accruing to Africa has increased from 30.2 per cent. in 1963 to 31.5 per cent. in 1964. This increase is only proper in view of the increased number of African member States since the 48th Session.

I take this opportunity of congratulating the new member States, Malawi, Malta, Yemen and Zambia, and I welcome their representatives to this session.

Among outstanding I.L.O. activities in 1964, I am glad to welcome the holding of the Second African Regional Conference at Addis Ababa in December last. The Conference, which brought together representatives of 35 African countries, shows that these countries make up a powerful group determined to play a role of increasing importance on the international scene.

The decentralisation of I.L.O. activities and the training of its regional organs will increase its efficiency, but the powers of the regional conferences should also be extended and their sessions should be held more frequently so that they may more closely follow the developments and needs and particular problems of our countries.

I should like now to stress certain questions included in the agenda of the present session. The questions of young workers engaged on underground work in mines and the employment of women with family responsibilities, which we examined last year in a first discussion, are now the subject of proposed Conventions or Recommendations. I hope there will now be a large majority in favour of adopting these instruments which will protect the health of the young worker and enable women with family responsibilities to combine their natural obligations with those arising from their employment.

The item on agrarian reform must receive particular attention from representatives of developing countries, which are seeking profitable methods and which will be glad to benefit from international experience in this
clear-sighted guidance of His Imperial Majesty, the Shah, with the support of the whole nation.

Our agrarian reform has abolished the old system of land holding and has given to the mass of the peasantry complete independence in farming the land.

The emancipation of women, and their equality with men in so far as concerns social rights, was another goal of our peaceful revolution. Women today enjoy the right to elect and to be elected, they have taken social positions, even the very highest; and equal pay for equal work is a right of which they are assured.

The sharing of the workers in the profits of undertakings was another item in this reform. Thus the workers have had their real wages increased, and it is now possible for them to sign collective agreements with the employers on an equal footing.

Along the lines of the three objectives touched on in the Report concerning the strategy of human resources, and taking into consideration the very great need for strengthening the social situation in the villages, the surplus of persons eligible for national service are members of the new armies of education, of hygiene and rural development.

Members of the army of education—those holding diplomas of secondary or higher studies—work to abolish illiteracy among the peasants. They open up for the peasants doors to a better life by bringing instruction and basic education to the most isolated parts of the country. The results achieved have been so encouraging that our Shah has invited the leaders of all countries to come and see for themselves the success which has been attained and has urged them to collaborate in the organisation of the campaign against ignorance.

As a result of this great initiative, it was decided that a Conference on world illiteracy would be convened at Teheran in September next under the auspices of U.N.E.S.C.O.

With regard to manpower, very far-reaching activities have been carried out. The problems studied in the Report—such as the problem of evaluation of manpower needs, planning of manpower and organisation, employment, vocational training, training of supervisory staff—all these questions have been given appropriate consideration.

Since these social and human activities must receive concrete expression in material production and in services which will be useful to the population in order to finally achieve their welfare, maximum efforts have been made to increase production, both national and overseas, and to extend employment possibilities, and in these fields we have achieved satisfactory results.

However, the progress of developing countries is conditional upon international factors. I have already stressed here that the basic questions, part of which were examined by the international Conference on Trade and Development, still influence the system of production and employment in the developing countries. It is impossible to get an idea of the social progress of a country if account is not taken of the context in which it takes place. In their foreign relations, developing countries have to face problems arising out of organic antagonisms. If there is not an atmosphere favourable
to their advancement at the world level they will not be able to overcome their difficulties by depending solely on the competence of experts.

As I have stated in the past from this rostrum, one of the characteristics of our era is that wealth and opulence in one part of the world give rise to poverty and misery in the other. A solution must be found to this antagonism between rich and poor countries.

The progress of technology and the world increase in productivity was the cause of the fact that the exports of the industrialised countries to the developing countries increased by 98 per cent.: from $10,650 million they rose to $21,000 million. During the same period the exports from the developing countries to the industrialised countries rose from $13,220 million to $20,660 million, which corresponds to a 56 per cent. increase.

However, one should not look at figures alone. The increase in income arising from the exports of developing countries has been obtained at the cost of a rapid increase in the rate of production to meet, on the one hand, the fall in the price of raw materials exported and, on the other hand, the rise in the price of the manufactured goods imported.

The external balance of payments of these countries thus shows a constantly growing deficit. I was not wrong when I said that the growth of the production of developing countries is truly a growth which leads to impoverishment.

I should like to know, therefore, to what extent and in what way the new structure of the Organisation will permit the implementation of the views expressed in the Report regarding the determination of priorities for measures for joint guidance in the future activities of these countries.

The essential object at which the Organisation must aim is to adjust its programmes to the requirements of the development by stages of the developing countries. However, the speed of annual increase in national income of 5 per cent. contemplated in the United Nations Development Decade does not seem sufficient, having regard to the need for growth which the developing countries face. Merely to repeat that the economic, social and political capacities of these countries do not permit more, unfortunately means that in face of the rapid progress of the industrially advanced countries the rate of expansion of the developing countries can only be slow. But then the present gap would only be extended and the relations stemming from the present situation will continue for a long time yet.

Achievement of the progressive national and international aspirations places new burdens on the I.L.O., which will not be able to meet the desire for peace of our peoples and their immense needs by the utilisation of ordinary methods alone. It must adjust its programme to its functions in order to have valid criteria for the evaluation of social progress.

In my opinion the policy of full employment would be one of these criteria, for it is particularly by full employment and the consequent economic development that the developing countries will be able to solve their present problems. We know that in order to reach the objective of full employment we must first of all increase the savings destined for investment and bring the private sector into line with the objective of maximum utilisation of human and productive resources. We must then work out a plan for directing national economy, controlling foreign trade and inducing the industrialised countries to take action in favour of the developing countries and to take any other action which will be useful in this regard.

By concentrating its resources and potential and taking full employment as its criterion, the I.L.O. can, in co-operation with the specialised institutions of the United Nations, evaluate the needs of the developing countries and bring precious aid to the acceleration of their progress and the attenuation of their difficulties. Furthermore, the effective application of the standards contained in the Conventions and Recommendations depends on the implementation of the basic principles which I have mentioned.

Although the Report is devoted to certain particular technical points, I had hoped that in the present international situation the Director-General would have made at least a brief allusion to the urgency of consolidating universal peace. I am sure that the Director-General has the same feelings as I do in this regard.

We must mobilise all our resources to lead to the comprehension which will banish poverty and put an end to the production of the means of collective destruction with a view to introducing instead peaceful competition on the path of progress and welfare.

We attach very great importance to this universal comprehension. To achieve it we must struggle methodically against racial discrimination and against colonialism in whatever form. It is with keen interest, therefore, that my Government has ratified the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958.

How happy it would be if mankind could soon recognise that we have learned from experiences which, if they were renewed, would destroy the heritage of our ancient civilisations. How consoling it would be to find that we had succeeded in peacefully eliminating the bases for potential war and for the antagonism between wealth and poverty. I hope that the distinguished representatives will examine these problems in a realistic spirit and will take this opportunity of strengthening friendship and solidarity between nations, in the common search for paths which will lead to peaceful coexistence and a prosperous life free from all destructive antagonisms, for this is precisely the object for which the I.L.O. was set up.

*Interpretation from Russian: Mr. GOROSH-KIN (Government delegate, U.S.S.R.)—At the outset I should like to welcome the representatives of the new member States—Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen—which have joined the family of the International Labour Organisation.*

At the last two sessions of the International Labour Conference, the 47th and 48th, we
examined in detail questions connected with the programme of activities of the I.L.O., its structure and methods of work. In this respect, the 49th Session is really a continuation of the last two sessions. In his Report to the present session of the Conference the Director-General, basing himself on the exchanges of views that have taken place in the past, develops certain ideas and proposals to the effect that the activities of the I.L.O. should be directed in three basic programme areas—namely, the development of human resources, labour relations, and the improvement of living and working conditions. One must agree, of course, with the timeliness of these problems. Their solution would undoubtedly contribute to improving the social and economic position of the workers. But that is only part of the problem. I do not think anyone will deny that the International Labour Organisation can carry out its mission, its constitutional tasks, only if there is lasting peace in the world. That is the primary condition if the position of the workers is to be improved. Therefore delegates to this Conference are quite right to be concerned about the future of the world, and to be anxious that activities in support of peace should play a proper part in the I.L.O.'s programme.

We have heard from this rostrum expressions of alarm about the dangerous situation in many parts of the world where blood is flowing and people are being subjected to great suffering. How can the International Labour Organisation remain aloof from these dangerous happenings which are such a threat to peace? How can it deal calmly and unconcernedly with the routine problems of its programme, discussing conditions of life and work, when in the Indo-Chinese peninsula overt aggression is being carried out against a sovereign State, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, whose territory is being subjected to systematic bombing? Here at this Conference we talk about the improvement of living and working conditions, yet in Viet-Nam human lives are being cut short, towns and villages are being devastated.

Of course, this is not the first time that peoples have been the victims of gunboat diplomacy and the policy of the big stick. History contains many sombre pages when the imperialist Powers have swamped national strivings for liberation in a sea of blood. But those times are past and can never return. The peoples of the world will not permit a situation in which, in order to salvage decaying régimes perched precariously on the points of alien bayonets, the elementary standards of international law are violated with impunity, the elementary standards of living and working conditions of the workers and the improvement of living and working conditions. Such a threat exists in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic, and no one can be unaware that threat and bears the responsibility.

The Soviet people are ardent champions of peace. We know only too well what a war would mean today. The Soviet people suffered untold and innumerable losses in the last war. It cost us more than 20 million human lives, together with terrible destruction which the Fascist barbarians left in their wake in our towns and villages. Expressing the fundamental interests of the Soviet people, the Soviet Government devotes itself tirelessly to maintaining and consolidating peace. We consistently uphold the principle of peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems and endeavour to extend these principles to all States, large and small, seeking to ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial inviolability of every State. We are in favour of general and fruitful co-operation between countries, which includes the international organisations and this present session of the Conference, but we are opposed to this mockery of the very concept of co-operation. One cannot look at questions of co-operation through the bomb-sights of modern jet warplanes. We resolutely join our voice to the world-wide condemnation of American imperialist aggression in Indo-China and the Caribbean Sea.

Today more than ever before it is important to mobilise all forces in the struggle against the military threat in order to achieve lasting and stable peace in the world, without which progress is impossible, especially social and economic progress. The Soviet Union will give its full support to I.L.O. measures designed to strengthen peace and extend co-operation between all peoples in order to raise the standard of living of the workers and improve their working conditions. The Soviet Government delegation considers it its duty to call the attention of delegates to the Conference to the need to increase the I.L.O.'s activities designed to strengthen peace in the world and with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament. The I.L.O. must devote special attention to the economic and social consequences of disarmament and its effect on the workers' conditions, and it should undertake investigation on that subject.

We believe that the main emphasis in such investigation should be directed to problems of employment and unemployment, vocational training and retraining, the utilisation of the resources thus released for the implementation of social measures designed in the first place to raise the standard of living of the people and improve working conditions, as well as assistance to developing countries. The Soviet Government delegation considers it its duty to call the attention of delegates to the Conference to the need to increase the I.L.O.'s activities designed to strengthen peace in the world and with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament. The I.L.O. must devote special attention to the economic and social consequences of disarmament and its effect on the workers' conditions, and it should undertake investigation on that subject.

We fully support the resolution presented by the delegation of the Ukraine, which is directed towards these aims. We hope this resolution will receive the understanding and support of the delegates to this Conference.

In its activities the I.L.O. must also bear in mind and support the struggle for the independence of peoples still languishing under colonial domination and should take effective measures to uphold the rights of the workers in those countries. The South African rulers unashamedly ignore the decisions of the United Nations and the demands made in the Declaration adopted at the 48th Session of our Conference. They are strengthening discriminatory racist laws against the indigenous population, broadening the area of their application and intensifying the persecution of anyone opposing the policy of apartheid.

In a special Declaration the 48th Session of
the Conference urgently called upon all govern­
ments, trade unions and employers to take
every possible step to compel the South African
Government to give up its shameful policy of
apartheid. It is a matter for regret that the
I.L.O. report ignores the question of the
implementation by member States of the
provisions of this Declaration. The Soviet
dlegation considers it essential that future
Office reports concerning the implementation
of this Declaration should contain proper
information on the measures being taken by
member States in response to the appeal by the
Conference.

I must also draw the attention of the Con­
ference to the need to put an end to the delays
in preparing a specific and comprehensive pro­
gramme of measures designed to combat the
evil consequences of colonialism in the social
and labour fields. Such a programme aimed
at promoting the economic and social progress
of the developing countries should concentrate on
the paramount objective of the elimination of
the vestiges of racial and other discrimination in
labour relations, training of a national skilled
labour force, drafting of progressive labour
legislation, industrialisation of the economy,
and progressive agrarian reform.

As regards extension of the democratic
rights of the workers and their organisations,
it is important and urgent to ensure that trade
union rights and freedoms are safeguarded,
that anti-trade union laws and practices are
eliminated, and that the role of the workers
and their unions in preparing and carrying out
various measures of an economic and social
nature is enhanced.

The time has come for action instead of
words with regard to changing the structure of
the Organisation, about which so much has
been said at past sessions. We believe that the
present structure and procedure of the I.L.O.
require urgent and considerable change. We
cannot, as some suggest, let the passage of time
take care of this vital job. This would be to
encourage the conservative forces in their
striving to perpetuate obsolete practices in
this Organisation. The I.L.O. must democ­
ratise its structure and methods of work and
establish an atmosphere of genuine international
co-operation inside the Organisation. It is only
due to the absence of genuine democracy and the arbitrary rule of certain delega­
tions that the representatives of the socialist
countries are deprived of their chance to serve
as officers on the various committees of this
session of the Conference.

In accordance with a universally recognised
principle of international law, all member
States, irrespective of their size, population,
political system or level of economic develop­
ment, should be given equal opportunity to
participate actively in the business of the Organisa­tion. There must be proper representa­
tion of all member States, of the various
trade union trends, and of the various forms of
management in all the bodies of the I.L.O.
and, first and foremost, in the Governing Body.
Of course, it is not enough to recognise this
right in words only. The resolution submitted
by the Polish and Ukrainian Government
delugations to this session of the Conference is
a sound basis for settling this problem. It

respects the interests of all member States
who are eager to strengthen the International
Labour Organisation and enhance the effec­
tiveness of its work. We support this resolution
and call upon delegates to do likewise.

We also support the resolution submitted
by Workers' delegates of Yugoslavia con­
cerning the protection of the rights of Spanish
workers.

May I conclude by expressing the conviction of the Soviet delegation that awareness of our
responsibilities will move all delegations to
adopt a constructive and businesslike approach
in discussing the problems before this Con­
ference with a view to strengthening co­
operation between peoples and consolidating
peace throughout the world.

Interpretation from Italian: Mr. DELLE
FAVE (Minister of Labour and Social Welfare,
Italy)—Speaking at this 49th Session of the
International Labour Conference I should like
first of all to express our great appreciation to
the Director-General for the complete and
thorough way in which the questions on our
agenda are handled in the Office's various re­
ports. These are problems of great importance
which bear witness to the fruitful character of
I.L.O. action within the wider framework of its
international activities. The Director-General
has also prepared a Report tracing the main
lines of the programme and structure of the
I.L.O. in the future.

In the name of the Italian Government I am
glad to confirm here as Minister of Labour and
Social Welfare our entire support for the general
programme of future activity of the I.L.O.
which the Director-General summarises so well
in his Report. We agree that in order to elabo­
rate a constructive social policy at the interna­tional level, it is necessary, in order to reach
our objectives, to know the character of the
various factors operating in all economic sys­
tems and to act effectively in the light of the
limited resources available.

The new internal structure of the I.L.O.,
because of its flexibility, will be able to meet
these requirements and certainly contribute to
the achievement of the objectives indicated by
the Director-General, that is to say to satisfy
increasingly the social needs of man, both as in­
dividual and as member of a group of workers
in a system of democracy and freedom. These
objectives have always characterised the econo­
ic and social policy of my country, and these
are the same objectives which my Government
now pursues even though methods and means
may have been radically changed.

This is the fundamental reason explaining the
attachment of Italy to the I.L.O., an attach­
ment of which the Italian Government has
recently given new proof by making an offer re­
garding the establishment of the International
Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational
Training in Turin, which will begin to operate
in a few months. I take this opportunity of
thanking the other countries which have been
so kind as to participate, or which will partici­
pate, financially in establishing and operating
the Centre, and I wish it every success. May it
contribute in a decisive manner to the develop­
ment of vocational training, particularly in the
developing countries.
My country also has for some time been going through a phase of rapid, indeed impetuous development. The many complex problems arising in similar situations in all countries are reflected in the financial, economic and social policy of Italy. There has been an unexpected upsurge in the activities of capital and labour quite outside any planned system of development, because lack of time prevented us from drawing up or imposing such a system.

It was necessary at a certain point to impose prudence and moderation on this unrestrained outburst, and we therefore had a period of recession, which extended throughout 1964. During this period it was not possible to avoid a reversal of the tendency towards ever-increasing employment; in consequence, both employment and the number of man-hours worked showed a decrease.

We have now managed to block this recession, thanks to the joint action of producers and workers and to the sacrifices made to overcome the many difficulties.

One must recognise the Government's merit in following, during this difficult period, a far-seeing and courageous policy in all fields, ranging from the financial to the economic and social sectors. In social affairs we have followed two trends. We have given the necessary support to alleviate the workers' lot by measures to raise the maximum assistance provided for unemployed and temporarily discharged workers. Secondly, we have sought to turn the situation itself to the advantage of the workers by using their services more rationally with a view to radical long-term reforms.

Among the first social measures taken last year and early in 1965 we must mention some which characterise the policy of the Government during the period of recession. The integration of industrial workers' wages, a system intended to ensure regularity in wages irrespective of fluctuations in the economy, has been, as in the past, a safety valve for the difficulties created by reduction or suspension of production. However, this principle was recently modified in order to adjust it to the new economic and social requirements, and to bring it closer also to the principle of the guaranteed wage by increasing the benefits provided for by the new Act.

This new method also concerns the building trades, where the allowance now reaches 80 per cent. of the wages not received.

A unique measure, even if somewhat imperfect and empirical, is that known as the social charges levy. The State takes over temporarily or permanently the task of contributing to the social charges borne by employers. In this way the Government has reduced the social burdens imposed on industry and has contributed to the reduction of labour costs. This has enabled it to reduce dismissals and avoid reductions in production.

The impact of this system goes, however, beyond the immediate economic objective. It can be seen, for example, in certain forms of insurance which are now borne by the community at large rather than by the individual, or in which private guarantees are replaced by state guarantees, or, again, in the situations in which this system serves to eliminate serious financial imbalance so as to facilitate reforms which in the near future will undoubtedly lead to a system of social security.

The effects can be seen in three different directions: in the administration of tuberculosis insurance, which is now totally at the expense of the State; in the abolition of the subsidy which was previously paid by industry to agriculture and which is now also paid by the State; and in the fact that a recent Bill deals with the necessary reform of compulsory invalidity and old-age insurance for wage earners and independent workers.

The Italian Government and Parliament, apart from this multilateral action, have been extremely active with a view to establishing more modern systems for the progress of the workers. A Bill respecting the protection of conditions of employment is now before Parliament. It modifies the regulations governing the employment of young persons with a view to ensuring for them a protection corresponding to the rapid and actual progress of recent years and to bringing Italian legislation into greater harmony with the international labour Conventions.

Regarding occupational safety and health, a constant study and re-examination of the provisions in force has been undertaken with a view to guaranteeing the best possible physical protection of the workers taking account of the accelerated technological development. We have also been active in vocational training with a view to intensifying and improving at all levels the organisation and training of young and older workers, employed or not. We intend subsequently to introduce legislation to reform this whole complex field, with a view to a permanent solution of the problem on the basis of a five-year plan.

Unlike some other fields where laws and regulations often mark fundamental stages of real progress, in labour relations developments must be marked more by the way and the action of the parties concerned than by legislation and regulation on the part of the authorities, and the Government must respect this freedom of action. The Italian Government, and particularly the Ministry of Labour, have followed and always will follow this principle which is fundamental to any democratic régime. Even if disadvantages result from this attitude, we nevertheless have cause for satisfaction, as the trade unions in industry, thanks to a big effort at mutual comprehension, have recently reached two agreements which will be important stages in the history of collective bargaining in my country. I refer to the interconfederal agreement of 29 April 1965 on individual dismissals, and the interconfederal agreement of 5 May 1965 on reduction of personnel.

The first agreement profoundly changes not only the previous collective bargaining situation but also the rules still in force in our positive law, which the Government will seek to modify in the near future by legislation, following the invitation extended no later than yesterday by the Constitutional Court to Parliament and to the Government.

However, this initiative cannot and must not modify the will of the parties. It must be aimed exclusively at modifying and ordering the regulations in force on the subject, in the light of international labour Recommendations,
while safeguarding the conditions, procedures and rules for which provision is made in collective agreements and union agreements.

The second of the two interconfederal agreements, that governing reduction of personnel, is particularly important in the political and social life of our country, for it contains a joint declaration by the two contracting parties envisaging a new type of relationship between trade unions and public authorities in the delicate field of employment. These results have been possible mainly because the Italian Government aims, as I have said, at the permanent objectives of justice and freedom, to be attained by a thorough renewal of methods and means.

The formula of political co-operation, which for the first time in Italy has led the Socialists to co-operate with the Christian Democrats and other democratic parties, is a new factor. As regards action planned, the five-year plan for the Italian economy is also a new item. By regarding the economy as a whole, this plan aims at correcting the imbalance which still exists in some sectors and regions.

Of course, it is impossible for everything to be perfect, and there are still big difficulties to overcome. However, the many innovations in my country contribute objectively to the renewal of our laws and regulations in a democratic spirit and to the creation of new instruments, more modern instruments, aiming at integrating liberty with justice and illuminating justice by freedom in complete respect for our institutions and our international commitments.

I have been glad and honoured to be able to discuss at this world labour parliament some of the principal themes of Italy's social policy, and we shall follow with great interest the action taken and the progress achieved by other countries with a view to benefiting from these experiences ourselves. This process of intermingling which goes forward within the living realities of the world of labour which I referred to a moment ago, the Report gives an account of a meritorious and praiseworthy effort of adaptation to the diversity of economic and social situations. Thanks to this guarantee of realism in its desire for efficiency, the Director-General's Report has received the full attention and friendly interest of the Government of the Republic of Gabon.

In itself the reorganisation of the structure of the International Labour Office constitutes a programme to the extent that, according to the opinion of the Director-General, it will make it possible to get to the heart of the problem. In this connection, we have noted with satisfaction the reshaping of the Office in departments covering homogeneous entities which represent a basis for coherent programmes. The titles used—human resources, development and social situations. Thanks to this guarantee of human resources, development of social institutions, conditions of work and life, international labour standards, express in a dynamic way the responsibilities of the Office. The first of these titles is of particular importance in that it goes straight to the heart of our problem by implying, as a fundamental thesis, the development and utilisation of human resources which, in a world subscribing to modern legal concepts of labour relations, no longer exclusively subordinated to economic factors but rather define those factors. We give all the more hearty support to this idea because my country, Gabon, already possesses comprehensive labour legislation; the Gabonese workers for a number of years now, as far as social institutions are concerned, have enjoyed well-organised systems and schemes in the fields of family allowances, compensation for employment injury and occupational disease, as well as old-age insurance for wage earners. Thus we are led to feel that the law-making and standard-setting activity of the Organisation, no matter how important it may be, is no longer of first priority. We would like rather to give our main interest in the future to programmes of education and training in order to raise our human resources to the level of the standards already in existence, subsequently raising them even further
in the light of new standards or, where necessary, revised standards, which we will work out together.

We believe in fact that the guiding principle of the Director-General’s Report points in this direction. In this connection, we were struck by the vigorous words referring to modification of the I.L.O.’s approach so that there will not be just negative protection but rather a positive policy for the improvement of the well-being, security and social conditions of the worker. This positive policy must be reflected in the worker’s promotion, in his adaptation to new techniques which, as they have already been introduced in my country, will be able to break the chains of under-development and give rise to the multiplying effects of economic expansion and social progress.

Thus it is along this road of vocational training that Gabon is determined to move in future in order to meet the needs of expansion of its sectors of activity, of which forestry, mining and commerce are the most important for us. To meet the increase in the need for skilled manpower, we must make all members of the active population able to participate more and more effectively in the economic activities of the country, both industrial and rural. In this connection, we are developing health and educational measures with a view to giving greater value to the human being as the main factor—the raison d’être—of all the programmes of development. Thus we may observe that if we were not moved by a spirit of humanism and social concern we would be forced to act by necessity and by a sense of realism. Thus, although our ideas are generous in their scope they are never utopian, and our social measures are always in line with our possibilities, to stimulate them and not to go beyond our scope. Thus, by doubling the rate of family allowances last year, by extending the scheme of maternity allowances to all mothers and by instituting guarantees to workers dismissed for economic reasons, by increasing by 21.2 per cent. the minimum wage for all workers, by linking that wage to the workers’ consumer price index, we have yielded to no pressure, but we have rather tried to meet freely and with all willingness the justified requirements of the workers within the spirit of our national community.

In this attempt to continue the improvement in the conditions of the worker, we are giving particular attention to the questions on the agenda of our Conference.

Mining is of very great importance in the economy of Gabon. Extraction of uranium ore, manganese, petroleum and—in the near future—iron augurs well for future development. With very modern equipment in these activities, particularly equipment for the protection of face workers, and with the very careful medical organisation, particularly by systematic check-ups, we have very advanced means of protection and standards. Whilst, in accordance with regulations, the workers in question are to be advised under the age of 18 even in open-cast mines, which covers manganese and uranium ore in present conditions, the Government of my country is nevertheless prepared to make use of all the directives given in this connection by the I.L.O., if the economic situation should some day lead it to modify the situation on conditions of recruitment for work in mineral activities.

In connection with the employment of women, a subject already studied very closely by the African Regional Conference at Addis Ababa, we do not deny that employment of women is a factor in social emancipation. However, the fundamental role of women in the cohesion of the family structure must not be affected by their admission to the ranks of workers. We must also see to it that our population growth does not suffer. Thus we have decided to pursue, with the assistance of the I.L.O., the policy undertaken already by my Government in setting up suitable social facilities, in particular maternity protection centres, children’s protection centres, crèches and kindergartens. My Government will give favourable attention to any recommendation which this Conference might make in connection with the employment of women who have family responsibilities.

Finally, the vast problems evoked by the study of agrarian reform and the role of co-operatives are at the forefront of the action to be taken in rural development, but are often very delicate matters from the economic and sociological viewpoint and are so very closely associated with the harmonious growth of our cities, our villages and our countryside. My country will give all the more attention to the information and aid, where appropriate, which the I.L.O. may give in this field, because it is concerned in promoting, along with industrial development, a rural policy closely linked with a programme for the regrouping of villages and the creation of settlements by persuasion, not by force or by laws. This programme has been worked out in accordance with the economic lines of communication, roads and subsequently railways, in order to balance urban and agricultural activities so that they may be mutually complementary and development may be fully effective in its economic and human aspects.

As regards the various social aspects of our development, we are counting more and more on the experience and effective help of the Office as a result of the decentralisation which the Director-General has called for.

We expect that such measures will favour in particular the taking into consideration of the achievements and experience in the regional framework, although perhaps the Office would not be the direct initiator of such action. It would also appear desirable that experts should be fully briefed on the conditions at the regional level in their field. Similarly any alterations and corrections recommended by the Office when the programmes are implemented should in all cases be submitted clearly to the national authorities who have to ratify these plans. These authorities, after all, bear the final responsibility for the execution of the programmes and are in no way relieved of that responsibility when they make use of foreign and outside technical experts.

In this connection, the creation of the Field Department seems to us to express a desire to adapt the Office’s activities in line with the
hope expressed by the recent Second African Regional Conference.

However, whilst I endorse wholeheartedly the setting up of field offices having more extensive resources and wider responsibilities, I do not subscribe to the same extent to the creation of a department which will be competent only for the countries coming under the head of developing countries. We do not want to be a special, reserved field of action, a kind of pilot plot or experimental field of development which, under the pretext of specialisation, would be kept outside the society of States more technically advanced. If necessary, we would attack such a tendency as being contrary to our aspirations.

We therefore conceive regionalisation, first and foremost, as a means of action, not an end in itself. But this means of action, in order to be completely in accord with its objectives, implies a broader participation of Africans in the Office at Geneva and, even more, in the regional centres.

The observations which we have just made will lead, without doubt, to certain adjustments which will make us ever more appreciative of the activities of the Office. These activities, which are the activities of the Organisation itself, affect all of us and their diversity is an invitation to us to develop an understanding of the problems of others. But before we go forth, strengthened by a solemn condemnation of all forms of racial discrimination, particularly apartheid, this spirit of understanding must be based on a respect for human values. It is in this desire for fruitful co-operation that we proclaim as another basic need the respect for national sovereignty and the condemnation of any subversive moves aimed at dissection or conquest. We recognise the active concern which exists in the I.L.O. for those values, which are the very foundation of peace and social progress to which we pledge our full support.

**Interpretation from Czech:** Mr. PAŠEK (Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia)—After the discussion at the last two sessions of the International Labour Conference in 1963 and 1964, an important task is now before us at this session; to consider to what extent the proposals submitted concerning the changes in the programme and structure of the I.L.O. correspond to the basic object of the whole discussion, that is, to adapt the activities of this Organisation to the requirements and needs of present development in the world.

The Czechoslovak trade unions submitted their views and proposals on the content of the matters discussed at the 160th Session of the Governing Body and distributed to Members of the Organisation their proposals dealing with the programme and structure of the I.L.O. At the last session of the General Conference two resolutions were adopted with the aim of contributing to further progress in this field.

The Director-General informs us in Part I of his Report of the progress in implementing both these resolutions and deals with three major areas: the I.L.O. programme. The programme and structure of the I.L.O. are very closely connected. In my opinion the programme and its application depend on the way in which the organs and bodies of the I.L.O. are composed, and on whether a just and proportional representation without any discrimination is guaranteed.

I cannot therefore agree with the fact that this year's Report of the Director-General is devoted only to questions concerning the programme, and does not even deal with the programme as a whole, but only with those questions on which, according to the Report, unanimity or general agreement were achieved and which are less controversial. Nor can I agree with a situation in which the solution of problems of great importance is being repeatedly postponed to a later date. This is done in spite of the fact that a large majority at the last session of the General Conference agreed on the necessity of solving important questions relating to the structure of the I.L.O. In my opinion the absence in the Report of any proposal concerning changes in the structure of the I.L.O. is a shortcoming.

On the other hand, however, the Report does contain some positive proposals in relation to those programme areas which it covers. I have in mind, namely, the proposals concerning the activities of the I.L.O. in the sphere of protection of the status of workers by legislation or collective bargaining, both within the undertaking and in society as a whole: security of employment; development and extension of social security; status of rural workers, etc.

Yet I think that, despite the number of proposals submitted and the sincere efforts of many delegates, no significant progress has been made as regards the question of adapting the structure and the programmes of the I.L.O. to the needs of the present world.

A number of problems relating to the programmes are not mentioned at all or are mentioned only very briefly in the Report of the Director-General. In this connection I should like to draw your attention mainly to the questions of the legal status of the workers, the rights of workers and trade unions in undertakings, and the protection of the workers' representatives. The I.L.O. cannot remain passive as far as these questions are concerned. The international standards of the I.L.O. have an important part to play in these fields. It is necessary, in view of present developments, to lay down in the I.L.O. corresponding standards on working conditions, and on the status and the rights of workers.

Therefore, existing Conventions should be revised as soon as possible by the I.L.O. and new Conventions should be worked out in which the following principles should be embodied: the right to work; the right to strike; the rights of trade unions to negotiate on working conditions with the management of undertakings; the guarantee of trade union rights for all workers; free administration of trade union funds without any supervision by governments and employers; the right of trade unions to participate freely in international activities and solidarity campaigns. The inclusion of these important rights of the workers and trade unions in I.L.O. standards would help to protect effectively the rights and just demands of the workers.

In connection with these questions I should like to stress the ever-growing need to revise
the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, (No. 87), and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98). These Conventions do not contain any provisions for protecting workers against attacks and manoeuvres on the part of the capitalist employers. They should cover all the basic demands which I mentioned above.

I shall not enumerate here in detail all the trade union rights which should be laid down in these Conventions, since our trade union organisation has already quoted them in the suggestions on Governing Body document G.B.160/5/15. Apart from that—and I should like to draw the attention of all delegates to this fact—these questions were included in the memorandum submitted by the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions to the Director-General on 6 November 1964, containing detailed and concrete proposals for the revision of Conventions Nos. 57 and 98.

As I have already mentioned, I do not agree with the past actions and problems connected with changes in the structure of the I.L.O. have not been submitted for discussion at this session. I consider this to be a serious shortcoming which should be rectified.

I should like to mention once again at least two questions, the speedy solution of which I, as a Workers' delegate, consider to be specially necessary and important.

So far, no concrete effective measures have been taken against the discrimination to which trade union organisations affiliated with the W.F.T.U. in the Workers' group of the Governing Body are subjected. The elimination of this state of affairs—namely that none of these organisations is represented in the Governing Body—has not so far been obtained either by increasing the number of members of the Governing Body or by any other means, although some useful proposals were submitted in this direction.

I have in mind the draft resolution on changes in the regulations governing the election of members of the Workers' group of the Governing Body, submitted by the Workers' delegate from Poland at the 48th Session of the Conference.

It is regrettable that this resolution was not discussed at all, since it contained positive proposals for putting an end to this unjustifiable and abnormal situation and to the strong discrimination in the Workers' group of the Governing Body against the organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U. Therefore I propose and recommend that this question of just representation in the Governing Body be discussed and solved at this session of the Conference, with a view to the fact that new elections to the Governing Body will be taking place next year.

The second serious question concerns the necessity of strengthening the position of the Conference as the supreme and most representative body of this Organisation. Up to now it has never been stated how it is proposed that this problem, which was raised in a democratic manner by a majority of the delegates, be solved. In my opinion, with the questions concerning the structure of the I.L.O., the just representation of the socialist countries and their trade union organisations in other bodies of the I.L.O. has also to be solved.

I should like to remind you, in the first place, of the results of the 161st Session of the Governing Body this year, when the members of the Industrial Committees were elected. The fact that Czechoslovakia was elected to only one Industrial Committee—the Iron and Steel Committee—although it had applied for membership in six committees, and, finally, the fact that it was not re-elected to the Metal Trades Committee, in which it had worked for years, prove that it is time to put an end to the discriminatory tendencies of certain circles against the socialist countries and their trade union organisations.

In concluding my statement, I should like to draw attention once again to the urgency of a quick and effective solution of all the problems connected with the adaptation of the I.L.O. to present developments in the world.

When speaking about the need to adapt our Organisation to the needs of our times, I have in mind the reinforcing of its ability to attain its goals.

It is obvious, of course, that the process of social progress in the world calls for not only these conditions which I would call internal, but also conditions which I would call external. The Conference would certainly agree with me that peace is one of the most basic conditions, since the attainment of the goals of this Organisation requires both wide co-operation in the international field as well as normal conditions of peace inside every country.

Therefore, in my opinion, our Organisation must reject and condemn most severely any behaviour which endangers the existence of such a favourable atmosphere, and, all the more so, behaviour which threatens the very existence of mankind.

I have in mind the extremely dangerous manoeuvres of the United States interventionists in Viet-Nam, where they have not stopped at employing means of mass extermination, including the use of chemical weapons, against the people of South Viet-Nam. But through the barbarian and unprecedented bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which forms a part of their plan of escalation of the war, they threaten the very foundations of world peace.

I have in mind also United States intervention in the Dominican Republic, which represents a reckless attempt to intimidate the peoples of Latin America as far as free choice of their own government is concerned.

I deemed it necessary to say a few words on these two burning international problems since I feel there is a direct connection between them and our present deliberations—a direct connection in the sense that while the welfare of the workers of the whole world is the ultimate goal of our deliberations, the aggressive acts of the imperialists result in the direct opposite.

The International Labour Organisation must contribute to the preservation of lasting peace, to general and complete disarmament, to the reduction of international tension, and to the establishment of relations based on co-operation among all countries of the world. That is
why, in my opinion, it cannot remain indifferent to the above-mentioned questions.

**Interpretation from French : Mr. SAKA (Government delegate, Dahomey)**—In the name of the delegation of Dahomey I have pleasure in congratulating Mr. Raza on his election to the presidency of the Conference.

The Director-General's Report has held our attention particularly because of the way in which he faces the various problems of the moment and the way in which he shows the importance of these problems for the survival of the Organisation, its adjustment to new tasks in general and to the needs of the developing countries in particular. The present debates should lead to definitive conclusions on the problems of the programme and structure of the I.L.O. I thank the Director-General for having sketched such a noble programme for the I.L.O. which determines its attitude towards the economic and social problems of the world today, and for having analysed the procedures and methods of the I.L.O. so as to enable this Organisation to fully secure its imperatives, but thanks to our common determination to open new perspectives and to seek wide horizons, we have managed to adjust our Organisation to the requirements of the hour.

The Director-General thus shows his determination to open new perspectives and to seek new means of action with a view to implementing the general programme of the I.L.O., particularly by reorganising the Office and establishing a Field Department in order better to coordinate the I.L.O.'s regional activities. I think this is a very good thing, for the reorganisation will enable the I.L.O. to recognise better the priorities of our countries in the light of their needs, and will facilitate more frequent contacts with the various organisations of the countries concerned. The intensification of regional activities will particularly relate to the utilisation of human resources, and therefore also to the agricultural and industrial development of our countries.

In his Report the Director-General, having reviewed the principal programme areas of the I.L.O., has devoted a chapter to international labour standards. This is an extremely important subject, in my opinion, for the standard-setting work of the I.L.O. is one of its main tasks, and I believe that the I.L.O. should continue along this path with a view to seeking to secure observance of certain universal principles. We can only state that none of these principles is an empty word as far as we are concerned. We have made efforts to ratify most of the Conventions placed before us. In our concern to defend democratic principles, and at the same time in the light of our love for efficiency, we have sought to establish a balance between the two groups, employers and workers, who participate in the economic advancement of our country. It is by this means that we seek to consolidate our independence and work for the eradication of our underdevelopment.

In addition to this national effort it seems clear that the I.L.O.'s technical assistance is indispensable. We have already received this, but we hope that it will be further increased because we are determined to overcome the many obstacles raised in the path of our development.

One of the ways of overcoming these obstacles—and one to which we have devoted considerable effort—is the establishment of co-operatives, a subject which is included in the agenda before us. The developing countries are particularly suited to the co-operative movement, since in most of these countries there was already an old-fashioned form of cooperation stemming from the strong community spirit prevailing there. All the sectors of the population, employed persons as well as self-employed, are likely to be interested in co-operative movements.

In Dahomey we have been helped in co-operative management, the technical tasks of particular co-operatives, and the spread of co-operative ideas, by I.L.O. experts and advisers from countries like Switzerland which have been kind enough to supply them. I can tell you that in our country the co-operative movement has very great prospects before it.

In closing this short speech I should like to renew my country's sense of gratitude to the I.L.O., which has always been keenly concerned with our problems. The I.L.O. has reached a critical point in its existence in regard to the present economic and social imperatives, but thanks to our common determination to accelerate the development of the peoples and our determination to attenuate international tensions we shall, I am sure, manage to adjust our Organisation to the needs of the hour.

**Interpretation from Arabic : Mr. EDDEAN (Minister of Social Affairs and Labour, Jordan)**—The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has paid me the great honour of making me its representative at this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. On this occasion I should like to convey His Majesty King Hussein's greetings as well as his best wishes for satisfactory results for this Conference which will help to strengthen peace and increase prosperity and enlightenment.

Allow me to express my deepest and sincerest congratulations and my warmest wishes to the President on his election. These congratulations and wishes go also to the Government delegate of Pakistan. It is undeniable that his election by the great majority of delegations from all over the world is owed partly to the complete confidence in his reliability among his colleagues and partly to the great sacrifices he has gone through in the past in order to improve the efficiency of this Organisation. I pray God that under his presidency this Conference will be completely successful.

I should also like to stress the great effort carried out by the Director-General to prepare the important annual Report in which full details can be found of what has been achieved by the Organisation during the past year and of its plans and possible activities for next year.

In this world where the conflicting forces of good and evil are in constant opposition, such international conferences are extremely necessary. Pakistan is convinced that the I.L.O. is one of the most essential branches of the United Nations and permits of a closer understanding of the various points of view, helping to overcome the forces of evil. All this is bound to
lead to a good constructive effort on behalf of mankind.

That is why, instead of wasting the energy of mankind by inventing destructive weapons, we should direct mankind to work for increased productivity and an improvement in quality which will promote social justice and reduce differences of classes and eventually lead to peaceful coexistence among us all. All this compels us here and in the United Nations to work seriously and sincerely with an eye to the future consolidation of world peace and to doing away with racist policies, forced labour, restriction of trade union freedom and the oppression of workers in all parts of the world.

It is my firm conviction that without an effort to secure social justice among all classes in the world there will not be any world peace and the forces of good and evil will continue to be in permanent and constant opposition. Therefore, I pray this Conference to adopt instruments and decisions—which Members will have to apply—to organise better relations between workers and employers. This would guarantee the worker's rights and would oblige him to respect his duties towards his work and country. This would also increase the national revenue of each country and, consequently, world revenue as a whole.

I was also very happy that in his Report the Director-General pointed out the necessity of reducing the economic gap between the less developed and the fully developed countries, as well as the obligation for wealthier countries to offer unconditional economic aid to the less developed countries. I should like to add that the Organisation should do its best to encourage disarmament and to direct the funds now spent on armaments towards development projects for the welfare of the world as well as for the prosperity of mankind.

The Director-General's Report sets out what has been done by the Organisation to improve manpower. This effort deserves our gratitude and consideration. However, I think it is the duty of the Organisation to redouble its efforts in this field because an improvement in the human resources of any country, by means of occupational training or of the efficient use of manpower, is the most important aspect of its work in aiding these countries towards progress and economic development. My Government supports what is said in the Director-General's Report concerning the increase in aid to be given to the trade unions and the improvement of their status, because trade unions can be considered as the backbone of man-power.

Being confident in this policy despite the limited economic possibilities of my Government, we have reserved a reasonable proportion of our state budget this year to helping the trade union movement in Jordan.

As to the establishment of social security programmes in all countries, in our opinion this is the artery that nourishes all employees. It is for this reason that I suggest that the Organisation should send experts into the field in every country every time it is possible to do so.

With regard to that part of the Director-General's Report concerning international labour Conventions and Recommendations, my Government believes that the earlier Conventions which have not been put in force should be modified and the more complicated ones should be simplified by the appropriate committee. When adopting a Convention the Organisation must take into account the various ways in which it can be applied and must make it more flexible so that it can be put into practice in other member countries.

As regards certain fields, I think that the Organisation should increase the effort it is making in this field, particularly in the developing countries, because workers' education has a beneficial effect on economic development and on the improvement of relations between workers and employers.

Regarding the form of the Conference as discussed in the Report, my Government is in favour of maintaining the Conference in its present tripartite form and maintaining it as the supreme organ of the I.L.O. It is also in favour of keeping the Governing Body as it is at present constituted.

After these few remarks on the Director-General's Report, I should like to talk about the achievements of the workers' movement in Jordan during the past year: the payment of a weekly holiday for all workers in ordinary undertakings; the fixing of working hours at a maximum of eight hours in all undertakings; the right of the family to an allowance in relation to the worker's length of service with the firm when the worker dies as a result of an accident sustained outside work; the establishment of the principle of instituting contingency funds in all firms.

In its desire to favour and safeguard the interests of the trade union movement in our country, the Government has contributed to the building of premises for the General Federation of Trade Unions. This has enabled the number of registered trade unions to be increased, thus allowing all the industrial sectors of Jordan to be included.

On the basis of the constructive democratic policy pursued by His Majesty's Government, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour has prepared a Social Security Bill which is shortly to come into force.

Relations between Jordan and the I.L.O. reflect the Government of Jordan's conviction of the sacred importance of this Organisation. Moreover, Jordan has ratified most I.L.O. Conventions and applies most of the Recommendations.

Although the workers' movement in Jordan has made enormous progress in a short space of time, we feel a great need for the aid of the Organisation in certain fields, especially since the economic, technical and material resources of Jordan are limited. These are: to send experts to carry out workers' training in Jordan and to send trade union leaders abroad, as well as organising relations between workers and employers; to send every year a certain number of Jordanian workers to the Turin Centre, at the expense of the Organisation, and the holding of seminars in Arabic so that Arab workers can profit fully from them; to increase the number of specialised missions in Jordan for the training of the largest possible number of civil servants in the Labour Department for management, legislation and the workers'
movement; to send to Jordan an expert in labour problems. In fact, my Government intends to create an employment office in order to organise work and do away with unemployment.

In conclusion, I should like to wish the Conference success under Mr. Raza’s presidency. In the name of Jordan, I should also like to greet my colleagues in the delegations taking part in this Conference and to pray that God may guide us for the good of mankind.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. FIGUEIRAS (Workers’ delegate, Uruguay)—The Trade Union Confederation of Uruguay, which is a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers of the I.C.F.T.U., speaking in the name of the free and democratic workers of Uruguay, brings its greetings to this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference and expresses its most sincere wishes for the most complete success of its discussions and the resolutions it will adopt.

It is with great satisfaction that we note the inclusion, inter alia, of two items of maximum importance to the community—agrarian reform and the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. Although the former is scheduled only for general discussion, for a long time now we workers have set for ourselves very definite objectives towards which we must work: to set up as a minimum the necessary measures to stabilise the position of the peasants in their own surroundings where they can develop their own land, making available to them the means of production which will enable them to achieve a suitable and adequate standard of life in the light of the progress of science and modern technology so that they may become integrated into the economy of their respective countries as a social and economic factor of the first importance which will be fundamental to the progress of all developing countries.

When in 1962 we sent to the Office, through Mrs. Ana Figueroa, our plan for contribution to the economic and social development of Uruguay asking for technical advice on the subject, we said: “Our country, like the rest of Latin America, in this exceptional period of its history has no alternative other than to work towards a profound and far-reaching revolutionary evolution which will lead to a transformation of the very economic structure of the country, so that it will be able to meet fully the most urgent needs of the people. The other alternative is irremediable chaos and revolution with bloodshed as a prelude to attempts which it will be difficult to suppress to set up totalitarian régimes of the extreme right or the extreme left.”

If such evil prophecies have not as yet come true in my country it is simply because the people have repudiated such action and have been able to defend their republican institutions, but it is nevertheless just as true as ever that the failure of a lack of planning and measures which could lead to a solution of our problems—which have been considerably aggravated in recent days—and unless a future of progress and economic independence is held out to them which will restore public confidence to its normal level, the threat of such a fate hangs over our heads still.

Therefore we offer and pledge our unflagging support in the working out of standards which will lead at our next session to the adoption of a Convention on agrarian reform. Although our Parliament may be involved in the study of legislation which envisages the adoption of coherent measures to find solutions to the agrarian problem, nevertheless, we repeat, we give our full support to the adoption of such an instrument by the I.L.O.

As regards the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries, Uruguay has wide experience of the establishment of co-operatives, their development and their vitality. In our country we have mainly consumers’ co-operatives because it is they that provide rapid and direct solutions for the workers as regards the supply of food. Since the food industry is subject to speculation and thecornering of markets, the entire consumer population has been forced to ever-more pronounced and frequent abstention owing to the soaring prices of the vital necessities of life.

Of course, no matter how significant may be the degree of protection provided to our economy by consumers’ co-operatives they cannot do the whole job of a complete co-operative movement unless they are also in possession of the means of production and distribution. Thus the production co-operatives in Uruguay are mainly agricultural co-operatives which are fighting hard to achieve adequate prices for agricultural products, sparing no effort to eliminate the middleman—that parasite who works against our interests in the economic process of production.

In the field of industry we have, inter alia, the most outstanding example of what the force of the workers can do if it is directed towards a co-operative goal—the production co-operative in the meat industry, constituted entirely of capital contributed by workers and directed and administered by workers. I am referring to the Establecimientos Frigoríficos del Cerro, which is the factory in the meat sector which produces the greatest amount of foreign exchange for my country and which is undoubtedly the most striking example of what the co-operative movement is capable of in Latin America.

The sugar workers, in a common effort with agricultural and industrial workers, are seeking authorisation from the executive to set up in Paso Valdés, San José, a liquor factory which will solve the problem of insufficient production in the country. This effort is being made with joint participation, which is a variant of co-operative action.

However, we feel that this Conference should work in such a way that at the next session we can adopt a Convention which will lay down minimum standards for the legislation of each State Member of the I.L.O. as a token of respect and homage to the creators of the co-operative movement.

In order to protect and defend what we have already achieved, we must denounce here a situation which we have observed in the refrigeration industry and on which a very well documented exposé has been submitted. This is a flagrant violation of the standards
laid down in the Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery Convention, 1928, to the prejudice of the workers in the interior of the country, who do not enjoy the same conditions as workers in the capital as far as wages and social benefits are concerned. As my country has ratified this Convention, we feel it is a matter of basic importance to call attention to this matter before the competent authority. We are urging the Secretary-General to give the closest attention to this problem and, should it seem suitable, to refer the question to the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

In conclusion, we should like to say that we observed with a certain amount of surprise when we came to this Conference that we were included in a list of sponsors submitting a resolution on the protection of the rights of Spanish workers. We must say very clearly that at no time has our Confederation accepted or sponsored this proposed resolution. I do not know where it came from. As far as its content is concerned, we have no instruction as to the position we should adopt. Moreover, our world organisation, the I.C.F.T.U., has already expressed its opinion in this connection.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)
President: Mr. Gurinovich

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL:
DISCUSSION (cont.)

Interpretation from Russian: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Gurinovich)—We now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Mr. ZAIDI (Workers' delegate, Malaysia)—When I spoke at the 48th Session of this Conference I referred to the great merger which united the peoples of the Malayan, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak states into one single State of Malaysia. This freely expressed verdict of 11 million peoples, recognised by the United Nations and accepted and acknowledged by all the free and democratic nations of the world has, however, been challenged by our nearest neighbour, the Indonesian Government.

Being not content merely to accept reality, the Indonesian Government launched its so-called confrontation policy against Malaysia. As a result, regular incidents including bomb explosions and landings of Indonesian infiltrators and saboteurs on Malaysian shores have become the order of the day. But such is the degree of dedication and determination of the peoples of Malaysia to defend their liberty and freedom that 11 million of them have gladly and courageously accepted this challenge from a nation of 100 millions. And, needless to say, the workers of Malaysia have been foremost in this display of loyalty and devotion to their country. Forever on guard to protect their liberty and democracy, they have risen as one body to fight for their rights. And they would do no less, no matter from which quarter they were threatened.

Indeed it is a great pity and most unfortunate that the Malaysian Government, no doubt in its preoccupation with facing the Indonesian threat, has overlooked this factor and taken certain steps to deprive the Malaysian workers of their clear basic rights, in defence of which they have always stood.

The Asian Regional Organisation of the I.C.F.T.U., which sent a special mission to investigate the position earlier this month, referred to the measures which were enforced by the Government by a decree effective from 14 May 1965 as being of an extreme nature, and also described them as being in conflict and at variance with the principles of freedom of association as laid down by the international labour Conventions.

Before I refer to the Report of the Director-General I would also like to take this opportunity of touching upon the existing system and procedure for the selection of the Workers' delegate and advisers. The way the rules are at present, the Government has absolute power not only to select a delegate of its own liking, but also to delay the depositing of the credentials even of such a delegate to such an extent as to make it impossible for him to participate effectively in the International Labour Conference. To my mind, the selection procedure requires thorough examination. The workers should have complete freedom to select their own representatives. Puppets and false representatives of the workers can make no useful contribution to the work of the I.L.O., and it is my hope that the Director-General will find this point worthy of his necessary consideration. New rules should similarly be framed making it obligatory on the governments of member States to make provision for the same number of advisers to the Workers' delegate as for their own delegation.

Now, turning to the Director-General's Report, I find it most stimulating. It poses many problems and suggests various ways and means to overcome them. The Director-General must be complimented for preparing such a fine Report, and if I am critical of some of the points contained in his Report, it is not due to lack of appreciation on my part for his excellent work. It is perhaps owing to my own limited and narrow thinking and vision that I have been unable to see and appreciate them from a wider point of view.

For example, while we welcome the regionalisation of I.L.O. activities, and indeed I said as much during my speech last year, it is considered that three regional branches as proposed by the Director-General will not be sufficient. In Asia alone there is need to establish at least one more regional branch in the Far East. In this respect the I.L.O. must differentiate between the developed and developing countries and adjust and spread its work accordingly.

Last year trade unions all over the world expressed their satisfaction when the Director-General declared that the I.L.O. should carefully consider the opportunity of giving more
direct assistance to trade unions. However, the year under review saw little or no evidence of any such direct assistance. In fact, so far as Malaysia is concerned, despite our specific request for an I.L.O. seminar on trade union education, no definite progress has been made to date. Perhaps there is need further to consider the extent to which I.L.O. direct assistance to unions can be made available.

The Director-General's Report on human resources and economic development is of particular interest to us. We are happy to note the stronger emphasis he lays on improving living and working conditions to the extent compatible with the requirements of rapid economic development. We completely share his views. It is equally true to say that utilisation of human resources is a key factor in economic growth, which is dependent upon an accumulation of knowledge and skills, on fuller and more effective deployment and utilisation of manpower at all costs and in all sectors. It is unfortunate that, whereas everywhere greater emphasis is placed on investment in human resources in over-all development planning, the governments of certain countries are still doing little or nothing in this respect. They still do not appreciate the value of labour and the part it plays in all their development plans. Although spending huge sums on material and machinery, they refuse to invest even a tiny amount in the human resources available to them. Nor do they appreciate the need of enlisting popular support for the tasks of national development and the participation of broad social groups in them, as suggested by the Director-General in his Report. Without any consultations with labour in regard to economic planning and without labour's co-operation and ideas as to how best human resources can be utilised, the prospects for the successful completion of a country's development plans cannot be regarded as very bright. We would welcome it if the Director-General placed further emphasis on this point in his dealings with the respective governments.

To this end, we would wish that the I.L.O. should not merely act as a guide. It should occasionally adopt the role of a mentor. When member States, after having been provided with all the help and information they need, still refuse to act, the I.L.O. must be bold enough to criticise them openly, and the Director-General, in making his yearly Report, should make special mention of such countries. We believe that it is only by exposing the countries which persistently ignore and flout the I.L.O.'s principles to international ridicule that there can be any hope of them ever coming alive to their sense of responsibilities and obligations towards labour.

The Director-General's proposals for improving the quality of the labour force are really praiseworthy. His plans for and emphasis on short- and medium-term vocational training are going to be very useful so far as we in Malaysia are concerned. However, in order to make full use of such training it is essential that the workers should be permitted to attend courses without any loss of wages or seniority. The I.L.O. must recommend that special facilities in this respect should be provided for the workers and that they should be encouraged to participate in such projects. Their selection should be made in consultation with their national trade union centre. In fact, so far, Malaysia is concerned, despite our specific request for an I.L.O. seminar on trade union education, no definite progress has been made to date. Perhaps there is need further to consider the extent to which I.L.O. direct assistance to unions can be made available.

With regard to the development of social institutions, we are happy to note the clear statement in this respect made by the Director-General in his Report.

Very often governments overlook the basic principle that efforts for economic and social development must be undertaken with the active participation of the interested parties, and deny the workers' organisations this legitimate right and freedom. We therefore warmly welcome the five major objectives of I.L.O. action in this field. We particularly acclaim the I.L.O.'s desire for the growth of workers' organisations on a solid basis so that they are capable of playing an active part in the national effort for economic and social development. In some countries the trade union rules and by-laws are so harsh and restrictive that they make it impossible for an organisation of workers to exist. We believe that it is only with the collective support and enthusiasm of all sections of the population that such programmes can have an adequate and effective impact on the problems of underdevelopment.

The proposal to assist governments in developing administrative machinery for the examination and solution of differences which often arise between workers and employers is also welcomed. However, the Director-General's comment about taking into account the interests of the nation as a whole might well be abused by certain governments. Such governments would do well to take note of the Director-General's further comment, namely that "the goal of economic growth will not be attained or brought any nearer by the elimination of the very notion of conflict, but rather by attempting to prevent conflicts from arising or, when they do, by applying methods of conciliation, negotiation or arbitration in order to bring out and emphasise the elements in the situation on which a more fruitful cooperation might be built".

As regards the fourth objective proposed by the Director-General—to enhance the status of workers—we would press for urgent action by him to examine how the workers' legitimate concern with security of employment can be met. The adoption of the Recommendation concerning the termination of employment at the initiative of the employer by the Conference during 1963 has so far had no impact, at least not in my country where thousands of workers still remain in a state of constant fear, uncertainty and insecurity with regard to their employment. It is felt that urgent and specific action by the I.L.O. in this respect will perhaps bring about desired changes.
Apart from the question of security of employment, much remains to be done to improve the living and working conditions of the workers, particularly in the developing countries like Malaysia. We are therefore pleased to note from the Director-General's Report that the I.L.O. remains committed to ensuring that sufficient attention is paid to the improvement of conditions of life and work. To us the I.L.O.'s work in this area remains of paramount importance and, notwithstanding the views of certain spokesmen, this should not be given major priority, we feel that the I.L.O. should tackle this problem as expeditiously as possible. In this connection, I would like to quote the case of teachers, who, despite the I.L.O. expert committee's recommendations, still do not enjoy, in most cases, such basic facilities as housing, leave and sick benefits.

Whilst it may be true to say that the I.L.O.'s work in some countries has changed from protection in a negative sense to a more positive policy of promotion of measures for the workers' welfare, security and status, so far as most of the workers, particularly in the developing countries, are concerned, they still need and, I am afraid, will continue to need, the I.L.O.'s basic approach in such matters for some time to come. For there are thousands and thousands of workers still struggling hard to attain the barest minimum standards of living; there are still unbelievably wide gaps between the "have nots" and the "haves" all over the world. To such workers the terms such as "status", "security" and "welfare" remain only nebulous forms of wishful thinking. In this respect the I.L.O. has therefore an urgent task and, as the Director-General states in his Report, this being the keynote of the I.L.O.'s activities, the States concerned should be advised, as a matter of priority, on the means by which the worker's status can be enhanced, his living and working conditions improved, and his health safeguarded.

With regard to social security, the I.L.O. must not merely concern itself with carrying out surveys. In countries where such surveys have already been concluded and recommendations made by the governments concerned, it should develop a system to ensure that the labour and efforts spent on such surveys are not wasted and that the recommendations are put into practice as speedily as possible. For example, in Malaysia, where an I.L.O. expert made his recommendations on many social security measures and schemes some years ago, nothing has so far been done to implement them, in spite of constant pressure by the National Trade Union Centre.

As regards the need for I.L.O. action on new standards on matters of current importance, although I fully appreciate and support the Director-General's view that, international instruments being the backbone of the Organisation, their elaboration should continue to play an essential part in the I.L.O.'s work, I still feel that this task should not be accomodated to the detriment of efforts to apply the existing standards. And, whilst the remarks of the Director-General in this respect are reassuring, there are still grave doubts in many minds that the I.L.O. is truly doing all it can in this direction. There are many States which, despite their quick public pronouncements as adherents of the concept of democracy, have failed to guarantee even the minimum standards of basic rights as contained in some of the international labour Conventions to the workers in their countries. The I.L.O. should exert greater influence on such States, which continue to flout the principles by which the I.L.O. firmly stands. These States should be exposed and put to shame at this world forum. The I.L.O. should send its experts to such countries to make an on-the-spot study of the conditions prevailing therein. Once there the officers of the I.L.O. should not allow themselves merely to be conducted around by the representatives of the governments of such countries. They should also take the time and trouble to meet the representatives of workers and to have free and frank exchanges of views with them.

Within this context, I feel that the I.L.O. should consider the advisability of sending a mission to Malaysia to determine to what extent the basic rights of the workers are respected or denied. And if the mission were to make a true report on its return, I am sure it would have many revealing comments to make. For instance it would find that, whilst the Government of Malaysia has yet to ratify the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), it has by a recent decree withdrawn the most essential instrument from the hands of a large number of trade unions in the public sector and at the same time arbitrarily imposed compulsory arbitration in the private sector, without providing the usual safeguards essential for the success of such a system.

It is a matter of great regret to me to have to make for the first time, on behalf of the Malaysian workers, these rather unpleasant remarks about my country, but I do so to bring these matters to the notice of this august body, which is the greatest watchdog over workers' freedom throughout the world. I appeal to this body to be vigilant and ever more vigilant, to prevent the steady erosion of workers' basic and fundamental rights in many newly emerging countries under one pretext or another.

We still feel that if energetic efforts are made by the authorities concerned and urgent steps are taken to set up a joint special committee with a view to examining and recommending suitable measures which will respect workers' rights as well as the Government's problems, there may yet be found a solution of the problem which has caused serious discontent and frustration amongst the Malaysian workers.

Therefore, I leave this rostrum in the hope that wise counsel will prevail and that the good name of Malaysia as an outstanding example of parliamentary democracy, which she is beyond any doubt, will continue to be sustained.

**Interpretation from Spanish:** Mr. JARAIMILLO PÉREZ (Government delegate, Ecuador)—The delegation of Ecuador wishes to express its concern regarding various aspects
of the Director-General's Report. First of all, however, we wish to express our satisfaction at the efforts made by the I.L.O. Directorate in its plans for proposed action.

We all feel the need for adjusting the structure, programme and methods of work of the Organisation to the new conditions that have arisen in the world. Differences arise regarding the choice of the means to be employed and the extent to which the real adjustment is to go. If we are only to scratch the surface of the problem, then ordinary current measures will be sufficient. But if it is desired to go to the deep roots of the present maladjustment, particularly that which has arisen during the last ten years, then extraordinary measures will evidently have to be taken and very bold resolutions put into effect. The Director-General's interesting Report has not on this occasion, as it wished, provided "some fresh proposals and fresh ideas on those points which deserved some further examination". For obvious reasons, which we fully appreciate, it has dealt—and I am quoting again—"only with general questions of programme and structure". In other words, it has dealt only with some aspects of the surface of the problem. The Report goes on to say that it does not this year "seek to reopen a debate on more controversial matters"; consequently, it will not succeed in touching the real root of the maladjustment.

My delegation wishes to state its profound conviction that it will not be possible by superficial means alone to bring back to life some of the fundamental ideas on which the Organisation is built. We think that the readjustment must be both sufficiently extensive and sufficiently thorough; therefore, we also think that the general measures now proposed must be followed as soon as possible by the study and adoption of the specific action which must be taken with a view to the total readjustment of the Organisation.

Moreover, one should never lose sight of the fact that both superficial and general measures are the means and not the ends. They must lead on to the objective of reorientating the Organisation to make it a permanent organ for the improvement of the conditions of the workers. However, we believe that this improvement, in accordance with the Declaration of Philadelphia, must not be confined merely to material well-being, but extend also to spiritual well-being in conditions of freedom and dignity. This is why my delegation wishes to reaffirm its profound conviction that the I.L.O. should never forget or postpone the adoption of the specific action which must be taken with a view to the total readjustment of the Organisation.

An asset to the I.L.O. is its tripartite structure which is an appropriate instrument for the defence and promotion of freedom, but it would lose its efficiency if it were converted into no more than an external façade by manoeuvres which would not be accepted even as an extrapolation of the principle of universality.

I should now like to discuss briefly some aspects of the operational programme. The objectives set in the Report will certainly extend the scope of the I.L.O.'s work and carry it into new fields. This requires the Office to establish the machinery which will enable it to deal with the development of human resources, social institutions and conditions of life and work.

My Government would like to establish, for its part, a national office for contacts with this new kind of I.L.O. activity. It therefore asks the Organisation to provide the main lines and the advice which will be necessary to put this scheme into effect.

We consider it a wise step to seek to decentralise the work of the I.L.O. by establishing regional offices to study actual conditions in groups of similar countries which require particular solutions.

We are also glad that the opportunity has been offered to discuss the problems of agrarian reform with special regard to the social and employment aspects, because the greatest part of the population of developing countries is engaged in agriculture. These workers deserve special attention from the I.L.O., and therefore we believe that it is necessary to encourage the countries which have included agrarian reform in their development plans, because they regard an effective change in agrarian structures as a basic condition for the improvement of agriculture and of the country as a whole.

This matter is closely linked with another sensible passage in the Report regarding the development of independent representative organisations which will enable all sectors of the population to help in promoting economic progress and to share in its benefits. Having regard to the I.L.O.'s experience in co-operative development, we believe that it should not only provide advice on the subject but should also bring together the general principles and practices which will enable the developing countries to make the fullest and most satisfactory and effective use of their manpower.

My country and its Government have in the last two years moved forward in the execution of our general development plan, and we consider it necessary to promote a change in social structures, particularly as regards the system of land tenure. We have started important schemes aimed at improving the social position of the agricultural workers, and the measures worked out in this regard have already been put into effect and proved their value.

However, the important thing for developing countries, whose economy is based on agriculture and in many cases, on a single crop, is to remember Section IV of the Declaration of Philadelphia, which relates to greater stability in world prices of primary products.

When one studies the labour situation of a country, one cannot be content with merely knowing its labour code or comparable source of law; one must also have regard to the whole body of legislation which affects the labour field; nor should one restrict oneself to law alone, but examine the complex social structure of the particular people.

It would be desirable for the I.L.O. to establish permanent teams of workers to study the legal and social situation in this field and give any advice on the subject for which they might be asked. This would stimulate the
work done or in course of performance by special bodies or individuals.

Although the Conventions and Recommendations lay down basic requirements, regarding labour relations there is a lack of rules to give effect to these instruments which should have regard to the social and economic peculiarities of each country. The advice and guidance of the I.L.O. would be very valuable in this work.

The need for surveys and investigations, particularly in countries which lack full records and statistics, leads one to realise the need for the education and training of the persons who will have to fill that gap. Once this has been done, the I.L.O. will be able to act adequately and effectively in the performance of its duties.

In the field of social law, and particularly in connection with the agenda of the present session, my Government is putting forward a body of legislative reforms, the text of which has been sent to the I.L.O. with a view to distribution in the Conference. I should like to mention the following recent achievements of my country in this field: (a) the Agrarian and Land Settlement Reform Acts of 23 July and 28 September 1964, which open the way to improving the position of peasants, who form the majority of the population of Ecuador; (b) the 1964 reform of the compulsory Social Insurance Scheme, which extends insurance to fresh classes such as unemployed handicraftsmen, to domestic employees and professional workers, and also to risks which were not previously covered; (c) as regards the protection of women, the Act of 19 January 1965 protects the mother when pregnancy commences and gives her the right to appeal to the children's courts for financial assistance during pregnancy; (d) the reforming legislation of 29 October and 18 December 1964 sets up a body of safeguards for the workers, with particular regard to employment stability and remuneration; (e) the reforms of 25 March and 5 May 1965 improve the safeguards laid down in the Labour Code of 1938. They provide for appropriate administrative machinery and an improvement in labour dispute procedures with a view to improvements in these two fields in the light of the experience obtained in the 27 years since the Code was first introduced; (f) the Social Insurance Scheme was also reformed in 1964 with a view, inter alia, to unifying the various funds.

Not only have the workers and employers taken part in the formulation and adoption of the above labour laws, but we have also had advice and suggestions from the competent I.L.O. bodies, and are extremely grateful for this invaluable assistance.

I should like in closing to congratulate the President on the honour conferred upon him and to express the determination of my country and Government to continue along the path of freedom and progress for the benefit of the workers, since unemployment and under-employment are a matter of deep concern to us.

*Interpretation from Hungarian: Mr. MEKIS (Government delegate, Hungary)—May I first of all congratulate the President on his election. Thanks to his eminent abilities, I am sure this session will proceed most fruitfully.*
Over and above the creation of an appropriate political atmosphere, and the abolition of discrimination, the existence of which has been proved by experience, it is necessary also to reform the structure of the I.L.O. as soon as possible. It is not sufficient to change the composition of the Office; we must also revise the whole structure and the procedures of the Organisation. Universalism must prevail throughout the organs and institutions of the Organisation, as must democratic practices. If certain States are excluded from the business of the Organisation and if all interested parties do not participate, for instance, in the Employers' or Workers' groups, then democracy cannot take root in the Organisation's procedures and resolutions cannot be adopted with the support of all parties concerned. This hampers and will continue to hamper the Organisation's activities.

It is impossible to sidestep the fact that it is the States themselves which have established the Organisation, and they not only demand to do their duty but also to have their rights respected.

The Hungarian Government believes that the I.L.O.'s programme requires reform, and that this reform should be in accordance with the needs of our time. We agree with the targets mentioned in Part I of the Director-General's Report. There is no doubt that the full utilisation of manpower resources, the development of social institutions and the improvement of living and working conditions are all matters of great significance, and these problems have certain aspects to which I would like to devote further time. I do not think anyone would deny the close relationship which exists between economic expansion and manpower resources, and the need for adequate utilisation of these resources cannot be denied.

The implementation of more comprehensive and adequate development plans depends largely on the adequate utilisation of manpower resources; planning this is a highly complex matter, and a number of factors need to be taken into consideration such as the demographic situation, the composition of existing manpower by occupation, age and sex, the evolution of occupational structures over a period of time, and ways of effecting such a solution for long-term development planning. Our country and other socialist countries have gained experience in this field over a period of many years. Our medium-term (five-year) plans and our long-term plans with regard to manpower policy take into account the requirements of economic development and the evolution of the manpower situation, and envisage measures to ensure perfect harmony between these two factors. We should be glad if the Organisation were to devote more effort to the organisation of conferences and seminars, and also in the field of scholarships and publications. In this regard also we are prepared to offer every assistance to the International Labour Office.

Another problem closely connected with economic development, which many might rightly term the problem of our time, is that technical development is far more rapid than the evolution of institutions and of the content of vocational training. I do not think that any country has been unaffected by this problem and its solution. Hungary has done a lot in this field and has already obtained results. A similar situation exists in a number of other countries, and we are convinced that if they concentrated their isolated efforts they could obtain better results. In close co-operation with U.N.E.S.C.O., perhaps, the I.L.O. might do a useful job.

Finally, there is a world-wide trend, namely the disappearance of the major differences between the town and the countryside. In some countries, such as ours, this trend is already considerably advanced; in other countries it has barely begun. There is no doubt, however, that this trend will increase in those countries too, and this raises a number of questions, including the establishment of communal institutions, the development of vocational training, and the provision of social security. It is the opinion of my Government that the Organisation should attach great importance to this thorough study. This relates particularly to international labour standards; a few decades ago, discrimination against agricultural workers was, if not justified, nevertheless capable of being explained, but nowadays the preservation of the situation would present a cruel injustice. It would be useful to formulate an effective strategy in this connection.

As regards the Organisation's activities in the field of technical co-operation, the Hungarian Government endorses the ideas expressed in the Director-General's Report, in so far as they can be carried out without any discrimination. This activity is of increasing importance for the developing countries. Justice demands that the countries which for centuries enjoyed the profits of colonialism and whose domination led to so many difficulties for the dependent countries should bear the brunt of giving technical assistance through the United Nations and specialised agencies to overcome this backwardness. We of the socialist countries have never owned any colonies and we are following with anxious interest the attempts of neo-colonialism to gain a foothold. We are therefore fully aware of the need to assist in this task. The reports published by the Office concerning its own activities are the best possible proof of the political discrimination which is being practised by the I.L.O.

The Hungarian Government is positively in favour of study trips and international seminars under the auspices of the I.L.O. The experience of the study trip and seminar organised in Hungary shows that they lead to a widening of co-operation, and to the exchange and utilisation of experience in the solution of a number of problems.

The 48th Session of the Conference adopted resolutions of great importance on the question of apartheid. We endorse the Conference's Declaration on apartheid as well as the efforts the Organisation has made to eliminate this practice. Our country, which is a member of the special United Nations committee to study the question of apartheid, has always condemned this shameful and dangerous attitude. We also endorse any programme that would secure the rights of peoples subjected to oppression.

The Organisation has vast tasks to carry out,
and that is why we approve all that the Director-General wishes to do in co-ordinating the I.L.O.'s activities with other international organisations—the United Nations Economic and Social Council, U.N.E.S.C.O., and the F.A.O. We attach great importance to co-operation with the Committee set up by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and we think that our Organisation can fulfil a number of important tasks in this field too. Better use should be made of available resources, and administrative costs should be cut down, thereby limiting the excessive increase in each year's budget.

So that all these tasks may be successfully carried out, it is necessary first of all to preserve peace, promote better understanding and extend co-operation. In this regard the I.L.O. must make further efforts. It must protest energetically against any action which may provoke war, hot or cold, in any part of the world, or impede the development of co-operation. There are certain circles that are always prepared to reactivate the cold war and who claim that a limited conflict does not endanger world peace. These dangerous views are now being translated into action, as seen in the present events in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic. I do not think there is any need to stress further that the conflict in Viet-Nam constitutes a serious threat to the whole world, and I do not need to point out the harmful effects of American aggression on international co-operation.

The task of promoting the well-being of humanity requires immense material means. However much we increase the budget of the Organisation it will be insufficient to resolve the various problems that the developing countries have to face, and that is why it is urgent to stress the importance of disarmament, which would release vast material resources permitting the achievement of these tasks. At the same time the available resources must be used in the most economical manner so that the largest possible portion may directly serve those to whom the Organisation wishes to give real support. It is necessary to mobilise all available forces to carry out these tasks and this requires the principle of universality to be enforced within this Organisation.

In the opinion of the Hungarian Government, those are the decisive fields in which the Organisation should concentrate its activities, besides its concrete programmes and other activities, for these are the guarantees that the principal programmes of the Organisation will be put into effect. We are convinced—and that is the spirit in which we make these remarks—that the Organisation, if this reform is carried out in accordance with the requirements of the present day, will be able to fulfil the noble aims set out in the Constitution and will certainly succeed in so doing.

Mr. KIBUKA (Workers' delegate, Uganda)—I should like fully to associate myself with the remarks that have been made to the President and other participants at this Conference, and, in the name of the Uganda workers, organised under the banner of the Federation of Uganda Trade Unions, an affiliate of the A.A.T.U.P., congratulate him most warmly. His election is a tribute not only to his capabilities but also to his country. I wish also to convey the fraternal greetings of the Uganda workers and their good wishes for the success of the Conference, which brings together in unity men and women of different nationalities, tongues, political and religious beliefs, races, ideologies and social classes—but having only one aim, namely to pool their ideas and aims in order to improve the well-being of mankind. I am grateful for this opportunity to address this august Conference in order to state the views of the Uganda workers on the Director-General's Report.

We are particularly interested in the section dealing with Africa which sets out a group of objectives calculated to enable the I.L.O. to play a role benefiting the newly emerging countries which have only recently appeared on the international scene. However, we come with our demands, the greatest of which is the much needed reform of the I.L.O. itself. In our opinion the I.L.O. appears to have lost touch with the realities of the contemporary world. We believe that the I.L.O. cannot remain outside the great changes that are taking place in the world today. The colonial era is past and gone. The I.L.O. should keep away from all traces of imperialism. Therefore, we demand the deletion of article 35 of the Constitution which provides that the right of a colonial Power to ratify international labour Conventions without being bound to apply them in its colonies, together with the deletion of other sections of the Constitution which are applied in order to deprive the African working peoples of a voice in the Organisation.

We believe further that the I.L.O. can only be effective if it begins to function as an organically universal body. We in Uganda wish the I.L.O. to continue to play a positive role and that is why we have sought to bring into the open a few of its shortcomings.

The Director-General's report on South Africa is rather interesting. It should have shown more clearly, however, that where capitalist exploitation and racial oppression prevail, freedom of employment, trade union rights and the aspirations of the workers for a better life do not exist. It is also regrettable that the report fails far short of the spirit of the Declaration which authorised the Governing Body to request the Director-General to prepare it. In our opinion, the report ignores the true causes of the situation in South Africa and is most hesitant about putting forward proposals, as requested in the Declaration. We therefore demand—and I repeat that we demand—that this Conference take positive steps for the right of a colonial Power to ratify international labour Conventions without being bound to apply them in its colonies, together with the deletion of other sections of the Constitution which are applied in order to deprive the African working peoples of a voice in the Organisation.

I should now like to touch on that section which deals with workers' education. The need for this, particularly in Africa, is only too evident. With economic development, the importance and dynamism of the African trade union movement has to some extent been demonstrated in the Conference and especially in the Workers' group.

We request the setting up of new workers' training centres by the other participating countries by the other participants at this Conference, and, in the name of the Uganda workers, organised under the banner of the Federation of Uganda Trade Unions, an affiliate of the A.A.T.U.P.,
must reflect the pattern of economic development in that continent and possibly take account of the indigenous environment. That is why we demand that this education programme for the African worker should not necessarily be a copy of any other from abroad. We cannot copy from abroad patterns that may not suit our needs and conditions.

We are not unmindful of the assistance the I.L.O. has rendered in the carrying out of this task, in which some contribution must be attributed to employers' representatives, and so on. We want to see more of these workers' colleges established in co-operation with the genuine representatives of the African workers. The Uganda workers are also aware that most governments have apprenticeship schemes for the training of artisans. It is open to speculation, however, whether the rate of technical education is fast enough in relation to our rapid economic development. That is why the Uganda workers feel that the I.L.O. must expand and intensify its activities, or else it will be too late. We believe that the workers have a very important and positive role to play in the realisation of our economic development, since it is our opinion that rapid industrialisation is the only solution for Africa's problems—namely poverty, disease, ignorance and the exploitation of its resources by foreigners.

It is well known that there is no general scheme of social security in Africa today. An African worker is perhaps in an inferior position in this regard vis-à-vis his counterpart in European countries. I hesitate to digress from my main theme, but I believe that the problem of social security looms large in most of the developing countries and all over the world. I am only too pleased to inform this Conference that my Government has already embarked upon this important project and its report is now out. It is being studied by both employers' and workers' organisations. Both the workers' and the employers' organisations are looking forward to the day when this report will be implemented.

A further source of satisfaction is the fact that all African member States of this Organisation and independent, and at this juncture I wish to welcome the new member States—Zambia, Malawi, Malta and Yemen. I only hope that they too will participate fully in and enjoy the benefit of their membership of this Organisation.

Many of these countries have just acquired their independence—not only the supreme objective in the political sphere but also an essential phase in the just struggle for social justice and progress and for the urgently needed improvement in economic welfare. It is but natural that we expect that the peoples on African soil who are still under colonial domination and still struggling very hard, and often with the greatest human sacrifice for that lofty goal, will become free to determine and shape the history of their countries. My speech would be incomplete if I did not mention some of those countries, such as Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, so-called Portuguese Guinea and Southern Rhodesia.

I have always noted with a great deal of sympathy the Director-General's request that we should avoid political issues at the Conference but I must confess that my sympathy is divided between the Director-General and those who believe that labour problems are so closely related to politics that it would be unrealistic to try to separate them. For instance, on the African Continent the principles of the International Labour Organisation regarding freedom of association, freedom of choice of employment, and so on, should be interpreted on the basis of local conditions.

**Interpretation from French:** Mr. ALLOT ABOUT (Government delegate, Ivory Coast)—On coming to this rostrum I should like in my turn, and in the name of my delegation, to extend to the President my sincere congratulations on his election, which is an honour to him individually and to the country which he represents at this Conference.

I read the remarkable Report of the Director-General with growing interest and appreciation. It would be sufficient to read the Director-General's Report attentively for the most doubtful to be convinced by the fervour, the impassioned enthusiasm and the seething of myriad ideas and projects which follow from the contact of all people with the problems of economic development and social progress. This Report has been very useful in enabling us to sum up and co-ordinate all our ideas on our achievements and future projects.

The satisfaction we gained from reading it is increased when we see how well the work carried out by our States has been assessed, as regards both the most acute problems and the more delicate nuances, by the directorate of an Organisation of which the least that can be said is that it has contributed to a very large extent to the growing awareness of the aims and means of social progress.

My country is experiencing at this time the worries and the hopes inherent in the implementation of any policy of economic development and social progress. The problems evoked in the general Report which is before us are our problems. They are numerous and all of them are urgent and pressing, barely giving our leaders time to appreciate the results achieved by the direction taken and the effectiveness of the measures adopted.

In effect, the industrial and agricultural expansion of my country is experiencing an unprecedented boom. The income of the people is increasing regularly and appreciably. But at the same time it is necessary to remedy the shortage of skilled manpower, to put into effect a policy of vocational training capable of reaching the objectives set by our development plans, and in order also to reduce the unemployment due to the influx into the urban centres of people from the interior of the country and to maintain conditions of harmonious development through well-balanced action carried out over the whole of our national territory.

We must face the problems of population growth, the education of the rising generations and the elimination of illiteracy. We must strengthen the administration and supervision of working conditions by a policy of personnel training, along with the preparation of effective legislation and regulations.
In order to meet the problems which arise, the authorities of the Ivory Coast are working unceasingly to establish priorities, to create the various bodies and institutions necessary in order that they may follow the path they have set themselves for economic development and social progress.

But while development has as its foundations generalised social welfare, nevertheless there are very grave concerns and problems to be met, and not only in the case of those who have to work out the rules and implement the plans. The growing population is affected in the very heart of its most traditional habits by being suddenly thrown into this whirlpool of a world in progress.

While, in general, development is expressed by economic expansion, vocational training, trade union activities, the extension of educational arrangements, it involves the individual in a whole series of problems in daily life which have to be solved by a policy of social progress.

By this I mean the necessary adaptation of social structures, particularly the family unit, and the protection of individuals and families in the difficulties arising out of life in an urban milieu, through housing policy, a policy of social welfare and an increase in financial means which will enable them to meet their increased needs.

The Ivory Coast has become aware of the need to carry out economic development and social progress in parallel.

In 1964 two instruments were adopted which indicate this objective it has set itself: the Civil Code and the Labour Code.

The Civil Code gives to the citizen of the Ivory Coast the basis of a family organisation, on which he can increase his participation in economic and social development. The family unit is restored as a centre of interest and as the future of the people.

The Labour Code regulates conditions under which such participation will take place. On the personal level, it defines conditions under which work should be carried out. On the general level, it defines the level within which trade union action should take place and how labour conflicts should be regulated.

In the near future there will be a Social Welfare Code which will consolidate the guarantees afforded to the workers against social risks, until there is progressively implemented a scheme of social security which will make it possible for the worker to throw himself heart and soul into the battle for the development of his country, without fearing that he will fall victim to any of the risks which might interrupt his work.

While the Civil Code is a new instrument, the Labour Code merely transfers to the new setting of an independent country a great deal of the legislation which existed in the past as a result of the standards laid down by the International Labour Office. We are particularly concerned with creating, and at the same time consolidating and extending, what has already met the test of experience, but we are still very much interested in other people's experience and what it may teach us. Therefore we are particularly interested in the desire to adapt itself which the I.L.O. has shown both as concerns the new organisation of the Office into departments and the planned decentralisation into regional services.

We hope this adaptation will make it possible for the Organisation to achieve in the future an even better adaptation of its work to meet the needs of each. This decentralisation, certainly, will first take effect in operational activities in conjunction with governments or national organisations.

However, it would be desirable if this closer knowledge of the context in which the development of our countries is taking place could lead to decentralisation of the standard-setting activity through the preparation of regional instruments.

These instruments would, of course, safeguard human rights and the dignity of the individual, but in so far as concerns the ways and means by which these goals are to be achieved regional instruments would reflect the stages of our struggles and our efforts without appearing too ambitious and too foreign to us.

I do not doubt that the constant efforts which the leaders of this Organisation have made, and the desire of all the Members, will help to point out the ways by which human progress can best be achieved.

*Interpretation from Portuguese: Mr. LOPES de OLIVEIRA (Workers' delegate, Brazil)—The Brazilian Workers' delegation wishes to express its admiration for the Director-General whose excellent Report we are now discussing. It is the pleasant duty of paying that compliment which brings me to the rostrum, where I feel a duly modest sense of my own deficiencies in the presence of so many illustrious officials and experts in labour law. In addition to valuable juridical and technical considerations, the Report states conclusions which entirely correspond to the views and claims set forward by the workers in my country. Furthermore, this fine essay shows that the I.L.O. gives due weight to the humanitarian spirit which must inform both the sources and the embodiments of all law affecting the working class. Such is indeed the policy followed in the labour and social security legislation of Brazil. My delegation notes with great satisfaction that the Report remains in complete conformity with the objective principles on which the I.L.O. is based. It brings out the extreme importance of human resources, and recognises the urgent need to stimulate the development of labour law by means of research and surveys leading up to specific relevant action. The urgent advisability of reforming and energising the methods of action of the I.L.O. is recognised by our delegation. We fully endorse the opinion of the Director-General that the purpose of the I.L.O. for the individual does not end with the affirmation and protection of his fundamental rights, but must extend also to “the means by which the worker’s status can be enhanced, his living and working conditions improved, his health safeguarded”. Similar views are held by the present Brazilian trade union movement, since we are fighting for the review of our social legislation, particularly the Labour Code and the main Social Security Act. We demand that legal
pronouncements shall not remain on paper, but
that the principles expressed in statutory
instruments shall be translated into effective
rights for the workers without restrictions im-
posed by subsequent regulations.

It is only fair that we should recognise the
interest taken by the Brazilian Government in
correcting and eliminating social injustice in
the rural areas where the greater part of the
population of Brazil lives in very poor con-
ditions. Although most of the workers are not
covered by social security, we still lack the
regulations which will give full and final effect
to the Statute of Rural Workers. This will
soon regulate the relations between them and
their employers. After enormous efforts in
which the Government, experts and represent-
atives of the classes concerned took part, the
Land Statute has been adopted by Parliament.
It will do much to correct the past situation
and ensure that the land fulfills its social func-
tion.

Although we can be optimistic one must agree
that much depends on the employers, for many
of these lack the understanding which is essen-
tial for true and effective social justice on the
land. We hope that all countries, whether
developed or not, will take a positive attitude
towards this question, so that no land remains
without a worker and no worker without land.

The observations made in the Report regard-
ing the close relationship which there must be
between national economic development pro-
grames and the parallel improvement of the
living and social conditions of the workers are
also in striking agreement with the views of
our trade union organisations which are quite
independent of political interests and free from
demagogic doctrinal influences, which are in-
deed increasingly repudiated by the Brazilian
workers who are inspired by religious and
democratic sentiments.

The present Report will provide important
elements to reinforce the firm, wise and lawful
action of the working class organisations of my
country, since it analyses social phenomena
closely related to the fight against inflation, the
problems of unemployment, the shortage of
skilled labour, the social situation of the rural
workers and the relations between public
authorities and occupational organisations. The
views of the Director-General on the importance
to be attached, when public authorities are
planning the general development of a country,
to investments which will develop human re-
sources are particularly strongly endorsed by
my delegation since his conclusions correspond
closely to the spirit underlying claims which we
ourselves make to the Brazilian authorities.
These claims are formulated with the high
intention of reconciling workers' aspirations for
better and fairer social conditions with govern-
ment programmes aimed at the immediate and
intensive economic and financial recovery of
our country.

The prospects of learning a valuable lesson
from the above doctrines seem good to the
Workers' delegation of Brazil, since our Govern-
ment is implementing the intention which it had already expressed of maintaining a sincere
dialogue between the State and the various
social groups. Its plan in this regard includes
the enactment of a new Collective Agreement

Act, the reform of the basic Social Security Act
and the payment of 13 months' wages every
year. In so doing the Government will be
acting in accordance with the recommendation
in the Report that the authorities responsible
for labour matters might well take a new line
under which the organisations representing the
various social groups would share in the tradi-
tional functions of the public authorities,
including research, regulation and supervision
of conditions of work and defence of the rights
of the working people.

We also attach exceptional interest, because of
its wisdom and timeliness, to the Director-
General's exemplary warning that governments
and public authorities should not seek to
eliminate the very notion of social conflict, but
must urgently aim at preventing such conflicts
from breaking out or at least at finding a
solution for them. Encouraged by these con-
siderations and others of unanswerable logic
which are to be found in the Report, our trade
union organisations will intensify their research
and action in the defence of those they repre-
sent, and with a view to a wider and more
effective application of the obligations laid
down in Conventions and Recommendations.
The Brazilian Workers' delegation is confi-
dent that Brazilian workers, associated as
they are in free and democratic organisations,
will develop the best of their abilities to ob-
jectively prove the entire correctness of the
statements made in the Report, for we have no
doubt that the Brazilian Government also
agrees with another of the Director-General's
valuable statements: "It is, I submit, the
governments themselves, in view of their
key role in the whole process of economic and
social planning and programming, which are
best placed to encourage the development of
social organisations and to associate them
effectively with the task of national construc-
tion."

In concluding these modest remarks in the
name of the Brazilian Workers' delegation, I
would express my firm conviction that the just
and humane principles set out in the Report
will be endorsed by the distinguished delegates
to this great Conference, and that they will
proclaim similar intentions inspired by the very
first of the reasons for the existence of the
International Labour Organisation: "... uni-
versal and lasting peace can be established only
if it is based upon social justice ..."

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. HERN-
ÁNDEZ CARDONA (Government delegate,
Guatemala)—I have been charged by the
Government delegations of Costa Rica,
Honduras and Guatemala, which are members
of the Council of Labour and Social Welfare
of the Organisation of Central American States
(O.D.E.C.A.), to comment on the Director-
General's Report.

You may wonder why the Government
delegations which I represent have acted in this
way. The reply is very simple. The five Central
American countries, by common accord, are
spending not only national, but also regional,
and social integration of the region, an effort which
is the result of the historic, geographic, political,
social and economic bonds which unite them.
No country in the world is, I think, unaware of the interest which the five republics of Central America are showing in regional progress, given the revolutionary revolution and which has meant that they have assumed a formal commitment for the development of their countries in concrete terms. This involves the restructuring of the whole area on solid, well-disciplined and closely co-ordinated bases, in a forward-looking manner and with faith in the future, through a policy of harmonious coexistence, and with a real effort to achieve the objectives.

The final goal is to meet the aspirations of the population for progress. To this end, efforts are being made to create modern conditions and opportunities which will ensure a greater economic potential and greater social opportunities so as to meet with dignity the desire of the people for work and land, housing, food, clothes, health, education, culture, security, sound labour relations, freedom of movement and association, which will promote a dynamic institutional system based on proper programming for social and economic development in a peaceful and well-balanced atmosphere.

It would take too long to go into a detailed description of everything which has been achieved in this connection by the Central American countries. However, we think that we should lay special stress on the social objectives and the programmes which are being implemented to discharge the heavy responsibility which the five countries of Central America have assumed.

In order to examine the social situation of the five Central American countries which are members of the General Agreement of Economic Integration, the General Secretariat of the Organisation of Central American States (O.D.E.O.A.) convened the first meeting of the Ministers of Labour of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala in San Salvador in April and May 1964.

At this conference they decided on the creation of the Central American Council of Labour and Social Welfare as a subsidiary body of the Organisation of Central American States. The Council will adopt resolutions aimed at the unification of the structures of the Ministries of Labour and the social security institutions as a first goal in the formulation of legislation common to the five countries and in accordance with the advances of modern technology and social development, using as a basis the I.L.O. instruments.

The Ministers of Labour also decided to set up two regional technical commissions, one on labour questions and the other on social security, consisting of experts from the Ministries of Labour and the social security institutions of the five countries, with the specific purpose of carrying out all the preliminary studies necessary and submitting to the Central American Council of Labour and Social Welfare the texts of resolutions to be adopted with a view to the improvement of institutional structures and to the formulation of common labour legislation appropriate to the social conditions in Central America.

These technical regional commissions have held two meetings in which they examined labour administration programmes and aspects of social security resulting in the formulation of a Central American Convention which will be submitted to the next meeting of the Ministers of Labour which will take place in Guatemala City in August this year.

It was with great pleasure that the government delegates of the five Central American countries, when they examined the Report of the Director-General, observed that some of the aspirations which are already included in the Central American programmes had been outlined in the Report.

We can say that we give full support to the statement of the Director-General that "The interdependence of economic and social development is obvious. Without the first, a better and fuller life is not possible; without the second, economic growth would lack the necessary impetus and its crowning purpose—the full realisation of human potentialities ".

We are in favour of integrated economic and social development, where both aspects would be studied jointly, as the Director-General suggests.

We are very happy to find that the I.L.O. has included among its projects the following: administrative decentralisation which will make it possible to deal more effectively with regional economic and social problems; human resources programmes, to be developed in close relationship with economic development plans, with the main objective of providing for the implementation of those plans the necessary skilled manpower; raising the level of productive employment and improving conditions of work and life; vocational training programmes aimed at improving manpower skills in accordance with the essential needs and requirements of States Members at varying stages of development.

In spite of the importance which the Director-General has given to these programmes, the Central American delegations which I represent would like to express their future aspirations in concrete form.

First of all, in connection with the decentralisation of the I.L.O., we would hope that due account will be taken of all the regional needs, and in this respect we would urge that in this process an I.L.O. field office be set up for Central America. This would enable us to find an immediate solution to the innumerable and complex problems which arise every day, thanks to the agreements on economic integration which I referred to above. Similarly, we would urge that for the operation of this office the possibility be considered of recruiting officials coming from the region who, because they are in closer contact with the needs of the population and because they are quite aware of all their problems, are the best persons to collaborate towards a solution of these problems. In this way the I.L.O. would be carrying out fully the tasks which the Constitution and the International Labour Conference have set it.

Similarly, we feel it essential that the experts who come to Latin American countries on technical assistance missions should come from the region for the very simple reason that since they would speak the same language and know the problems of Latin America, their
advice could be put to fuller use and they would not have to waste time learning what the problems are and learning the language.

Secondly, we would like to urge the International Labour Office to promote technical assistance for programmes of planning of human resources, vocational training, labour statistics, labour administration and social security, all of these programmes being due very shortly for implementation at the regional level in the Central American countries.

We should like to express our thanks to the Director-General for the stress he has laid on the future programmes of the I.L.O. and the way in which Kosovac is promoting their development, which is very encouraging to developing countries because we realise that an energetic attack is being made on the very vital points of the complex problems arising in economic and social development.

Moreover, we should like to pay tribute to the very valuable collaboration which the International Institute for Labour Studies has given us, which has made it possible for officials of the governments and representatives of the workers and employers to have better knowledge of the characteristics of economic and social development which will mean that, through such a common denominator, the three sectors will have a better understanding of each other and will thus be better enabled to solve the social problems which they have to face. This work of the Institute deserves our full support.

We should also like to express our gratitude for the collaboration which the experts who have been sent on mission to the Central American countries have given to the technical commissions.

In the name of the countries which I represent I should like to congratulate the President on his election to the responsible function he discharges.

Mr. ZIARTIDES (Workers' delegate, Cyprus) —I have pleasure in congratulating the President of this Conference on his election.

In the President's address he referred to the question of the programme and structure of the I.L.O. and to this year's Report of the Director-General, which he praised and described as a very able Report. I fully agree with him that the Report of the Director-General is an important document. It really constitutes one of the most important contributions to the collective effort of the Members of this Organisation to seek new programme areas, new methods of work, even new principles, corresponding to the new conditions and to the changes that have taken place in the world. But as the President and fellow delegates will recall, during the discussions in 1963 and 1964, the structure of the I.L.O. and a number of its established practices have been called into question. During those discussions a considerable number of proposals were made. All those proposals are listed and analysed in the document prepared by the Office, as decided at the 48th Session of the Conference. I went through that document and I have seen that the discussion of such important questions as the membership of the Organisation, the representative character of its organs etc., is omitted from this year's Report. I fully understand the reason for this. The discussions in 1963 and 1964 revealed no measure of agreement on those questions and the Director-General thought that they required some further examination. I do not think that we would be justified if we refused to allow the Director-General and the Working Party appointed for this purpose by the Governing Body the time required by them to consider these questions. But I think that it is the duty of all those who would like to see the I.L.O. achieving new progress to stress the necessity for the very valuable collaboration which the I.L.O. is deplorable.

Let me also mention the question of the nomination of non-governmental representatives to the Conference. It is no secret that a number of governments infringe the Constitution of the I.L.O. when appointing Workers' delegates. The Credentials Committee has not been able to prevent the infringement of the Constitution.

During the discussions in 1963 and 1964 a great number of delegates spoke about the tripartite character of the I.L.O. They suggested that there should be no change in the tripartite basis of the Organisation and that tripartism should be strengthened in the I.L.O. The Pancyprian Federation of Labour which I represent fully agrees that tripartism should be strengthened in the I.L.O., but if we allow or tolerate the infringement of paragraph 5 of article 3 of the Constitution, the consequence will be that we shall have a falsified representation of the international working class. This will lead not to the strengthening but to the weakening of tripartism in the I.L.O.

There is another harmful practice which we believe leads to the weakening of tripartism in the I.L.O. This is the monopoly established inside the Workers' and Employers' groups by certain international organisations. This again is no secret.

These practices should be eliminated. Those who really want to see genuine tripartism in the I.L.O. strengthened should envisage a detailed reconsideration of all the provisions of the Constitution, of the Standing Orders of the Conference and of the rules governing the various organs and bodies of the I.L.O. with a view to securing proportional representation of all trade union tendencies in the various bodies of the Organisation.

Having made those few remarks on the question of the structure of the I.L.O. and its procedures, I intend to say a few words on that
This question. I would like to say that the so-called association of the workers in the number of delegates referred to the question of international organisations of the United Nations principles and Charter. Cyprus is an example. We attained our independence in 1960. It was a restricted and conditional independence. In spite of the difficulties and problems involved, our Government and our people embarked on an intensive effort to expand the economy of the country and advance towards social progress. The efforts of our Government and our people are well known to the I.L.O. and to all the other international organisations of the United Nations family. The efforts of our people have been interrupted by the riots and the rebellion of a minority which has been inspired, organised and aided from abroad. Our efforts for economic expansion and progress are prevented by the threat of aggression and by the intervention of imperialistic Powers who would like to use Cyprus as a military base for their aggressive plans in the area of the Middle East. Because of these threats of military aggression and foreign intervention, and for the purpose of defending its freedom, Cyprus, a small country of a population of 600,000, has created and maintains an army of 20,000 men. These are human resources which, in conditions of peace, could be developed and utilised for the economic expansion of our country.

For these reasons we believe that the I.L.O., in a continuous and thorough manner, should seek ways and means of easing international tension and assisting activities which aim at the establishment of a lasting peace.

During the discussions in 1963 and 1964 a number of delegates referred to the question of the so-called association of the workers in the management of undertakings. In the Report of the Director-General it is stated that "there was some difference of opinion" on this question. I would like to say that the workers and the trade union movement which I represent have no illusions regarding this question. There can be no real participation of the workers in the management of undertakings as long as the production relationships are those existing today. Real participation of the workers in the management of undertakings can only be achieved under conditions of social ownership of the means of production.

What is important for the workers is not participation in the management of undertakings which are privately owned, but the effective protection of their freedom of association, their right to bargain collectively and their right to strike. We believe that the existing I.L.O. procedures for the examination and consideration of reported violations of trade union rights are inadequate and that much improvement is required. I am making these remarks not because these rights are violated in Cyprus. On the contrary, we are proud of the progress we have achieved in this field. I am making these remarks because we know that in many countries trade union freedom is non-existent.

In concluding, I repeat that I consider the Report of the Director-General as an important document, which contributes to the collective effort of the Members of this Organisation to seek new avenues corresponding to the historic changes that have taken and are taking place in the world.

Interpretation from Russian: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Gurinovich)—I give the floor to Sr. Alaçam, Government adviser, Turkey, on a point of order.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ALAÇAM (Government adviser, Turkey)—Thank you, Mr. President. The preceding speaker made allegations of a quite erroneous character regarding the attitude of the Turkish community in Cyprus and alluded to the policy of my Government on the Cyprus problem. My delegation cannot leave these allegations without a reply, and therefore I would ask you to permit me to exercise my right to reply in order that I may refute the false assertions of the preceding speaker.

Interpretation from Russian: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Gurinovich)—You will have this opportunity when you speak in the general debate on the Director-General's Report. You might wish to take advantage of that occasion, because if I permit you to speak now, in the exercise of a right of reply, I will have to do the same for all other delegations that might wish to reply to you.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ALAÇAM—I understand your concern, but the Turkish Government delegation has already spoken in the general discussion on the Director-General's Report.

Interpretation from Russian: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Gurinovich)—Very well, then, I will allow you three minutes.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ALAÇAM—First of all, I must state that it is with regret that in a conference of a technical organisation like the I.L.O. I should have to speak of a political problem, the solution of which cannot be sought in this Organisation. However, my delegation cannot leave such accusations unanswered.

In reply to the statement which has been made, I should like to explain briefly the true reason for the events in Cyprus.

The Greek Cypriot Administration, to which the speaker belongs, seeks deliberately to present to world public opinion the legitimate defence of the Turkish Cypriots as a rebellion and a minority uprising against the State. This is quite false. It is the Greek Cypriots who have attacked their Turkish fellow-citizens in
order to attain their well-known political objectives and oblige them to quit the island. This attitude of the Greek Cypriot Administration is best expressed in a speech delivered by Archbishop Makarios in 1962 in the village of Panaia. I quote: "Until this small Turkish Cypriot community—a part of the Turkish race which was the terrible enemy of Hellenism—is entirely expelled, the work of E.O.K.A. [a terrorist organisation] can never be regarded as completed." That is the real explanation of the events of Christmas 1963.

As for the present miseries of the Turkish population and the tribulations it has suffered, these have been described in detail in various reports by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. One of these, dated 10 September 1964, states that nearly 3,000 houses were partially or totally destroyed and many others pillaged; that commerce was completely disrupted; that the number of persons dependent on Turkish aid was 56,000 including 25,000 refugees; that 23,500 persons were without work; and that 7,500 persons were missing.

Thus, half the Turkish population of the island have been deprived of all their means of subsistence and lost all their property. The rest of the population continues to live in pockets, surrounded by armed Greek Cypriots, and subjected to all forms of pressure and abuse. The Greek Cypriots are maintaining a rigid economic blockade aimed at reducing the Turkish Cypriot population to famine and despair.

On the basis of these facts, the Secretary-General says in his report that the economic restrictions on the Turkish community were so severe that they were equivalent to a veritable siege, and indicated the intention of the Greek Cypriots to impose a solution by economic pressure rather than by military action.

The explanations which I have given show clearly how the tragic events in Cyprus are the result of a policy of intimidation and terrorism by the Greek Cypriot leaders against their Turkish fellow-citizens.

Interpretation from Russian: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Gurinovich)—I doubt that this statement really represents a reply since the delegate of Cyprus is not even present in the hall. I did not notice this, and therefore I thought that you might reply to him. If he were present, and had wished to reply to you, I would certainly also have allowed him three minutes to do so.

(The Conference adjourned at 5 p.m.)
RATIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS BY GHANA, ISRAEL AND THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

The President—I have pleasure in informing the Conference that the Director-General of the International Labour Office has registered, on the dates indicated, the ratification of the following international labour Conventions:

By Ghana (2 June 1965):

By Israel (9 June 1965):
Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951;

By the Syrian Arab Republic (10 June 1965):
Guarding of Machinery Convention, 1963;
Hygiene (Commerce and Offices) Convention, 1964.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The President—I would first like to thank Mr. Gurinovich, Government delegate, Byelorussia, for lightening my burden for a whole day yesterday and conducting the proceedings of this Conference.

I have received a representation from the leader of the delegation of Portugal to the I.L.O. Conference in which he protests against the remarks made by the representative of the All-African Trade Union Federation concerning Dr. Salazar. I uphold his protest and direct that the above-mentioned reference shall be expunged from the records of the Conference.

A reference was also made in the same strain by the same speaker to General Franco, Head of State of Spain. That reference will also be expunged from the records.

I should like to take this opportunity of reminding delegates that there is a certain protocol to be observed in our discussions. Heads of State shall not be attacked in any manner and, if a delegate resorts to such remarks in future, I shall, in accordance with article 14 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, be constrained to request him to resume his seat.

I must add that my position will be the same should any delegate refer to any theatre of war in any part of the world, as this is a purely political matter, is a subject which falls within the competence of the United Nations and the Security Council and is, in any case, not relevant to the subjects under discussion here.

We will now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from French: Mr. Messer (Government delegate, Israel)—I am pleased to be able to transmit to you, Mr. President, the congratulations of the Israeli delegation on your election to the presidency of this important Conference. Your qualities leave no doubt as to your ability to carry out this task.

This session of the Conference is the third in succession to be devoted to a discussion of the Director-General's Report dealing with the structure and administration of the International Labour Organisation. At the two previous sessions we already expressed our appreciation of this initiative by the Director-General in making these matters a principal subject of discussion of the Conference. We agree with him entirely that the changes and developments in the various areas with which the I.L.O. deals must involve an adjustment of structures and replanning in the various fields of I.L.O. action.

We also welcome the Director-General's Report on the same subject to the present session, which differs from the preceding Reports in the concrete nature of his proposals, particularly in relation to the details of the internal reorganisation of the I.L.O. and on the initial implementation of the ideas submitted at the previous sessions. We have already expressed our support for the decentralisation of the activities of the I.L.O. and for the expansion of the regional activities; the programme of reorganisation now submitted seems to us to be satisfactory.

However, we should like to sound a note of warning against excessive decentralisation and independence of the regional branches, which might promote the emergence of divergent and perhaps contradictory tendencies within the Organisation regarding certain particular activities.
In our opinion, the Director-General was right in suggesting the geographical breakdown of the various continents for the purpose of the regional machinery. It seems to us that the sole criterion to be followed should be a geographical one.

I should like to repeat and to stress that in our opinion that which brings the peoples together is far stronger than that which disunites them. In international relations there is no place for intolerance towards the ideas of others, as long as the desire for peace, justice and respect for men and women, and the determination to keep on a good footing with all peoples, are maintained. The State of Israel wishes to co-operate and to have friendly relations with all the independent peoples of the world, including those of our own region, as well as with those who are approaching independence.

With regard to the chapter of the Director-General's Report which deals with the main activities of the I.L.O., I should like to stress that in Israel we are aware of the close links between economic development and the development of human resources. A few years ago our Ministry of Labour set up a Manpower Planning Office which has been receiving effective aid from I.L.O. experts. This office has already prepared estimates on the supply of and demand for manpower for the years 1965-70, and also studies on the needs for human resources in the developing areas of Israel, as well as on the question of women's work and other matters.

We support the Director-General's proposal that the I.L.O. manpower development activities should be devoted mainly to the problems which are characteristic of developing countries, in order to help them to solve the problem of unemployment on the one hand and the shortage of skilled labour on the other hand. Of course, these matters are directly related to the improvement of education and the mobilisation of financial resources, which in their turn require close collaboration with the international organisations responsible in those fields.

We believe that the I.L.O. still has a wide field of action regarding the improvement of the conditions of work and living, above all in the fields of health, safety and social security. There is still a great deal to be done in these respects, not only in the developing countries but also in those which are already developed. Of course, the I.L.O. cannot undertake this immense task alone; bilateral assistance and direct co-operation between countries have an important role to play.

I should now like to say a few words on two of the agenda items at this session, namely agrarian reform, with particular reference to economic and social aspects, and the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries.

In our view there is a close link between these two subjects. Nowadays, effective and satisfactory agrarian reform without a co-operative movement is inconceivable. Technical development and intensive mechanisation have taken place and are still going forward in all branches of agriculture, including ploughing, pest elimination, fruit picking, harvesting in a wider sense, transport and marketing. The isolated farmer or the small proprietor cannot alone make profitable use of all these technical means. If we do not wish to promote the concentration of great estates in the hands of a minority who would batten on the wealth of the country and exploit employed labour, estates which would really be merely mechanised latifundia, we shall have to move towards the distribution of land between farmers and the organisation of work and sales on a co-operative basis. Without co-operative organisations the farmer will remain deprived of modern means of production, the standard of living of the peasants will diminish or else the prices to the public will increase to an exorbitant extent.

A few months ago we organised in Israel an international congress on the role of the co-operative movement in village development. Twenty-three experts of the co-operative movement from 16 countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas took part in this congress, as well as delegates from the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.

This congress discussed various economic, sociological and juridical aspects of agricultural co-operation. The various existing kinds of villages of a communal or co-operative kind, such as kolkhoz, sovkhoz, panchios, Mochav, Ovdim, Moshav Shitufi and the kibbutz were mentioned. At the end of this congress a decision was taken to establish an international scientific centre for research on rural co-operation. The Israeli Co-operative Research Centre is to administer this international body. Members of the Conference will also remember that an I.L.O. seminar on rural development was recently held in Israel. The two international meetings I have mentioned both discussed not only agricultural and economic questions, but also the sociological aspects of co-operation.

We take a special interest in the latter aspect because we consider the ideological and social aspects of co-operative organisation as extremely important means of inculcating practical equality and mutual help. We therefore consider that co-operative organisation is not merely a juridical framework for the existence of associations with an entirely economic objective but an ideological movement having an educative value with a view to social progress as well as its economic advantages.

The co-operative movement in Israel, including co-operatives of producers and consumers, credit and housing societies, co-operation in public services such as urban and inter-urban transport, is one of the bases of our economy, and about 90 per cent. of our farm production comes from co-operatives.

We think we have reached satisfactory results, and we have been able to share our experience in the co-operative field with many developing countries. We are prepared to continue to share this experience with all countries.

Before closing, I should like to speak for a moment on the Special Report on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa.
We wish to express our regret and our protest at the discrimination policy of that country, which, on certain points, has even been accentuated recently. We have approved and will approve the action taken by the United Nations, the I.L.O. and other United Nations agencies to liquidate this apartheid policy in South Africa, and any other form of discrimination in any part of the world whatever.

In conclusion, I should like to congratulate the countries which are taking part for the first time in this Conference of the oldest international organisation and the one with the largest number of Members.

It only remains for me to express the hope that soon we shall have among us the delegates of the countries which have not yet attained their national independence.

Mr. CACHIA-ZAMMIT (Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Malta)—I am gratified that I have the opportunity to address this august gathering once more. When I spoke from this rostrum two years ago my country was still a colonial territory, subject to the limitations and frustrations that that term implies, but I did say then that we were moving rapidly towards independence. It is now common knowledge that negotiations between the United Kingdom Government and my Government were successfully concluded since then and independence in my country was happily achieved last September. The days of colonialism are over and Malta is proud to be an independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Since last September Malta has taken her rightful place in the United Nations and in the many agencies which emanate from that Organisation. One of these, and I must say one to which we attach a great deal of importance, is the International Labour Organisation, to which Malta was admitted on 4 January this year. It is with a sense of pride, therefore, that I am here on this historic occasion with the members of the Maltese delegation to the Conference, who will be taking an active part as full members and not as mere observers as heretofore. I am confident that Malta's association in the International Labour Organisation will prove of mutual benefit.

The Government of Malta has recognised that it will continue to be bound by the obligations entered into on behalf of the territory of Malta by the United Kingdom Government in respect of no less than 25 Conventions, as a footnote to the Report of the Director-General rightly indicates, and ratification of these Conventions has been duly registered. Besides, my Government has undertaken to continue to apply the non-metropolitan Conventions which the United Kingdom had applied hitherto until it is possible to ratify the corresponding "metropolitan" Conventions.

I can assure you that my Government has joined the International Labour Organisation with a will to take an active part in its work and to make its humble contribution towards the continued success of the Organisation.

It has been my task, both before and after the publication of the Director-General's Report to the Conference covering the activities of the International Labour Organisation during the last year and giving some indication of future action was studied. Particularly encouraging is the Director-General's reference to newly independent countries stressing the possibility of assisting them in harnessing forces for the exploitation of their natural resources, the building of their basic social institutions and systems, and the development of their manpower towards a rapid improvement of the social and economic conditions of the peoples concerned.

Malta is a small country where natural resources are lacking. That notwithstanding, over the years, and in particular during the last ten years, Malta has made great strides in introducing and gradually improving social laws and systems which perhaps are still lacking in larger and much richer countries. It is the development of our manpower that needs particular attention. In fact, the wealth of the nation consists in its manpower, which can be forged into a dynamic productive force as good and efficient as anywhere in the world.

With the reduction in expenditure by the United Kingdom defence departments on the island, Malta has embarked on a planned economic development programme. The dockyard, formerly belonging to Her Majesty's Government and catering almost exclusively for the British fleet, is now firmly established as a commercial concern where ships and tankers of all nationalities can be repaired and trimmed. Industrialisation is going apace, and foreign investors are welcomed to our island and aided financially and in many other ways to set up factories on the island.

We are quite aware that the road ahead of us is hard, but if everyone continues to cooperate with the Government, in particular workers' and employers' organisations, there is no reason why Malta should not be able to overcome the many testing problems all newly independent territories must face. My country stands in the forefront in its desire for rapid industrialisation as a means to its overall economic and social development. I am therefore glad to note in the Director-General's Report that industrial development, particularly in respect of requirements for planned managerial and manpower development, the promotion of sound industrial relations, increasing productivity and the improvement of conditions of work, has been a major concern of the International Labour Organisation.

Mindful of these essential requirements, my Government has requested and obtained technical assistance from the International Labour Organisation in the form of fellowships in training within industry, factory safety, industrial training, with particular emphasis on apprenticeship and vocational guidance, and on industrial relations. My Government is grateful to the International Labour Organisation for the services of an expert sent to Malta to train supervisory staff both in the private and in the public sectors of employment; his work is now continued by a local officer trained in the United Kingdom under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation. It is also grateful to the International Labour Organisation for the expert reports on manpower development and apprenticeship and vocational training who are expected to start work in Malta shortly, this being very useful follow-up work in
connection with fellowships which I have already mentioned. All the above activities in the field of technical co-operation provided by the International Labour Organisation form part of our development plan and fit in with the Government's long-term social and economic policy.

No real advance can be made unless living and working conditions are improved, and in this respect I am glad to be able to report that minimum conditions of work in the various industries in Malta are continually revised to meet the needs of the moment. Existing wage-fixing machinery comprising both sides of industry serves its purpose wonderfully well. Trade unions, which are very virile and active, take care of the organised labour force, bargaining and negotiating collective agreements on their behalf.

Improvements in the social security field were effected as recently as last February when insurance was extended to cover self-employed persons. Further amendments are contemplated this financial year, including the reorienting of the National Assistance Act which will be increased. I am glad to report that the relevant legislation has already been passed by Parliament.

All these improvements in social security recently implemented, or which are being introduced now, will put an extra strain on our resources, but my Government is pledged to improve social standards even if this should be done at some sacrifice.

In setting international labour standards the International Labour Organisation is providing the nations of the world with a pattern on which labour and social laws can be modelled for their peoples. In defending human rights, the International Labour Organisation is rendering an invaluable service to humanity. In providing the nations of the world with a pattern on which labour and social laws can be modelled, the work of the labour administration and working conditions are improved, and in this respect I am glad to be able to report that the relevant legislation has already been passed by Parliament.

Before I conclude, Mr. President, you will find in this frank discussion the kind of reciprocal respect of rights and a full knowledge of duties produced a proper equilibrium of functions which can be found only in the government of a new kind which has now almost taken on the force of law in my country. There has been a breach in the great wall which was raised on the one hand by indifference and on the other hand by lack of knowledge, so that on a common ground of realities the parties may meet and discuss. 

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. DONAYRE BARRIOS (Employers' delegate, Peru)—First of all I should like to express my congratulations to the President on his election to the high office of President of this session of the Conference.

I must say that the Report of the Director-General inspires both confidence and admiration. It shows us the enormous effort which has been undertaken towards reorienting the I.L.O. programme so as to concentrate on developing human resources and labour relations, promoting the trade union movement and sound social institutions, as well as improving living and working conditions.

I.L.O. activities coincide to a great extent with what is being done in my country under the increasingly capable direction of the Ministry of Labour. Breaking with the old—in fact I might even say archaic—patterns, the work of the labour administration authorities in Peru is being directed towards high objectives, not necessarily meaning that disputes are settled at the highest level of the administrative hierarchy, but rather encouraging that solutions be reached by direct negotiation between the parties concerned, so that they may themselves solve their own problems.

With such progress, a new trend has emerged in employer circles in Peru, encouraging and aiding in the technical training of workers and providing all kinds of assistance towards better training of trade union leadership in Peru.

I have the pleasure and satisfaction of being a labour lawyer and taking part in tripartite organisations such as the National Labour Council and the National Minimum Wage Commission, which are made up of workers, employers and officials of the Ministry of Labour. Extremely constructive work is carried out in these bodies, and the results, which are even now apparent, are very promising for the future.

The activity of the employers in Peru has been directed not only towards promoting technical training of our very capable workers, by their substantial contribution to the National Apprenticeship and Industrial Work Service, but also promoting training in training-workshops in the plants themselves, such as we have in some work centres, particularly in some of the big undertakings, for example in the sugar plantations on the Peruvian coast where skilled workers are trained.

Intensive education and training in the field of industrial safety have produced very encouraging results, and the industrial safety index has definitely risen.

In the field of labour relations, in the last few months we have had two industrial relations round tables, where open discussion has led to the formulation of agreements and recommendations, and to constructive solutions to which the three parties concerned—the State, capital and labour—have contributed, one side or another often sacrificing positions which they erroneously held to be privileged ones.

A healthy democracy of a new kind has found in this frank discussion the kind of agreement which has now almost taken on the force of law in my country. There has been a breach in the great wall which was raised on the one hand by indifference and on the other hand by lack of knowledge, so that on a common ground of realities the parties may meet and discuss.

Reciprocal respect of rights and a full knowledge of duties produces a proper equilibrium of functions which can be found only...
in a well-exercised democracy where, without detracting from human personality, such work can be performed. With authority but without authoritarianism, well-trained administration and skilled trade union activity have produced the desired result of true social peace without a compromise on ideals, without anxiety, and with social justice.

Conflicts are disappearing to a large extent thanks to the unflagging desire manifested by all parties concerned, and to the vigilant preventive action which is being taken by the labour authorities who are technically equipped to provide up-to-date mediation and conciliation services.

Peru still has the problem of a bristling mass of labour legislation, enacted over the past 30 years, under which, without any technical planning but with a lot of social emotion, in disorder and without system, legal regulations have been accumulating—a characteristic of countries struggling to emerge from their underdeveloped state. In our country, social legislation is applied generally to all activities, and throughout the country. Hence, you can see how dangerous it is to legislate without taking into account different zones and different activities.

Faced with the new trends in social insurance, thanks to the help which the technical experts of the I.L.O. have given us, it has been possible, with our own technicians, to establish—this has been in operation for some time now—wage earners' social insurance, while a social insurance scheme covering salaried employees as well as workers' retirement pensions was instituted more recently. At the same time there has been in existence a whole series of compensations and indemnities which, along with indirect benefits under collective bargaining and agreements, has raised the cost of social charges to such an extent that operating costs—industrial, agricultural and commercial—have considerably reduced the margin for wages, particularly in old undertakings, since newly created firms can provide better conditions and wages because, due to their recent creation, they do not have this heavy burden of charges which represent a very great obstacle to entrepreneurial activities in Peru.

Social legislation are necessary, even more so when they are adopted and applied in accordance with what the economy of the country can bear. I have always believed, from a nationalist viewpoint, that Peruvian problems must find Peruvian solutions, adapting from the experience gained in the highly developed countries what is most suitable to Peru. When Peru joined the I.L.O., it recognised its high quality of its technical teams. Now that we are talking about decentralising the Office, by setting up regional offices, I think it is only right to say that I think this is a wise measure.

Just the same I think that every country needs its own technicians, formed in the crucible of the I.L.O., but with the impress of the country and speaking its language, so that these experts can deal with the workers more easily and in a more convincing way.

The report of agrarian reform, the document which is used as a basis for the general discussion, I think lacks one element, that is, it does not take into account the Agrarian Reform Act of 21 May 1964, No. 15037, which is the inspired fruit of our various political opinions in Peru and which merited the accolade of the International Commission of Jurists.

The work would have been better, I am sure, had it taken into consideration our own situation in Peru and had the group of experts included some Latin American experts who know the actual conditions in our countries. You cannot speak of a universal employer in law, nor can you overlook the possibilities of the contributions of each country with its different geography and different capabilities.

To speak about a given country you do not only have to know it very well but you have to evaluate the human factor and the soil factor in studying this disturbing problem of agrarian reform. We have overcome the legal problems in our country and we have launched an agrarian reform in a peaceful and democratic way, which is only proper for a country that has a long tradition of legal training.

To get away from this problem of a multitude of laws the Congress of my country has empowered the President of the Republic to promulgate a Labour Code which a National Commission, made up of two representatives of the Senate, two of the Chamber of Deputies, two technical experts from the Ministry of Labour, a representative from the Workers' Confederation and one from the Central Employers' Union, and two representatives of private undertakings in Peru (of whom I had the honour of being one), has prepared.

The new Peruvian Labour Code could be called the backbone of active labour in our country and its influence will be decisive on the working classes, the producing classes and the State itself.

The marked population explosion in our country, as in all America, creates the problem of future occupational training. Therefore we consider it is a great responsibility to stimulate and encourage new industries and to create other sources of employment so that the progress of our country may be a source of wealth to those who work in it—and those who provide employment because we consider that, if we continue along the path of social security, work will always be a guarantee of social peace.

The employers of Peru, whom I have the honour to represent, would like here to extend their cordial and friendly greetings to the new States Members and at the same time to all members of this great assembly. We express our best wishes for the success of this 49th Session and for the growth and constant development of the International Labour Office.

Interpretation from Arabic : Mr. FAHEEM (Workers' delegate, United Arab Republic)—It gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Mr. President, and to the Vice-Presidents of the Conference at this session, my congratulations on your election. I wish you every success in your work.

Workers everywhere today are interested in the International Labour Conference, hoping for improved working conditions in a world of prosperity and peace based on justice.
The workers of the United Arab Republic have always been in the vanguard of national movements in every respect. Therefore, it is not surprising that their social revolution was sustained by and dedicated to serve the working classes. It hastened to free the productive forces and release all the potentials for productive work.

The false notion of treating labour as a commodity is no longer tenable. The labour force, as our national charter asserts, has become the master of the production process. It also shares in the management and profits, receives fair wages and has reasonable working hours.

The rights acquired through our social revolution have resulted in provision for minimum wages, positive participation in management as well as a share in profits—all under working conditions which ensure the dignity of the worker.

Our workers feel that they are participating fully in the national development and that they will prove that they are able, through their work, to share in this development.

Recently we successfully carried out a pioneer experiment, sponsored by our workers, to prove their faith in and their awareness of the role they have to play in the battle for progress. This experiment—the month of production—evoked an unprecedented response from all workers and was a wonderful test of our potential. Our people are determined to refashion their life in their country in freedom, justice, productivity, toil, love and peace.

Because of similar geographical, historical, social, economic and political circumstances, the responsibilities facing our workers extend to our brothers in Arab, African, Asian and other developing countries. This enhances our concern with the questions of racial discrimination and forced labour—questions falling squarely within the competence of the International Labour Organisation, which pioneered to deal with them in relation to the principles of human rights and the requirements of our times.

We emphatically declare here that African workers, supported by their brothers all over the world, will carry on a remorseless struggle in the cause of the welfare of the African man and his dignity. This struggle will not cease until these ugly crimes are eradicated in Africa.

For this reason, and in conformity with the historical Charter adopted in Addis Ababa in May 1963, African workers are well aware of the importance of their unity. A unified African labour movement is the only means of discharging the heavy responsibilities which the Charter has assumed towards African workers and the African peoples. Obviously the attainment of a strong, unified African movement at the continent level must be based first and foremost on a unified national movement in each country, since the heavy burden on any African State aspiring to achieve progress and development requires the concerted efforts of all popular forces and, in particular, that of the labour force. It has been proved in all advanced countries, no matter what political, social or economic system they pursue, that a unified labour movement is a prerequisite for the attainment of better labour standards. It is also the practical solution to the problem of financing unions which suffer from a small and unstable membership. The unity of the unions at both the national and the continental level will contribute to establishing a popular foundation for the attainment of the aspirations of the African peoples—that is, African unity. It is the only means of meeting the challenges which African workers face.

The All-African Trade Union Federation was privileged to be the pioneer of the unity of the workers of Africa in an African setting and to defend their cause in terms of human dignity. Since its inception this Federation has pursued a policy of non-alignment and therefore upholds the principle of independence of all international trade union organisations, whatever their objectives. This attitude does not preclude cordial and brotherly relations with labour unions outside Africa; nor does it preclude co-operation with them aimed at exchanging views on the basis of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Freedom is the most precious gift which God has given to man; it is the light of our life; it is the incentive for the redoubling of human power. It is natural, therefore, that basic human rights find their proper place in the Charter of the United Nations, the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the Declaration of Philadelphia and the international labour Conventions.

The African workers and peoples are determined to defend the liberty of the subject and of the unions, which we have won only with great difficulty, however much this may cost us. We look forward with great impatience to the day when our brothers in some parts of the African Continent—in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea—will attain their full freedom and join their fellow Africans. We also look forward to seeing our brothers in occupied Palestine, having attained their independence and freedom, join us in the struggle for the improvement of standards of living.

It is clear from the discussion on the Report of the Director-General during the last two sessions of the Conference that great importance is attached to the development of human resources. The developing nations in particular are faced with the problem of providing employment opportunities for their ever-increasing labour force. Doubtless the efforts of the I.L.O. in this respect will help them to solve this problem. The Convention concerning employment policy adopted by the Conference this year will be a guide for member States and the I.L.O. in framing their programmes and policies concerning the development of human resources.

I thank you all and wish you every success.

Interpretation from French: Mr. VELOX-KAMP (Government delegate, Netherlands)—I would like to begin by congratulating you on your election and thanking the Director-General most warmly for his excellent Report. The Director-General and the Governing Body have carried out very precisely the terms of the resolution adopted at the 1964 Session of the
Conference concerning the proposals and suggestions made in 1963 and 1964 as regards the programme and structure of the I.L.O. I am pleased that these proposals have now been circulated in a clear and concise form to the governments of member States, and to employers' and workers' organisations, for comment, even though it is to be expected that in their replies the same differences of opinion will appear as were expressed during the 1963 and 1964 Sessions of the Conference. I am thinking, among other things, of the varied and contradictory proposals concerning the role and functioning of the International Labour Conference, the relations between the Conference and the Governing Body, the composition of the Governing Body, and so on. That is why I want to express the hope that a more detailed discussion may lead to substantial progress.

It seems to me that the Director-General has done well to devote his Report to this session of the Conference to matters on which more or less general agreement has been reached. I am thinking in particular of the activities connected with the programme of the I.L.O., pending further proposals concerning the structure and methods of work of the Organisation. For we cannot and must not wait for those proposals before it is the duty of the Director-General to tackle the problems of our time and of the world of today and tomorrow with the greatest energy. The reforms applied in regard to productive activities should facilitate these initiatives, whilst the main points on which the activities of the I.L.O. should be concentrated have been described by the Director-General convincingly and with discernment.

If I may be permitted to make a few brief comments on the contents of the Report, I should like to do so in the light of the essential aim of the International Labour Organisation itself. This essential aim is to contribute, by means of international collaboration, to giving to the man who takes part in the production process the freedom he needs for the harmonious development of his personality. Whatever the activity of the I.L.O. and in whatever juridical instrument of the Organisation it is embodied, it all leads directly or indirectly to the freedom of the worker. In this connection one can speak of exogenous and endogenous factors which have a certain importance as regards this freedom. One could call exogenous the restrictions encountered in the work process by reason of race, colour, sex, religion and political opinions ; I describe as endogenous those restrictions stemming from the organisation of the process of production, social relations and the organisation of the State.

In relation to these two kinds of restrictions many things have changed in the world today as compared with a few decades ago. One can say that thanks to the dynamic influence of the International Labour Organisation the subjection of the worker has greatly diminished although this is not the case in every respect and everywhere. This does not mean that, particularly as regards the organisation of work and social relations, there does not remain a great deal to be desired in many respects. One can rejoice that the evolution of social policies in many countries has resulted in labour relations securing a justified legal basis ; that working conditions are making it more and more possible for man to carry out his work in conditions of optimum protection ; that by means of an adequate employment policy there is work for all who are able and want to work even in circumstances in which the economy cannot provide sufficient growth ; that a broad scheme of social security ensures an income, even in circumstances which make a man incapable of working or in cases in which a worker receives additional allowances.

But this does not belittle the fact that for real liberation in work one needs more. I am thinking in terms of three problems : firstly, the creation of a heritage for the workers ; secondly, a structure of the undertaking which would ensure a democratic approach to the utilisation of manpower ; and thirdly, the association of workers in the formulation of measures in the economical and social field both at the national and international levels. I would like to speak on these three points.

First of all, I have the impression that for the liberation of the worker it is of the greatest importance that those who work should not depend entirely on their wages, but should be enabled to save, thereby enjoying greater economic independence. It is for that reason that in the Netherlands we have started a policy that promotes the formation of savings. On the one hand, this policy creates a situation favourable to saving, for instance by eliminating legislative restrictions. On the other hand, it institutes concrete measures to encourage savings. I am thinking of fiscal facilities and bonuses that the authorities might establish to promote savings. Also an important task must be played by industry. In the Netherlands profit-sharing is evolving favourably, thanks to the measures I have quoted. In recent years there has even been talk of workers' participation not only in the distribution of profits but also in the growth of reserve funds ; in other words, the workers would participate in expansion of the undertaking's capital. In this connection the Netherlands trade unions have drawn up a report in which they stress the usefulness of such measures.

The Government has requested the views of the Economic and Social Council. In this the Government has made known its own approval of the idea, but it explained at the same time that it wonders whether the authorities should encourage such participation.

Secondly, I would like to stress the question of the co-determination of policies in undertakings and industrial branches. For some time now there has been legislation relating respectively to works councils and to organisation of the economy. The first of these grants the workers' rights of co-determination especially in the social sector of the enterprise. The second gives the workers the right of co-determination in whole industrial branches. I do not wish to go into further details, but I would like to point out that over and above that, proposals have been made to give the workers a greater say in directing the economic sector of the undertaking and to reorganise the whole structure of undertakings. A government commission
has published a report on the subject that contains a number of important suggestions. In this connection, too, the Government has requested the views of the Economic and Social Council.

Finally, I would like to stress the usefulness of co-determination at the national and international level. Within the International Labour Organisation it goes without saying that the employers' and workers' organisations are participating in an equal manner in the activities of the Organisation on an equal footing with member States, but at the national level this question has not always been solved in this manner. The same goes for a number of other international institutions. As regards the Netherlands, for many years there has been an Economic and Social Council acting as the central organ of Netherlands industry, in which the employers, workers and representatives of public authorities co-operate to advise the Government on all matters relating to social and economic policies.

There is another Economic and Social Council which works within the European Economic Community. The question is whether this is sufficient. Just as in the Netherlands there are discussions on a national level with the employers' and workers' organisations, we wonder whether such deliberations should not also take place within the E.E.C., at least as far as relates to the social aspects of policies. To this end, the Netherlands Government has pleaded in favour of consultations with employers' and workers' organisations, and a first step has been taken by providing for such consultation when a request is made.

I am convinced that in the near future we shall need a more intensive institutional approach in order to promote the emancipation and liberation of the worker specifically in the field I have mentioned. I realise, and the Director-General says in his Report, that the time may not be ripe for the establishment of international legislation or standards in this field. Nevertheless, I would like to ask the I.L.O. to apply itself to this goal and to take this matter well in hand from the outset. I am convinced this will not be useless work because it will contribute largely to the further realisation of the aims of the International Labour Organisation.

Interpretation from French: Mr. LEVI SANDRI (Representative of the European Economic Community) — May I first of all, Sir, congratulate you, in the name of the Commission of the European Economic Community on your election to the presidency of this session of the Conference.

The International Labour Conference each year enables the Commission of E.E.C. to compare its own programmes and achievements in the social field with the guidelines and directives of this world labour parliament which are so well described in the Director-General's Report. In the same way, this year's Report enables us once more to tell you of the identity of aims and views of our two organisations, those of the I.L.O. at the world level, those of E.E.C. at the smaller level of six member States with a population of 180 million persons, mostly in highly developed areas, although there are some which still need an appropriate development policy.

Like the I.L.O., E.E.C. is on the eve of big changes, particularly structural ones, which will lead next year to the establishment of a single Executive Commission for the three communities, E.E.C., the European Coal and Steel Community, and Euratom, and which will lead subsequently to the unification of the three communities — at present governed by separate treaties—into a single community governed by one treaty. At the end of this year, E.E.C. will see the second stage of its transition period concluded, and we shall move towards the full establishment of the Common Market.

If the proposals of the Commission are adopted, the Customs Union will be effective towards the middle of 1967, i.e. two-and-a-half years before originally intended. Of course, much has still to be done to complete the application of the Treaty, particularly regarding fiscal and commercial policy, and social policy which interests you particularly. It is principally on this point of social policy that I shall briefly speak again this year.

Even if I speak only of social matters proper, one should not forget the social repercussions of the economic measures which the integration process entails, both at the level of our six countries and at world level. Who could underestimate the social effect, for instance, of world agreements on basic products inspired by the proposals already made by the E.E.C. Commission for a world wheat agreement? This is an instance of the close interdependence of economic and social factors, and I am convinced, like the Director-General, of the necessity for closer integration of human resources policies and programmes with economic development plans.

Among the proposals made in the Director-General's Report regarding the utilisation of human resources, this Conference may be interested to hear of the initiative of E.E.C. in establishing a middle-term economic policy. This programme, which will cover the years 1966-70, will outline the economic policy of the member States of the community and its institutions during that period, and will aim at ensuring their co-ordination. The work is being undertaken by expert committees, but representatives of the producers will take part particularly through the Economic and Social Committee of the Community, while at the purely political level the European Parliament will also be consulted.

No doubt it is premature to make forecasts of what this first programme will be, but the studies being undertaken foresee two main problems for most of the Community countries during the next five years. The first is a foreseeable slowing down in the increase of the active population. This may well cause persistent tension in the field of employment, in relation to other problems flowing from the future structural changes in the various economic sectors and a need for an improvement in the quality of manpower; hence, also, the need for an appropriate policy to stimulate the development of a productive apparatus which can better meet the demand. The development
of vocational training will also play an important role in this connection.

It is in this spirit that the Commission of the E.E.C. recently approved two action programmes: one relating to vocational training in agriculture, and the other to the industrial and commercial sectors. In this regard, I should like to remind you of the action which the European Social Fund will be called upon to undertake to a growing degree on the basis of a recently proposed reform.

The Social Fund, as I have pointed out in previous years, is a body to equilibrate the charges borne by States in promoting geographical and vocational mobility of workers by resettlement and re-education of unemployed or under-employed workers. At the end of 1964 the Fund had enabled 350,000 European workers to find new jobs.

In future, however, the Fund will have to meet a different situation from that in 1958 when the Rome Treaty came into force. Unemployment has largely disappeared except in some regions, particularly southern Italy, and the Fund is now facing new problems—the shortage of skilled labour, the struggle against under-employment, and the transfer of excessive manpower from agriculture to industry.

Therefore, it is proposed that the Fund help in the vocational retraining of employed workers who are without skills or whose employment is threatened by technological progress. Furthermore, as regional disequilibrium subsists, proposals have been elaborated with a view to particular action, such as the contribution of the Fund to the construction of vocational retraining schools in underdeveloped regions. I should add that the policy of regional development is one of the activities to which the European Commission is paying particular attention.

The other big problem, to which I alluded just now and which will arise in the next few years, and of which our short-term policy must take account, is the considerable effort which must be continued regarding investment, and particularly public investment. This effort follows from the need to increase productivity and to develop what has been called "collective needs", namely the infrastructure in respect of transport, health, teaching and town planning. It poses problems of selection, for needs are likely to exceed resources, and so we must also study the promotion and appropriate use of savings.

I should like to say, also, that within the programme of medium-term economic policy, particular importance will probably also be attached to incomes policy. Work is at the initial stage in this regard but I think it is true to say that an incomes policy must be global; that is to say, one cannot merely have regard to wage policy; the policy must include all income, including profits, pensions and dividends. There must also be complete independence for the employers' and workers' organisations as regards wages policy. We must greatly intensify, in the most appropriate manner, the relations between these organisations and the public authorities so as to agree, through a full and free exchange of views, on action in conformity with the general economic policy in the field of wage negotiations.

The Director-General's Report has some very important things to say in regard to the development of social institutions, the second I.L.O. major programme area. I would like to remind you that the E.E.C. Commission has also associated representatives of employers and workers with its own work in the social field. Proof of this is in the many tripartite or bipartite committees which are in existence. This co-operation is made possible by the constitution of European secretariats and European liaison offices of various national trade unions. These organs should form the initial nucleus of genuine European confederations which will carry out at Community level the function proper to national trade unions.

I think the moment has come for this development—from secretariats or liaison offices to proper organisations—to take place in such a way that the structure of social institutions does not lag behind the development of economic integration in Europe. In other words, the national organisations must face the problem of the transfer of certain tasks which have to be handled at the European level to bodies constituted at this level. I am thinking of the conclusion of European agreements for the settlement of certain aspects of employment relations which require co-ordination, and also the co-ordination of employment policies, which is increasingly necessary. Indeed, even action regarding the free movement of workers cannot be considered in isolation, but must be part of a balanced policy of economic development having as its corollary an employment policy co-ordinated at Community level.

I now come to conditions of life and work. I should like to say that the E.E.C. Commission is convinced of the need for study, research and statistical inquiry and for wide diffusion of the information so collected. There is an article in the Rome Treaty which requires the Commission to promote studies of this kind. Although I cannot speak at length on this work, I can say that it is not an end in itself but is the basis for subsequent action by the Commission which will adopt recommendations on the subject. To mention only more recent action, I shall tell you of three projects to be adopted to supplement I.L.O. instruments on certain points, namely protection of young workers, maternity protection, and health supervision of workers exposed to certain risks.

I cannot conclude without referring to the Community's attitude towards the non-aligned countries and particularly to States associated with the Community. As regards developing countries, I must stress that, besides action undertaken through the United Nations or bilaterally, the States Members of the Community have acted on their own to the advantage of the African States and the Malagasy Republic which are associated. This action is not only economic but also social.

With the coming into force of the Yaoundé Convention we have established facilities to permit the marketing at competitive prices of certain tropical products and action has also been taken in favour of agricultural products which are similar to and competing with those of the Community.
Apart from these economic measures, the effect of which on the agrarian structure and the social situation is evident, there are other direct measures of cooperation regarding training and study: the fellowship programme has been doubled for the year 1964-65 (1,400). The increased number of candidates shows the interest taken by associated States.

The European Development Fund is also constructing and equipping many general education or technical and vocational training establishments, and we have short-term courses for these purposes.

Among medical equipment schemes we have the Mogadiscio hospital which opened in January 1965.

The Community's aid is by no means given in a closed circuit, but tends to supplement the bilateral aid of member and non-member States, and we are also aiming at joint financing. On 29 March 1965 in Washington the Commission signed with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association the first two agreements for co-financing two important projects.

An agreement concerning exchange of information in this sector has been concluded between the I.L.O. and the Commission, and the latter will participate in the I.L.O.'s meritorious work at the Turin Centre.

If time had permitted, I could have spoken on other aspects of the work of the E.E.C. Commission which are of interest to the I.L.O., particularly in the fields—and I am thinking particularly of the social security of migrant workers—where cordial co-operation between our two organisations has already long been established.

However, I must conclude; I should like to express once more the thanks of the E.E.C. Commission to your Organisation not only for the cordial co-operation to which I have alluded, but also for the role of precursor of social progress which the I.L.O. has always played and which we are convinced it will continue to play, while adjusting its structures and action to the new requirements of a developing world.

Sir George POLLOCK (Employers' delegate, United Kingdom)—May I first say how much pleasure it gives me to see the Presidential chair at this Conference occupied by the distinguished delegate from Pakistan, a nation which we, in our country, hold in the deepest affection and regard.

Secondly, may I congratulate the Director-General on his stimulating and thought-provoking Report. It appears to me that the fundamental idea motivating the whole of that carefully reasoned document is that, in assisting in the formulation of national policy, we should never lose sight of our main objectives, namely the preservation of the freedom and dignity of mankind and the raising of the living standards of all the peoples of the world. In many countries the raising of living standards must be dependent on the development of natural resources, of power, minerals and, particularly, agriculture. Many nations all over the world are showing great vision in the development of their potential mineral and agricultural wealth and it is on the economic progress which they make that their future social progress must be based.

Many years ago the wealth of Britain depended on her exports of wool—a fact which seems strange today. Later our prosperity was due in great measure to our exports of coal, but sooner or later every country must come to realise, as we have done, that its real wealth lies in the industry, skill and enterprise of its people. Without this skill and enterprise even the richest of natural resources can never be developed. With it, a country like my own—now comparatively poor in mineral resources, can nevertheless maintain a high standard of living for its people and at the same time preserve their individual liberty. In developing skills and aptitudes among people all over the world, the I.L.O. has a great contribution to make. In some industrialised countries—again, such as my own—over-full employment has created serious inflationary tendencies, but over the greater part of the world the problem is not one of finding men to fill jobs but of finding profitable jobs for men to fill. Unemployment is not only a social tragedy, it is also an economic disaster and the greatest handicap to real social progress. This great problem of unemployment and underemployment may be a topic for the expression of the highest sentiments, but we must turn our attention increasingly to the problem of translating those sentiments into action. This, I am sure, must take place at the national or local level and must be such as suits the needs of the particular community concerned.

I think, therefore, we ought to look in a spirit of constructive criticism at the statement, in Part I of the Director-General's Report, that international instruments were (and I note that he uses the past tense) the backbone of this Organisation and that their elaboration would continue to play an essential part in our work. That, apart from the point of international instruments by the I.L.O. in the past has made an important contribution to social advancement but the day when these were the backbone of the Organisation is, in my view, now over. As Mr. Abebe said on Wednesday, the I.L.O. has already produced sufficient international instruments to last a developing country like Nigeria for many years. For the future I think we should turn to action which relates to the wider issues I have referred to. There is too much diversity in the structure and economy of different nations to make it possible for international instruments, except on strictly limited subjects, to be of general useful application throughout the greatly increased membership of the I.L.O. as it is today. An international instrument tends to be framed either in compromise terms, when it is of little value, or it tends to be unrealistic in its application either, on the one hand, to a highly industrialised country or, on the other hand, to an emerging agricultural economy.

I feel, therefore, that in considering the future work of the I.L.O. we should aim less at universal standard-setting than at a greater decentralisation of activity—more conferences of a regional nature related to the problems of the countries in course of development, and
more detailed consideration of the particular problems of particular developing areas. By such a measure of decentralisation we would gain in flexibility and thus in strength and this would enable us to make a further positive contribution to raising living standards throughout the world.

We must all have been impressed by the suggestions made to this effect by a number of distinguished speakers from some of the newer sovereign countries during the course of this Conference. I suggest that we look at our problems this way. How can jobs be created in countries where unemployment is high? What are the industries which can be developed in these countries? What are their real needs in management know-how and industrial training which will enable them to achieve fuller utilisation of their natural physical wealth and their great reserves of manpower? This, I feel, will be a more profitable line to pursue than that of concentrating on standard-setting, which this is not enough and that those who have been trained to develop those skills which have created the prosperity of the industrialised countries where free enterprise flourishes.

My appeal, therefore, to all nations on the subject of planning is: do not be too doctrinaire, because I believe that the flexibility which the free competitive system engenders is essential to the success of any industrial economy and is the best way of leading us to the prosperity which we seek for all the nations of the world.

Mr. ALBANO PACIS (Government delegate, Philippines)—As the candidate for the presidency of the International Labour Conference who won the election in the Asian region, but lost the big one in plenary, I wish to offer you Mr. President my sincere congratulations. I felicitate you on your victory and on the virtue which you seem to have inherited from the British past of your great country, of losing the battles but winning the war. I know that with your long experience in the political life of the Philippines as their candidate.

The Philippines offered its candidature and became Asia's candidate on the assumption that the principle of inter-regional and intra-regional rotation in the election to the offices of the international organisations, including the I.L.O., would be observed and preserved. My Government believes and continues to believe that this principle is of the utmost importance as a means of minimising political scheming and manoeuvring in the international organisations, and thus also of enabling them all the better to achieve their objective of world harmony and peace.

May I take this occasion to convey my thanks and those of my delegation and my Government to the countries of Asia for choosing the Philippines as their candidate. I earnestly hope—and I believe I also express the hope of Asia—that there will soon be sober second thoughts that will restore the principle of rotation to its former place in the I.L.O. If this should happen, my country, and Asia as well, will have the consolation of having lost the 1965 election but of having helped to defend and preserve a useful and wise policy. In this event, the circumstances of this year's election will warrant the belief that the year 1966 will be Asia's belated but legitimate turn to serve in the presidency of the Conference.

May I also take this opportunity to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation and
my Government for the support of many non-Asian delegations, even if in doing so they voted for the losing side. I like to think that they did so in a courageous if vain attempt to uphold an established policy which the then Prime Minister of India's Government, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, had espoused and for which India's election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly in 1950 had been the signaliser of the arrival on the international scene of the emerging nations of Asia and Africa.

I now turn to the Report of the Director-General. Its most encouraging feature, I think, is its revelation of the heroic attempt of the International Labour Organisation to cope with the unprecedented situation of a world in a state of uneasy flux, characterised on the one hand by rapid scientific and technical developments and progress and, on the other hand, by the advent of many emerging nations, emphasising the fact, if nothing else, that some three-fourths of the world population do not yet enjoy to a tolerable degree the blessings of social justice. One is impressed by the thoughtful reorganisation of the Office in the face of this situation and amazed at the accomplishments of the Director-General. They are, of course, considered against the Organisation's limited budget. Having said this, one also suffers a feeling of frustration from the vastness and enormity of the human problem as against the sad inadequacy of the I.L.O.'s finances, talent and machinery. One can only conclude that there is so much to do and so little done.

A ray of hope is, however, worthy of note. The developing nations are earnestly and even heroically trying to help themselves, stimulated by the standard-setting work of the I.L.O. and in many cases actually aided by educational, technical and financial assistance from the I.L.O. Many of them are gradually, and in some cases dramatically, spreading the blessings of economic and social well-being to their own peoples. If I may do so without appearing immodest, I would now like to say a few words on the efforts of my own country along this line. When, as its final preparation for independence, the Philippines framed its present Constitution in 1935, it wrote into this supreme law, as one of the five cardinal objectives of the new nation, the following declaration: "The promotion of social justice to insure the well-being and economic security of all the people should be the concern of the State." With this constitutional mandate as a springboard, my Government since then has enacted and implemented a body of legislation that has transformed my country from a mere colony to a nation whose people not only enjoy freedom in its civilised maximum, but who also are fast acquiring their share of economic, social and political well-being.

The Philippine minimum wage has just been raised by legislation from 4 to 6 pesos a day, but the average industrial wage is 8 pesos a day. Today 3 million people, out of a total population of 30 million, are covered by the social security system of our country. There are about 2,000 labour unions with a total membership of nearly 2 million workers, and they enjoy broad freedom not only of association, subject to the laws against subversion, but also of bargaining, which they fully know how to utilise to their advantage. The Philippines has ratified and implemented the principal international labour Conventions, notably the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105), and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111).

Indicative of the preferential status afforded to labour in my country is the existence of a school, the Asian Labor Education Center, as part of the government university, the University of the Philippines, for the training of labour leaders and labour statesmen, not only Filipinos but other Asians as well.

The pace of expanding social justice in my country has been stimulated to a great extent by the efforts of the I.L.O. I think it can be truthfully said, however, that the Philippines as a developing nation, while accepting gratefully the assistance of the I.L.O. and other international organisations, is truly helping itself towards an increasing fulfilment of its constitutional goal of social justice.

The International Labour Organisation, by proclaiming in the preamble of its Constitution that "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice", and by reinforcing this lapidary pronouncement with the Philadelphia Declaration of 1944, has pronounced itself, willy-nilly, as the foundation stone, the over-all base, of all the international bodies engaged in the improvement of human life on earth. And, indeed, it can perhaps be said that the face of humanity has already assumed a happier expression due to a large measure to the effective efforts of the I.L.O. to bolster man's dignity, enlarge his freedom and improve his welfare.

Yet, in my delegation's humble opinion, the I.L.O. has so far virtually overlooked at least two other fronts of human improvement and advancement which could be its concern, either solely or concurrently with other international organisations. One such front is disarmament as a means of diverting vast human and material resources to channels of human improvement and peace. The other is the control of the population explosion which, perhaps far more than ignorance and tyranny, and all other causes combined, is the most immediate, the greatest and the root-cause of this century's well-nigh universal human poverty, misery and degradation.

It is true that the United Nations has its Disarmament Commission and there is in Geneva an on-and-on Disarmament Conference. It is also true that efforts by these bodies have already produced the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which, it is earnestly hoped, will prove a good start towards complete control and abolition of nuclear armaments. But the process is slow and discouraging and may, before being completed, reach the point where further progress is impossible. This is to be feared because the atomic proliferation currently symbolised by Red China's second explosion of a nuclear bomb may catch up with all the present disarmament efforts before they have accomplished their objective.
It is possible, however, that the tripartite nature of representation in the International Labour Conference, with its range of constituents being perhaps even broader and deeper than that of governments and of other international organisations, might be the key to a world-wide movement in favour of disarmament. One must realise, of course, that disarmament cannot be unilateral; all the nations producing and owning great armaments must disarm at the same time and in the same or proportional measure. Yet, if the I.L.O., whose influence and beneficial action reach out to the greatest mass of labour and management and to all the governments in all of its member States, were to talk and keep talking and advocate disarmament all the year around, and from year to year, this might generate a world-wide groundswell of public opinion that could eventually proclaim and condemn excessive and dangerous armaments as a most scandalous form of human folly. For if the billions upon billions of dollars and roubles and man-hours now annually wasted in arms production, which could be channelled towards human, material and spiritual improvement, the aims of the I.L.O.—its solemn commitment to uplift humanity, particularly at its lower levels—would speedily approach realisation.

An entirely different, and in a way opposite, human problem is the control of the increase of population. As of today, fully two-thirds of the over 3 billion human beings that inhabit the earth exist in poverty and squalor—undernourished, poorly sheltered, scantily clothed, ignorant and degraded. Yet, at the present rate of increase, the world population could double in a few decades. If today production to meet human needs and the means of educating and gainfully employing human beings are already sadly inadequate, it is impossible to imagine how aggravated will then be the inadequacies and how much worse will be the condition of human suffering.

It may be that the problem poses side issues that will be difficult to cope with, problems arising from religious and other scruples. It may also be that the nature of the problem makes it the prime concern of other international organisations such as the World Health Organisation. But it cannot be gainsaid that the population is squarely at the bottom of the problems that the I.L.O. is presently engaged in trying to solve, and that no solution of them can be complete and lasting unless this basic fact of life in the twentieth century is also faced and taken by the horns. The I.L.O., as the world's premier promoter and guardian of social justice, should also be the prime watcher and regulator of the world's population.

Admittedly, disarmament and population control are not matters that can be discussed, much less solved, in a single session of the International Labour Conference. But precisely because they require long-range and sustained effort, the start, if they are deemed proper areas for I.L.O. action, should be as early as possible.

The International Labour Organisation is playing a massive role in the alleviation of human misery and degradation. Within its limited means but inspired by its battlecry of social justice, it is slowly and painfully fighting the enemies—human ignorance, intolerance, destitution, demoralisation and shame. It should do more, and its States Members should enable it to do more. It should be enabled to vanquish these enemies, no less. For in the totality of the immeasurable existing human degradation there is much to do, and the I.L.O., because of its existing machinery, personnel and experience, is the best qualified to perform the groundwork and take the vanguard of the crusade to conquer these evils. May the I.L.O., then, be vouchsafed the means to expand the front and improve the effectiveness of its endeavours, so that the triumph of social justice everywhere may be witnessed by this generation. The quality of leadership and statesmanship so far demonstrated by the Director-General and his staff constitutes an earnest that this objective is not impossible of attainment.

May I now close, Mr. President, by reiterating the congratulations of my delegation for your election, by pledging once more our support and co-operation, and by wishing you and the national delegations gathered here, whose efforts you now guide with efficiency, wisdom and tact, a most fruitful Conference.

Interpretation from French: Mr. CAMPA- NELLA (Employers' delegate, Italy)—The Report which the Director-General has submitted to us this year has one unusual merit in particular: its brevity is without precedent. In fact, it concentrates on a few basic points of the programme of our Organisation in the modern era in which we live.

Without reverting to what I said in 1963 and 1964, I should like to confirm my attitude with regard to the possible reforms in the structure of the International Labour Organisation. Since it is to a certain extent connected with the questions discussed by the Conference, I should like to say something about the application within the Secretariat of the recommendations made by the advisers from McKinsey and Company, in particular, there being the most responsible for relationships between employers and workers should be given special consideration in view of the tripartite nature of our Organisation; further, that the necessary relationships should be established between the activities of the Governing Body and those of the Programme Committee of the I.L.O. Finally, in connection with the regional decentralisation of the Office's activities, an effort must be made to avoid aggravating any possible divisions which may exist amongst the member States, and on the contrary an effort must be made towards cohesion with a view to promoting peace and social progress.

The first of these subjects, as the Director-General says, has been the subject of widespread agreement reached within the Conference, and it concerns particularly the development of human resources. In particular we are entering here the field of advanced training in general and vocational training of workers in particular, which is the keystone of economic and social progress. I think that it is unnecessary for me to repeat my full and entire support of all efforts made along these lines.

There is also an economic policy to be
followed, and I wish to stress only how necessary it is that this policy should be realistic and developed to the service of the citizens, avoiding unrealistic and impracticable programmes.

However, to limit myself to what is called today "active manpower policy", I should like to remind you that we have stressed on other occasions that vocational training is also an essential instrument. It is necessary to avoid any crystallisation of the activities of the workers which may result from principles which are based on the responsibility of employment's sake rather than stressing the value of having a vast choice of possibilities for progress, which is the only method which can really ensure economic and social progress in any country.

The basic needs of the developing countries are the same as for other countries: progress and a spirit of initiative, improvement of education in general and, in particular, vocational training and the investment of the necessary capital, which will depend, of course, on the atmosphere of stability which can be created by the respective governments. I should also like to encourage these countries to optimism by pointing out to them that a good deal of natural wealth has been discovered and still more is to be discovered in their territories, which are generally much more extensive than those of the highly developed countries. I should like to remind you only that the average density of the population in Western Europe, in the countries of the "Six" and "Seven", is 115-116 inhabitants per square kilometre whereas in the countries in the group of 75 there are 30-40 inhabitants per square kilometre. We have every reason to believe that the agricultural, forestry, mining and power potential is more considerable, as well as the latent resources of ingenuity and individuality of their populations. These countries can very well reach a standard of living comparable to that of the more advanced countries.

The Director-General, anxious to safeguard freedom of employment in the developing countries, says there is little to be gained by programmes. What the Director-General again refers to participation of the workers in the management of undertakings, and he says, quite rightly, that this subject is really—and I stress "really"—applied both in countries with a free and decentralised economy and in those where the economy is directed and centralised, and with what results.

The fourth objective of the I.L.O., to enhance the status of the worker in industry and in society, depends in part on improvement of his education. As far as the other aspects of the question are concerned, the role of the I.L.O. should be that of disseminating information on legal and contractual protection of the workers of the world and of ensuring the application of the existing international instruments which already cover all aspects of the problem. In this field initiative on the part of those directly concerned would lead to the best results because it is most likely to take account of reality and least inclined to indulge in unwise theories. We had a recent example of this in Italy with the signing of two new joint agreements on individual dismissal which replaced agreements signed 15 years ago. This was done at the very time when a new law had already been submitted to Parliament to be put to the will of the parties.

With respect to the fourth objective, the Director-General again refers to participation of workers in the management of undertakings and he says, quite rightly, that this subject does not lend itself to international regulation. He proposes that the I.L.O. should continue its studies on the subject. In fact, it might be interesting to see whether a system of this kind is really—and I stress "really"—applied both in countries with a free and decentralised economy and in those where the economy is directed and centralised, and with what results.

The fifth objective set for the I.L.O. by the Director-General, that is, to provide training for the persons directly involved in labour relations, seems to me very timely.

As to the problem of incomes, I think that the studies requested by last year's resolution concerning minimum living standards and their adjustment to the level of economic growth should be carried out and should include a study of the situation of all countries which have reached the highest average income levels, as well as an examination of the eco-
nomic and social policy which has led to these results. In general, I think we can say that, as far as these and other aspects of living and working conditions are concerned, a policy of information is certainly more useful than a policy tending to adopt too uniform an approach to the conditions in widely differing countries.

As regards the desirability of adopting further instruments, the Director-General has reminded us that only a limited number of delegates have expressed reservations. It does not appear to me, in view of the fact that this limited number refers to the majority for Employers' delegates and several Government delegates, that this number is really so limited, particularly since many delegates have also spoken in the name of their colleagues. It is certainly logical that we should try to broaden the scope of the real application of existing instruments before establishing others.

The tasks of the I.L.O. remain fundamentally what they always were, and what is needed is to extend which we have become more necessary today. No one can disagree that first priority should be given to the underdeveloped countries, in order to improve their living and working conditions in accordance with the economic progress which we must help them to achieve through qualitative and quantitative improvement of human resources.

As regards Part II of the Report, which gives such a wide and exact picture of the I.L.O.'s activities, it cannot as a member of the Board of the Centre pass over in silence the chapter concerning the new International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training which will soon be opened in Turin, particularly in view of the importance of the technical assistance which our Organisation can provide.

I hope that the new countries, in their action to promote their economic and social progress, will always be able to profit by the experience, whether positive or negative. In this connection I would remind you that several years ago, at the time when the economic development of my country had reached its peak, I described to you the freedom which existed in the past had ensured that the magnanimity which you showed last year in yielding ground in order to maintain the smooth relationship so desirable for the running of our Conference has been amply rewarded by the abundant evidence that by displaying the expected wisdom and sagacity you have already justified the confidence shown in you.

The numerical strength of our Organisation has been increased by the addition of four States—Malta, Yemen, Malawi and Zambia. My Government congratulates them on joining hands with us in our efforts to uphold the principles of this Organisation and it looks forward to the opportunity of contributing towards the solution of the many problems with which we are faced. To you all and to all the governments represented here my Government, ever desirous of the peaceful coexistence of all men, extends the hand of brotherhood and sends its best wishes.

On a number of important points my Government can only reiterate the views expressed last year at the tenth sitting of the 48th Session as recorded on pages 125-127 of the Record of Proceedings. We consider, however, that we should comment not only on the new issues raised in the Director-General's Report but also on the two new items which are set out in the agenda of this session of the Conference.

It is gratifying to note that the I.L.O. has intensified its effort towards fuller co-ordination of its various goals in institutional development and technical co-operation. Such efforts and objectives are necessary and urgent, the more so when the current needs of both the developed and the developing countries. All one can now wish is that, since we have been able to make an evaluation of the needs for the proper development of our human, natural, agricultural and industrial resources for the achievement of progress, there will be constant reappraisal of our programme of priorities in the light of changing conditions.

In the development and utilisation of human resources the need for effective manpower planning, for all-embracing economic and social development, is obvious. My Government made the point last year that in view of the new automatic processes, which will undoubtedly have their effect on the needs and possibilities of such training in developing countries, cognizance will have to be taken of the necessity to adapt our manpower plans to our short- and long-term needs and of the possibilities of retraining in skills and the desirability of I.L.O. help and direction in the establishment of more secondary and small-scale industries which will help those incapable of performing highly skilled jobs and who for some reason or other cannot work the land or embark on certain occupations involving simple manual processes. In this connection appreciation must be expressed for the help

Mr. DEMBY (Minister of Lands, Mines and Labour, Sierra Leone)—Before making any comments on the salient points raised in the Director-General's Report I must not miss the opportunity of congratulating you, Mr. President, on the honour conferred on you by this assembly in electing you to your high office. It gives my Government particular pleasure to observe that the magnanimity which you showed last year in yielding ground in order to maintain the smooth relationship so desirable for the running of our Conference has been amply rewarded by the abundant evidence that by displaying the expected wisdom and sagacity you have already justified the confidence shown in you.

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which the I.L.O. is at present giving to my Government by the provision of an expert for the proper training of our people in the acquisition of the skills necessary for the establishment of secondary industries.

My Government is gratified that two very important measures of particular interest to a developing country such as Sierra Leone should have been included in the agenda for the present Conference. I refer to agrarian reform and co-operatives. Any discussion of agrarian reform is inevitably linked up with the system of land tenure. My Government has for some time now been engaged in a reappraisal of the prevailing system of land tenure in Sierra Leone, as it is becoming increasingly clear that conditions of land tenure inherited from a past colonial régime warrant such reappraisal and overdue reform. Under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations an examination of the system of land tenure in Sierra Leone has recently been undertaken by an expert from that Organisation and my Government is currently studying the expert's report and recommendations. It has already become clear that one of the reforms overdue is that relating to registration of title to land, as land ownership in Sierra Leone has not hitherto followed a consistent pattern. It is too early yet to commit my Government to an international Convention concerning agrarian reform, but I am in a position to pledge my Government's support for an equitable distribution of land ownership and for the provision of an adequate institutional structure which should promote agricultural stability and intensified rural development.

My Government places great importance on the work of co-operatives, particularly in the rural areas of Sierra Leone, and regards them as the primary and most efficient instrument devised for the economic and social development of its rural population. Co-operative methods of development are capable of results of such immense value that any national or general development plan which failed to take them into account would be failing to utilise one of the best instruments available to it. Full regard should therefore be paid to the integration of co-operative development with general development. The degree of association may perforce be small, but certainly in Sierra Leone the enthusiasm which can be generated by even such small associations can greatly assist in the development of new co-operative techniques.

The degree to which co-operative methods are applied is naturally something for each developing country to decide in the light of local needs and resources. During the past 27 years since the first co-operative legislation was introduced in Sierra Leone we have found from experience that promotion of co-operative development can only bring an immediate response from the people but also provide the best way of utilising often inadequate resources.

One request which I should wish to put forward would be for the reprinting and circulation of the excellent I.L.O. publication _An Introduction to Co-operative Practice_, which has long been used in Sierra Leone as a textbook for adults, but which, we understand, is now out of print and unobtainable. The I.L.O. can also assist in one form or another with the establishment of special colleges and schools for basic co-operative training, which can be expanded in any direction according to specific needs at any time.

Last year attention was directed to the need for revising certain instruments. While my Government considers (and, indeed, this is embodied in our Constitution) that every individual is free to join an organisation of his own choice, yet the implementation of the Freedom of Association Convention has not only resulted in a plethora of unions in Africa but resulted in a split in the trade union movement to the detriment, not only of the badly needed harmonious evolution of Africa, but of the co-operation so much needed by governments of new developing States for both the implementation of their development programmes and their economic stability. Such difficulties mainly arise from ideological conflicts and affiliations with extra-territorial organisations which seek to introduce certain principles inconsistent with the policy of non-alignment of certain governments. Therefore it seems imperative that there should be a re-examination of certain I.L.O. instruments in the light of the conditions existing in developing countries so as to pave the way for the fuller realisation of the legitimate goals and aspirations of such countries.

Appreciation must be shown to the I.L.O. for the priority which is now given to workers' education. However, in the promotion of the various aspects of this subject there appears to be a need for adaptation and co-ordination consistent with the needs and plans of African countries. It is suggested that in the formulation of plans for workers' education consideration should be given to the vital role that workers themselves, or their representatives, can play. Bipartite committees of both the government and the trade union movement can well produce the desired understanding and harmonious relationship in furthering the educational and social programmes of a developing country.

My Government expresses its satisfaction at the adoption, at the 48th (1964) Session of the International Labour Conference, of a resolution concerning minimum living standards and their adjustment to the level of economic growth. Last year my Government laid emphasis on the necessity of evolving, with the assistance of I.L.O. experts, a wage and incomes policy for developing States which will, in the main, ensure a fair distribution of national incomes. It now appears that this is not the only desideratum in this field of activity. The constant and saddening experience of prices chasing incomes reduces the benefits that a worker derives from any wage award, and we must consider the further task of devising the best methods of relating prices to incomes and evolving policies which will eradicate the ever-present vicious circle with which some nations are now faced.

It is gratifying to note in the Director-General's Report the steps which have been taken to give effect to the amendments to the I.L.O. Constitution regarding the expulsion or suspension of member States who act in
direct contravention of I.L.O. principles by flagrantly and persistently pursuing a policy of racial discrimination. The Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa is enough to give a warning to others that this body will not cease to castigate that Government, and even to urge the expulsion from the I.L.O. of any government which refuses to respect the freedom and dignity of human beings.

At various international conferences, and in the Organisation of African Unity, the voice of Sierra Leone has always been heard in its unflagging denunciation of the policies of South Africa and Portugal in this connection. Sierra Leone will continue to co-operate with the I.L.O. and all other agencies in the struggle to regain the stature of man in the African Continent. I have previously informed this august body of the political and economic sanctions which Sierra Leone has imposed against the Republic of South Africa and against Portugal. I make no apologies for mentioning the subject again, particularly as the Director-General has appropriately enough circulated a special report on the subject which is of continuous interest to us. Action which my Government has taken has not been confined to political and economic sanctions. Sierra Leone has offered political asylum, as well as educational scholarships, to nationals of South Africa and South West Africa. It has made practical contributions to the African Liberation Committee. It has also contributed towards the cost of litigation against the Republic of South Africa before the International Court of Justice consequent upon the Republic’s persistent refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Trusteeship Council as guardian of the mandate over the territory of South West Africa. It is a matter for regret that there are constituent member nations of our great International Labour Organisation which, instead of uniting against the Republic of South Africa before the International Court of Justice consequent upon the Republic’s persistent refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Trusteeship Council as guardian of the mandate over the territory of South West Africa. It is a matter for regret that there are constituent member nations of our great International Labour Organisation which, instead of uniting with other member nations in the task of African liberation, come here, year after year, full of winding phrases and ceremonial gestures, and stifle their consciences for no other reason than that of financial investments in South Africa and Portugal and the prospects of material gain. But, although the task of liberation of Africa, politically, economically and in the proper sphere of labour relations, is fraught with difficulty, there can be no doubt about a successful outcome. It is a task which demands our unremitting toil and our utmost effort.

Interpretation from Russian: Mrs. PEEVA (Employers' delegate, Bulgaria)—Policy in the field of human resources is one of the main areas of I.L.O. activity. It encompasses a broad range of important problems, such as increased productive employment and productivity, vocational training and education, and the liquidation of discrimination in employment. That is why the Report of the Director-General and the report of the Working Party correctly point out the great interest which all countries show in the development and utilisation of manpower resources.

However, in order to elaborate and carry out a programme that would represent an important contribution to the economic and social development of the world, as the Report says, the I.L.O. must scrutinise objectively the employment situation in all countries, and seek actively and consistently to settle the problems that arise in practice.

We agree that employment problems apply primarily to the developing countries, and that the I.L.O. must concentrate its activity on those countries. It is clear that the problem of employment affects the developing countries. There is unemployment and underemployment, especially in agriculture; there is a lack of skilled personnel in all fields; productivity is still extremely low, which prevents expansion. The reason is well known; for centuries whole peoples were subjected to colonial slavery. The only concern of the colonialists was to pump out the life-blood of the enslaved people, to export raw materials and the wealth of the colonies without concern for the general progress of the local population. Many countries have already freed themselves or are freeing themselves from colonialism. They must pursue the proper course to liquidate unemployment and backwardness.

However, it would be wrong to think that the question of unemployment has been finally solved in many of the more developed Western countries. Unemployment also results from the accelerated development of mechanisation and automation, affecting unskilled workers in particular.

There is still racial discrimination in the field of employment. Even in the most highly developed countries women do not have equal access with men to work and education and they are not paid equal wages. The I.L.O. cannot confine itself to intensive study of the problems or to defining which of the theories for the elimination of unemployment can provide the best results. The time has come to point to realistic paths and in this connection it would be wise to take advantage of experience gained in all countries.

In my country important social and economic changes have taken place during the past two decades and have had a decisive effect on the development and composition of our manpower. The establishment of production cooperatives and the expansion of agricultural activities have made it possible to intensify agricultural output and to increase productivity. This has led to the release of a large part of our manpower for employment in other fields. At the same time industry has grown extremely rapidly. Capital investment in our country between 1939 and 1964 increased by more than 14 times. Industrial output rose by more than 17 times. Thus the economic development of the country primarily affected the quantitative aspect of manpower. It demands and continues to demand on a planned basis the supply of further manpower in industry, construction, transportation and non-industrial branches.

At the same time the rapid economic development of the country and the introduction of technological innovations lead to a qualitative change in manpower, with improvement in the cultural and technical level of the workers and their education level. In order to use and to create new technology we need experts and trained manpower. During the 20 years of the
people's régime in Bulgaria there has been a
genuine cultural revolution, which involves
improvement of the standard of education of
the population and transformation of the whole
system of education, in order to bring it closer
to real requirements. Thus from a general
education we have gone over to an expanded
vocational education. Now most workers are
being trained in vocational technical schools or
in secondary vocational schools, while the
number of workers has risen from 47,000 in
1945 to 260,000 in 1964. I should also like to
mention that we have trained or are training
man power and technicians with a secondary school
tuition there is absolutely no discrimination
against girls, who represent more than 35 per
cent. of all students in vocational schools.
Highly developed industry and intensive agri-
culture require able and experienced manage-
ment personnel. Thus the number of students
in the advanced educational establishments
has increased by eight times. In Bulgaria out of
every 1,000 inhabitants there are 98 students
which places our country in the very first
ranks among the countries of the world as
regards numbers studying. Of those who com-
plete advanced studies, 50 per cent. go into
production branches as engineers, agronomists
and economists, 15 per cent. become physicians
and 20 per cent. work in educational and
cultural activities. The rate of training of
engineers and agricultural experts exceeds all
other fields, in line with the rapid and planned
economic development of the country. Here,
again, women enjoy every opportunity offered
by our new society. In our advanced edu-
cational establishments 43 per cent. of the
students are women. Thus the problem of
manpower resources may be regarded as solved
in our country owing to planning of manpower
training in line with the over-all economic
development plan in our country.
All organisations are eager to see that our
industry and agriculture are managed by
trained experts. Socialist employers, who are
in charge of our various national undertakings,
must be business people having the necessary
qualifications to manage the plants entrusted
to them with skill and foresight. The difficult
task of our managers is eased by the fact that
their interests coincide entirely with the inter-
est of the workers. Their common task is to
build up the material and technological base
of our country, and thus consistently to raise the
standards of living of the workers. The socialist
manager acts on his own responsibility, but this
is conditioned by democratic principles of
organisation, combined with proper participa-
tion by the masses in the management of
production.
In his daily work the manager is able to rely
on the support of outstanding workers, experts
and public organisations. The demands on
socialist managers are becoming ever greater
because of the increased independence of our
industrial enterprises, and that is why we are
constantly organising special schools, courses
and seminars in order to perfect the advanced
training of management personnel.
In quoting the example of my country in
manpower planning and training in all branches
of economic life, including management func-
tions, I have wanted to stress the vast role
which can be played by the International
Labour Organisation. Instead of supporting
the antiquated position of the Employers'
group and contesting the right of the socialist
Employers to participate on an equal footing
in the activities of the Organisation, it would
be far wiser to ask them to share their experi-
ence which is particularly useful for the
developing countries. As regards the develop-
ment of manpower resources, the Director-
General rightly points to the training of per-
sons on whom the development of industry
depends, namely managers, instructors, inspec-
tors, maintenance technicians, etc. Measures
are also proposed with a view to improved
management methods. May this not remain a
pious wish, but instead become an active policy
which will benefit all countries irrespective of
their social and economic system.
Unfortunately, the practice of discrimination
against the socialist Employers in the I.L.O. is
continuing. This year in the Employers'
conference there was again this situation, when a
woman—despite the legitimate claim of the
employers of Bulgaria—was denied the right
to participate as a regular member in the
Committee discussing the employment of
women with family responsibilities. It is true
that the situation was corrected by the Appeals
Board, which I should like to thank, but
this erroneous attitude towards the socialist
Employers is in flagrant contradiction to the
principles of democracy, universality and fair
geographical distribution which are funda-
mental principles of every international
organisation.
Discrimination by a certain group of Employ-
ers' delegates reflects on the whole activities
of the Organisation and lowers its prestige. I con-
sider that the Conference should, first of all,
prove that concept of employer applies to
every manager of an undertaking who is a
party to an employment agreement, irrespec-
tive of whether he owns the undertaking or not,
and irrespective of the social and economic
system or the geographical location of the
undertaking which he happens to manage.
Last year we already raised the question of
the strict observance of the principle of equi-
table geographical distribution of leading posts
in the Conference and in the organs of the
I.L.O., and specifically of Employer posts. In
this connection I fully support the resolution
submitted by the Government delegates of
Poland and the Ukraine. The time has surely
come to examine these matters in the Con-
ference as well as in other organs of the I.L.O.
and to solve them in accordance with the
principles of universality and equitable geo-
ographical distribution. This should apply not
only to the Government groups but also to the
Employers' and Workers' groups.
Many delegates here expressed their con-
cern over tension in the world. The Bulgarian
employers share this concern. It seems to us
that we cannot remain indifferent when bombs
are falling on the peaceful cities of Viet-Nam,
when intervention is going on in the Dominican
Republic and workers are perishing. The I.L.O.
must condemn all aggressive action and under-
take decisive steps to strengthen the peace, and
achieve complete disarmament and the liquida-
tion of colonialism.
The PRESIDENT—I stated that references to theatres of war will be considered out of order in this meeting, and I therefore request the speaker not to continue in that strain about what I consider to be theatres of war.

Interpretation from Russian: Mrs. PEEVA—I have finished, Sir. In my belief the I.L.O. should condemn all aggressive action and take decisive steps to strengthen peace, to ensure complete disarmament and to put an end to colonialism. Thus, the Organisation that is called upon to work for the well-being of all workers will make a major contribution to the strengthening of international cooperation and will be able to carry out the humanitarian tasks for which it exists.

Mr. HACKSHAW (Workers’ delegate, Trinidad and Tobago)—Coming from a country like Trinidad and Tobago with a cosmopolitan population representing nearly every nation on earth, I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by previous speakers in congratulating you on your election. Although this is the first time I am attending this Conference, I do so not merely at home participating, because of the very composition and structure of this august body, and in particular under your chairmanship, Sir, more especially because of the fact that descendants from your country and India provide my country with about 37 per cent. of its present population. It is also with much jubilation I welcome the four independent nations—Zambia, Malta, Morocco and Yemen—which were admitted into full membership of the I.L.O. family, and on behalf of the workers of Trinidad and Tobago I extend to these countries goodwill and solidarity on their attainment of freedom and independence. My country looks forward to the day in the not-too-distant future when the remaining areas still under colonial rule, especially our brothers in the Caribbean, will attain their freedom and independence, thereby becoming equal partners in this great international brotherhood.

Speaking on the Report of the Director-General, I do not think that there is need for me to say much except to express appreciation to the Director-General for a job well done in the preparation of a valuable document in the concise manner in which it has been prepared. I only wish to endorse his views as expressed on the scope of I.L.O. activities in each of the three broad programme areas—namely human resources development, the development of social institutions, and conditions of work and life—as outlined in his Report, and to express approval of the fields included in these broad programme areas, also the ways recommended in which the different facets of each programme should be drawn together to form one coherent and mutually supporting set of activities.” Permit me, however, to make some general observations on the structure of the I.L.O. as it affects the area within which my country falls.

The Caribbean region, although falling within Latin America, is by tradition and culture different from the other portions of Latin America itself, in that the majority of the islands are inhabited by English-speaking people. The development of the area needs special consideration if the fullest results are to be achieved from the proposed regional activities of the I.L.O. in the area. Its future lies in the rapid development of a Caribbean economic community, and the area has been neglected by the former metropolitan powers. My country has been for years the chief centre of attraction of the other English-speaking islands in terms of economic and social advancement of the people of those islands, and today the pressures, strains and stresses are now felt much more as a result of such hospitality. Assistance in the field of economic planning and economic development is urgent for the area, as it is confronted with many urgent economic and social problems—the most serious of which is unemployment. Speaking of Trinidad and Tobago, with about 14 per cent. unemployment even with all the commendable efforts of the Government to create additional job opportunities with the introduction of its second Five-Year Development Programme (1964-68), the country will not be nearer to solving the problem. On the contrary, it is anticipated that unemployment will increase by some 4,100 persons by the end of the period of the Development Programme in 1968. With Trinidad and Tobago taking care of its own population, it can to some extent solve its unemployment problem within the limits of its own resources but, having to bear the burdens of others, it is faced with a situation of having immigrants from two Caribbean islands, the alone accounting for over 70,000 inhabitants, which is about 10,000 more than the total number of the unemployed in the country. It is in this setting that I speak, advocating that the Caribbean be given special attention by the I.L.O. in its reorganisation of the structure. With the Caribbean as an area separate and independent from Latin America, the I.L.O. programme and activities in the area can be much more easily administered, co-ordinated, and the Caribbean labour movement, on whose behalf I speak, anticipates support of its other brothers in this.

Dealing with Chapter II of the Report of the Director-General—Major Programme Areas—on the question of human resources and economic development, the Director-General expressed confidence in the fact that “with the continued guidance and support of the Conference, the I.L.O. will be able to develop and implement a programme for human resources which will prove to be its most important single contribution to economic and social development.” I feel that I should comment upon this in the context of the Trinidad and Tobago situation.

Like all developing countries, Trinidad and Tobago is faced with grave economic problems in its drive towards economic development, and has experienced problems resulting from rapid economic growth. Having financed its first Five-Year Development Programme almost completely from its own resources (90 per cent.), the country rates among the most economically advanced of the developing countries of the world. Such a rate of progress today stands out as a black mark against its claim for economic aid competing with other developing countries of Asia and Africa. What arises out
of this situation is the question of whether developing countries would be penalised for endeavouring to develop with their own resources? Although Trinidad and Tobago records a high economic growth over the decade, the fact of the matter is that the country is still confronted with many grave economic and social problems; as already mentioned, the major question is one of unemployment. The labour movement of Trinidad and Tobago is gravely concerned about this failure to provide adequate job opportunities, which poses a major social problem. Even with the current second Five-Year Development Programme of the Government being now executed, the fact is that the number of new jobs likely to be created during the development period will fall short of the demands of the rapidly growing population and will make no impact on the growing labour force in the country. The I.L.O. must give attention to developing countries which are penalised for advancing their economic development largely by their own efforts.

We of the labour movement of Trinidad and Tobago do accept the fact that the road towards economic development of developing countries imposes new responsibilities on the labour movement of these countries; however, the fact must not be lost sight of that the primary purpose and function of the labour movement must remain constant in its protection of the rights of the workers, protection from exploitation, in seeking a just share of the national product resulting from such development and in guarding against intrusion on their rights and freedoms. The labour movement of my country maintains that in any plan for economic development the active participation of the workers is a "must" at all levels and stages of the planning and execution of such a programme. It must be appreciated that, before any measure considered to be in the interest of the country during its process of economic development is introduced, such measure must first, and quite rightly, have the support of the workers' organisations before being imposed on the populace. This brings me to a very important consideration: to what extent governments in developing countries in their concern for economic development recognise their obligations to the I.L.O. and the principles of freedom of association and the right of bargaining collectively. Should the workers' rights in developing countries be seriously tampered with in the interest of economic development? These questions need to be answered as they seem to be areas of conflict between governments of developing countries and the labour movement. Although recognising its responsibilities to the country, I cannot see the labour movement in developing countries sacrificing fundamental principles upon which industrial relations rest, and I trust that the I.L.O. will indicate some guidelines upon which these issues could be tackled when determining future policies and objectives of the labour movement vis-à-vis the economic policies of developing countries.

There is a matter over which the labour movement in my country is very disturbed. Our people have historical and cultural ties with the peoples of Africa and the East, and the labour movement is perplexed by what is taking place in Africa. It is our considered view that if positive results are not forthcoming in the solution of the South African situation a very dangerous world problem will develop. The nationals of my country would be anxious to join with all the other oppressed nations to assist in bringing these discriminatory actions on the part of the white South African Government to an end. There is always colossal danger that if a peaceful solution to such a problem cannot be found, a violent one would be attempted, and if one side in a dispute continues to ignore reason it is not surprising when the other adopts an unreasonable approach. The labour movement of Trinidad and Tobago sincerely hopes that satisfactory progress, bearing in mind the rights of all concerned, will be made in order to head off the serious clash that appears to be looming regarding this problem.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)
FIFTEENTH SITTING

Friday, 11 June 1965, 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Raza

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL:
DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from French: Mr. KOKEY (Workers' delegate, Central African Republic)—It is a great privilege and pleasure for me, as it is also for the General Union of Central African Workers, which I represent here, to associate myself with all those who have congratulated you, Sir, on your election to the high post of President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. It is also very agreeable to me to pay tribute to the Director-General and to his co-workers for the very valuable reports which they have submitted to us.

May I turn now to the new countries which have just joined our Organisation and extend to them the cordial welcome of the people of the Central African Republic, and in particular of the workers of that country?

I have very little to add to the discussion of the Director-General's Report, which provides the basis for our study of the programme and structure of the I.L.O.

Today the I.L.O. has a new part to play. It must endeavour to aid the new States Members to accelerate the process of their development through the improvement of their working conditions. In other words, it must lay stress on the need for balanced economic development, because of the repercussions which this growth will have at the human level, i.e. on the rights of the workers, their welfare and their wages, and also because the Organisation must take into account the decisive importance of human effort. Studies, research and analyses must therefore be made to determine the methods and programmes which will be most effective.

Turning to the subject of co-operatives, I must admit that they are only just beginning in my country, but, very fortunately, they are being encouraged by the public authorities, who are sparing no effort to ensure their success.

The Government, within the framework of its policy of raising the standard of living of the mass of the population, the overwhelming majority of which is still drawing its scanty income from agriculture, is supporting the co-operative organisations which will assist it in its struggle against our greatest enemies, namely poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. I do not think it would be out of place if I were to indicate certain objectives which we expect from such organisations.

Firstly, co-operatives are democratising associations and undertakings, and their principle of distribution of income is based on social justice. In addition, co-operatives are equipped to improve production and marketing, so as to ensure that their members receive proper incomes by doing away with middle-men. Henceforth, members of co-operatives will be able to obtain a substantial income from the sale of their products. Moreover, thanks to the co-operatives already set up in my country we shall be able to ensure full employment, as well as to settle the population on the land by stopping the rural exodus and properly to exploit the land, which is our greatest hope of prosperity.

Henceforth my organisation has an essential duty, namely to aid the government authorities in their economic and agricultural campaigns; this will mean going among the rural and working masses with a view to arousing in them a greater sense of national conscience in the field of labour, production and development, since this is a sine qua non for welfare in a country such as my own, belonging to the so-called developing nations.

With respect to the development of social institutions, we should like to give our full support to the objectives referred to in the Director-General's Report, stressing the absolute necessity for making every effort to establish harmonious and trustworthy relations between employers and workers.

The Government of my country has just introduced the system of a continuous working day, which means that work starts at 6.30 a.m. and finishes at 1.30 p.m., with a 15-minute break at 10 o'clock. The economies achieved by this measure are considerable, because hours of work are reduced. It also means that women workers are freed from their paid employment and may turn to their domestic tasks; for others, it means leisure time which may be used to acquire further training and to participate voluntarily in civic activities. In the field of living and working conditions the Central African worker has certain guarantees provided by the legislation in force;
but periodic checks should be undertaken within undertakings by the competent services to see that the legislation is strictly enforced.

Finally, the revision of the Labour Code, which is now being studied, will mean that we shall have an instrument adapted to present-day realities.

Thus I fully associate myself, as well as my union, with the view expressed by the Working Party on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. that the I.L.O. must continue to lay down principles of universal application, while adapting its programmes and techniques to the state of development of each country. It is undeniable that our workers' movement can draw considerable benefit from participation in the meetings of this Organisation.

To come to the burning problem of the African trade union movement, I think that it is important to determine its aspects along the lines of present-day trends, aimed at harmonious development. The main task of the present trade union movement is, therefore, to work out principles for concerted action in spite of the ideological differences which may divide Africans and of different choices of economic methods to solve the problems which arise.

Accordingly, on 24 November 1964, we freely decided to set up a General Union of Workers to work closely with the Government. This co-operation does not mean that we are subservient to the Government as certain suspicious souls may have thought. The union has been created to avoid a dispersion of energy and effort harmful to our ideal of national construction, and, in particular, to protect the interests of the worker. Hence, we think the I.L.O. should give full attention to the problems of training our union leaders. In this connection, I should like here to pay tribute to the International Labour Office for having finally carried out its experimental project on workers' education. This aspect of the I.L.O.'s activities is, I feel, very important. However, I should like to suggest that it should be adapted to national aspirations, for the matter which is of concern to workers throughout the world is certainly peace based on social justice.

Before concluding, I should like to remind delegates that, if the I.L.O. is to establish social peace in the interests of the whole world, it must intensify its action to find a solution to the dramatic problem of the Portuguese colonies, where the Government of Lisbon persists in neglecting the natural rights of the workers concerned and it must not forget those who are being stifled by the odious policy of apartheid.

*Interpretation from Polish: Mr. BURSKI (President, Labour and Wages Committee, Poland)—I am glad to be able to talk from this respected rostrum about certain problems relating to the programme of the I.L.O. I will not raise questions relating to the structure and methods of work of the I.L.O. since the Polish Government has already repeatedly stated its position on this subject.

On the other hand, I wish to refer to Chapter II of the Director-General's Report, in which he rightly stresses the importance of human resources as a factor for stimulating economic and social progress. The solution of this problem demands the harmonisation of programmes and policies relating to manpower with economic development plans.

The experience we have gained in this field in the past 20 years is particularly significant being based on the nationalisation of our means of production, and the central co-ordination of economic processes in close collaboration with local authorities, that is to say through a system linked in a complex manner with the development plans of the whole national economy, in the preparation of which the workers in the towns and villages participate closely. This is a perfect example of the harmonisation of economic development plans with manpower policies and programmes. Thus we have been able rapidly and completely to eliminate the unemployment which was current before the war, to ensure the rapid progress of industrialisation in our country, and to increase the number of persons employed in the national economy outside agriculture from less than 3 million before the war to more than 8.5 million in 1964.

The labour force was increased by approximately 2.8 million persons who completed studies at secondary and vocational schools and 350,000 specialists from the higher educational establishments, which represents almost one-half of the total manpower increase during that period.

During the last 20 years we have become an industrialised country. According to the 1960 census, 62 per cent. of the population was supported by work other than in agriculture, whereas in 1931 this percentage was 40. In the five years from 1966 to 1970, which will be a period of high demographic increase in our country, we are setting ourselves ambitious and difficult tasks in economic development. During that period more than 3 million young people will have reached employment age. Therefore, we must provide about 1.5 million new jobs in order to ensure full employment. This will not be an easy task when one takes into consideration the cost of creating new jobs and the necessity to adapt economic development plans to the demographic situation, which varies according to the different regions of the country.

Nevertheless, in a nationalised economy new and numerous resources of manpower, well prepared for both social and occupational work and fully employed, are an element in the increase in national income and in consumption, thus representing a new potential wealth for our country. We have prepared for many years for this demographic rise and have developed general and occupational education. Thanks to this, more than half the young people who will be joining the labour force in the years 1966 to 1970 will possess high occupational qualifications. Among them there will be more than 100,000 graduates from advanced schools, 400,000 from technical schools and more than 1 million who have finished studies at vocational schools.

Approximately 80 per cent. of the new posts will be distributed in the field of material production. We attach particular importance to creating the largest possible number of new
jobs through better utilisation of productive forces and through an increase in the turnover and better organisation of work. We shall create a considerable number of new posts by developing the service industries, especially those directly benefiting the population, and in particular the rural population. The development of handicraft industries will also play an important role.

With a view to creating 1.5 million new posts we will continue to develop technical progress. The policy of full employment will be linked to the continued increase of labour productivity, modernisation and improvement in the quality of products, and to the lowering of costs of production. This will lead to an increase in the volume of work in production and therefore an increase in the number of highly skilled personnel.

At present and in the next few years we face a difficult task as far as occupational training is concerned, especially for women. Above all, this relates to certain new occupations where very real opportunities of productive employment exist for women.

At the present time women constitute 36 per cent. of the total labour force in the national economy outside agriculture. The continuous increase in women's employment is dictated both by the interests of the women themselves and the needs of the economy in general. On the national level there is a constant lack of male labour, which is even more serious in the industrialised areas. That is why we shall continue to increase our efforts in these areas to replace men by women wherever possible. In other areas we will continue to increase the number of women employed in small-scale industries, services, handicrafts and home work.

Another important problem with a view to full employment of new workers is the appropriate distribution of undertakings throughout the country. The location of investment must correspond to the manpower reserves in the various regions so as to avoid as much as possible the cost of transferring manpower within the country. That is the reason why, in deciding the location of investments, we take account, above all, of the availability of manpower.

In order to avoid tension and difficulty in the utilisation of manpower, we are undertaking the active decentralisation of industry by building new enterprises in the less industrialised regions, by handing over orders to the enterprises in the regions already possessing reserve manpower and even by moving certain enterprises from those regions where there is a chronic lack of manpower, in accordance with economic requirements.

Thus, in seeking the best possible solutions to the problems due to expansion of population, we are concentrating on economic and social measures in order to ensure employment for all citizens in their own country.

The immense tasks which I have just briefly outlined and which will be of concern in my country in the next few years show the particular attention which my Government attaches to the problems of human resources and the need to ensure continuous work for its people in accordance with their skills and inclinations while at the same time raising the material and cultural level of the whole population.

These are difficult tasks which require large investment and great organisational effort.

The positive results obtained up to the present in the economic development of our country generate the accomplishment of our future tasks, which will no doubt displease certain foreign economists and journalists who have claimed that the economic stabilisation of Poland is threatened and that unemployment threatens.

This year we are celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the defeat of Fascist Germany and the end of the Second World War. This anniversary reminds us once more that lasting peace is an essential condition for progress and for the well-being of all the peoples of the world and to ensure that the developing countries can emerge from their backward situation. Lasting peace will permit the constructive use of resources that are today being wasted in an arms race without precedent, in the cold war, in political interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and in brutal armed aggression.

Together with the other socialist countries, Poland has always opposed and will oppose the armaments race by advocating a programme of general and complete disarmament, just as it opposes the cold war by promoting a policy of relaxation and consolidation of world peace, a policy of peaceful coexistence and competition among the different economic systems with a view to raising the standard of living of all peoples of the world.

In this struggle for reduction of tension and for the consolidation of world peace, we expect energetic and increasing participation by the I.L.O. since its tasks and principal aims are in the field of social progress—raising the standard of living of the working masses of the world—which can be successfully fulfilled only in conditions of peaceful co-operation based on respect for the sovereignty and interests of each nation. The participation of the I.L.O. in this struggle is all the more important because the brutal interventions and armed aggressions designed to suppress national liberation movements are increasing, arousing profound misgivings and energetic protests throughout the world, as do the interventions designed to regain by force lost political and economic positions, to recover influence in developing countries, and to consolidate such positions through some form of neo-colonialism by means contrary to the elementary principles of international coexistence and all feelings of humanity.

The peoples of the world know very well what to think of the brutal imperialist aggression in Viet-Nam, the audacious intervention in the Dominican Republic undertaken in violation of the United Nations Charter and infringing the authority of that Organisation, which is an important instrument in safeguarding peace...

The PRESIDENT—I appeal to the speaker to concentrate on peace and not on war.

Interpretation from Polish: Mr. BURSKI—I am at the end of this part of my statement.
They know what to think of the particular missions of States which try to play the part of policemen in the world. But life has already brushed aside more than one unscrupulous doctrine. The peoples of the world have forced more than one politician to abandon his unprincipled and irresponsible plans.

Peace based on social justice can only be consolidated by defending the principle of non-interference in internal affairs and by working actively for the progressive realisation of a world without arms and without armaments. In this sphere we want our aims to coincide with the actions of the I.L.O., not only in the form of abstract declarations but also in the form of positive action on its part, particularly in the field of studies showing the economic and social benefits resulting from the cessation and reduction of armaments for the improvement of the conditions of life of mankind and, in particular, the peoples of the developing countries.

The future authority and role of the I.L.O. will depend on the activities which this Organisation undertakes in this field. That will strengthen the confidence of all States in its recommendations and decisions, and particularly of those which need effective aid in order to overcome the results of colonial exploitation and their backwardness in all spheres of economic and social life.

I am happy to welcome among us the representatives of Zambia, Malawi, Malta, and Yemen who are taking part in the work of our Organisation for the first time as representatives of free people, thus augmenting the ranks of countries that have freed themselves from colonialism. I must stress the fact that the process of universalisation of the I.L.O. makes it essential that the legal representatives of the great Chinese people—that is, the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China—as well as the representatives of the German Democratic Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, who are still wrongfully kept outside the I.L.O., should take their rightful place in our Organisation.

I should like to express my conviction that the I.L.O. will find sufficient strength to trace more effectively the path towards closer international collaboration in the vast fields of action offered by the great social objectives of our time—the safeguarding of peace, the cessation and reduction of armaments, the attainment of social justice in conditions free from all forms of exploitation and oppression and the guarantee of well-being for all mankind.

I can assure you that Poland will always support the just initiatives of the I.L.O., initiatives which will lead to the realisation of that great objective—the safeguarding and consolidation of peace based on social justice and equality of rights for all the peoples of the world.

Mr. RAJASURIYA (Employers' delegate, Ceylon)—I should like first of all to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

Next I wish to congratulate the Director-General on his Report and the admirable survey of the activities of the I.L.O. during 1964.

It must be conceded that the task of the Director-General in preparing his Report has been a difficult one in that the comments of member States and employers' and workers' organisations on the proposals submitted during the debate on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. at the 47th and 48th Sessions had not been received in sufficient numbers in time to be reflected in the Report. The Director-General was left with the next alternative of dealing with general questions of programme and structure on which he could see a clear consensus in order that the Conference might have an opportunity of confirming its agreement on those questions. Incidentally, this position lends support to the view expressed by some in regard to the periodicity of the Conference that it should be held biennially in order to permit sufficient time for adequate study of the various subjects and for preparation.

It is only appropriate that a dynamic organisation such as the I.L.O. should periodically review its programme and structure and adjust its course to suit changing conditions for the better realisation of the objectives for which it stands. The internal structure of the Office has been reorganised to fit the new context. The establishment of the new Field Department is particularly welcome as an indication of the new emphasis on regional activities with greater decentralisation of work, including the move to give better and more frequent opportunities for regional conferences and regional advisory committees to consider and orientate future action in the regions. The maintenance of closer and more frequent contact by the agencies of the I.L.O. with governmental and non-governmental organisations is most essential; in particular, contacts with the latter have been slow to develop in the past.

The measures proposed for the development and implementation of a programme of human resources for the developing countries, among which my country could be included, are in the right direction. In this connection I should like to dwell on some aspects of the problem facing my country.

The Director-General has mentioned population growth, illiteracy, educational systems insufficiently geared to economic realities, physiological problems of adaptation to a new working milieu and discipline, and inadequate resources, as aggravating factors in the solution of the problems facing developing countries.

As an example of the educational system being insufficiently geared to economic realities I might mention my country, which has been implementing a policy of providing free education for nearly two decades now. This system has produced tens of thousands of youths who have completed an academic course at the secondary or senior secondary school level and are vainly searching for white-collar jobs, which are hard to come by for even a fraction of them. The result of this educational system has been a reluctance on the part of those concerned to follow traditional occupations, thereby creating
serious problems of labour supply. On the other hand, the development needs of the country demand adequately trained personnel at all levels, which the system is not geared to produce. This is a situation in the correction of which the I.L.O. can be of much assistance.

My country depends for the resources for its development on the sale of its primary products—particularly tea, rubber and coconuts, which play a dominant role in the economy of the country, accounting for 91 per cent. of the exports in 1964. A large proportion of our food requirements as well as raw materials are imported. But, owing to our dwindling foreign exchange reserves, drastic restrictions and even prohibitions have been imposed on the importation of many items of goods which are by no means luxury goods, but include essential raw materials, for want of which some of our new-born industries have had to lie idle in recent years.

The irony of it all is that this situation does not result from a lack of effort on the part of my country to increase production. In fact, tea production, for instance, has increased 26 per cent. in the last decade and there have also been substantial increases in the production of rubber and coconuts. The increase in production of tea, has, unfortunately, been offset by the decline in prices over the last decade. Although tea production has gone up by more than 100 million pounds in the last ten years, or 26 per cent., tea prices have fallen from Rs. 3.50 a pound (f.o.b.) in 1955 to Rs. 2.51 a pound (f.o.b.) in 1954, or a fall of 25 per cent. Consequently the total foreign exchange earnings on tea have remained more or less static for the last ten years.

The position is even more serious when we take into account the inflation in world prices of our imports which imposes a further reduction in the quantum of goods that we are able to purchase for our foreign exchange earnings on tea. This serious alteration in the terms of trade adversely affecting developing countries should be a matter for international concern. The recent conference in Geneva on this problem shows that these difficulties are widely appreciated and it is to be hoped that the organisation of remedial measures will be pursed.

The outlook for the future is not any brighter, however. Tea, in particular, faces the prospect of world over-production owing to increased productivity in established tea-producing countries such as Ceylon and the progressive entry into the market of new tea-producing countries, particularly the newly emerging countries of Africa. Rubber has to meet an ever-increasing pressure from synthetics, while coconuts has to contend with both synthetic substitutes and domestic price support policies in some countries.

One possible remedy is to promote, at international level, price stability from the point of view of the primary producing countries by means of international commodity agreements or other arrangements for the stabilisation of the prices of particular primary commodities. I would like to urge that the I.L.O. should make all possible contributions to this end. The stabilisation of the prices of primary commodities would enable developing countries with mainly agricultural economies to embark with confidence on ambitious development programmes which alone could solve the twin problems of acute unemployment—including underemployment—and low living standards in these countries.

Practical research to determine the measures likely to have the maximum impact on the solution of the problems of underdevelopment and unemployment is one field within the direct competence of the I.L.O. in which the Organisation could make a direct and most useful contribution, as is also the programme for improving the quality of the labour force, in particular the training of managers, trainers, supervisors, maintenance personnel and certain highly skilled workers.

The development of genuinely representative and independent workers' organisations has been handicapped in some countries by the organisations becoming mere appendages of political parties and being used as tools in the game of party politics. There is thus a multiplicity of trade unions from the level of the workplace to the national level rendering collaboration and co-operation difficult in view of the unhealthy rivalry among them to outbid one another with political advantage as the principal objective. This is another field in which the I.L.O. could usefully engage itself to help the growth of genuinely representative and independent workers' organisations which will also be responsible organisations capable of playing a constructive role in economic and social development. Otherwise the creation of even the best machinery by the State for the resolution of differences which might arise between workers and employers would not be of much help. Workers' organisations should be prepared to appraise problems taking into account the interests of the country as a whole.

I think general support will also be available for the idea that the I.L.O.'s operational activities should contribute to strengthening and improving national institutions for the training of personnel management.

In conclusion, I would like to state that research and dissemination of information on the various subjects and the publication of appropriate guides by the I.L.O. would be of practical help to developing countries in their endeavours towards economic and social development.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. CRUZADO ZAVALA (Workers' delegate, Peru)—I should like to offer my congratulations, in the name of the workers of Peru, on your election as President of the Conference, and congratulate the sister nations of Zambia, Malta, Yemen, and Gambia, for having achieved independence and become Members of this Organisation which is so keenly concerned in the development of human resources, better labour relations, promotion of the trade union movement, better conditions of life and work, to name the aspects of I.L.O. activity to which Mr. Morse gives particular attention both in his Report and in the activities which he directs.

Perhaps it is premature to refer to the reorganisation of the Office, which was only started at the beginning of 1965. We hope that, in addition to its objectives, it will better enable the Office to give advice, to defend freedom of
association, and to provide technical assistance. In a changing world the understanding of immediate priorities must be accompanied by action to implement them. The needs of the developing countries almost always require rapid attention.

There is an increasing desire for the decentralisation of I.L.O. activities, not only as a result of the striking increase in its operational activities, and its tendency towards more regional co-operation, but also as a consequence of the more and more pressing needs of the underdeveloped areas, where people feel increasing disappointment when they find in some respects the gap between their own extreme poverty and the wealth of the more developed areas is growing wider.

Wise decentralisation should lead us to real tripartite regional conferences on the lines of the General Conference, in which governments, employers and workers have collaborated in the past in an adventure which should serve as a lesson in the present.

At no time should standard-setting, labour relations, research, technical assistance and information be handled in separate compartments, nor should urgent practical objectives affect the reaching of the Organisation's universal goals.

Between the I.L.O.'s high social policy at the world level, pointing the way to a new and more equitable system of law, and the return to narrow old objectives, whether national or regional, there can be no hesitation. But it will depend on the I.L.O. itself whether the changes now proposed in response to a widespread demand, lead to greater justice, efficiency and creative power.

The Workers' Confederation of Peru, the authentic national trade union centre of our country, sincerely echoes the aspirations expressed in the Report, for since its establishment it has unceasingly striven so that democracy and human freedom may be the rule. It hopes that the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, which Peru has ratified but which has long been obstructed by administrative arrangements, will soon be put into effect. We hope also soon to be able to show a number of ratifications that not only the workers but others are living in peace among the States Members of the I.L.O.

We have supported in every way the constructive work undertaken by the Organisation, and therefore we believe that labour in Peru merits attention and support from it, particularly as we have been neglected to some extent under current systems of rotation. This neglect is particularly striking in the case of our textile industry, which has been in existence for 4,000 years and which can be proud of its dyes, designs and artistic techniques.

I shall not take up your time by describing the increased importance of land, river and lake transport in Peru, but I must say that it has caused much surprise that for reasons not yet duly explained my country should have lost its place on the Inland Transport Committee.

We hope that the regional offices of the I.L.O., will, in practical and other matters affecting our development, be directed by competent experts. The more these offices are independent of non-tripartite influences—em-
my Confederation has already stated, labour relations become more human when both parties have the right to speak. Our national centre, as the Employers' representatives at this Conference will agree, has proposed giving these relations a more realistic form by setting up joint committees at various levels. This recognition and institutionalisation will permit direct negotiation, and we can thus move forward by seeking solutions jointly for our common problems. We consider this system should be fruitful above all because it does not require either of the parties to renounce their rights.

Our Government, also, has called for an atmosphere of co-operation in order to have a labour code drafted with tripartite assistance. We believe that this well-intentioned step will give good results. The I.L.O. experts on labour law understand the character of our American legal systems, some of which are advanced and others backward, but almost all embody vestiges of feudalism and thus the idea of legalising the so-called right not to join a union.

As regards trade union rights, my Confederation made a complaint to the Committee on Freedom of Association regarding Presidential Decree No. 009, which we consider to be in open contradiction with the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949. We welcomed the decision of the Committee in March 1963, and the matter was settled in June of the same year at the 155th Session of the Governing Body, when the Peruvian Government representative confirmed that the ratification of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, abrogated all contrary legislation. The Peruvian workers have made a big effort to co-operate in moving forward towards social progress along new paths, which will lead to agreement instead of raising difficulties that would encourage agitation by demagogues.

The reference to migration in the Report reminds me of the internal migration to which agricultural conditions have led in all the developing countries of the Americas. The neglected masses flock to the coast and fill our hills and beaches with their miserable temporary hovels. The results are infamous slums, congestion in housing, transport, food supplies, etc., and the remedy for such overcrowding is agrarian reform. Convinced of this, we shall resist the false reform which some feudal lords seek to introduce under the pretext of "urban reform"—the only true objective of which is to exclude large areas from agrarian reform. The experience of Mexico and Bolivia is so encouraging that we can reject any misrepresentation of the only way to progress in which the responsible majority in Peru has any confidence.

As regards the co-operative movement, on which we already have legislation aimed at benefiting the low-income groups, I should like to mention an event which sets an example throughout the Americas, namely the establishment of the Trade Union Co-operative Alliance (ASLNCOOP), which is a workers' housing construction bank. This credit and savings agency has been established by my Confederation, the Peruvian Private Employees' Organisation, the Institute for Free Trade Unionism, the Co-operative Housing Federation (FECOVIPE) and our brothers of the American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations. At present savings are exceeding a million soles a month. They go to sustain over 65 housing co-operatives. There are 150 officially recognised housing co-operatives in Peru and 50 others in course of establishment. All belong to the Co-operative Housing Federation organised by the Workers' Confederation of Peru.

We wish the principles of trade union freedom, organisation and collective bargaining to be strengthened in Peru. These aims can only be reached by constant exercise of representative democracy and by fighting against all forms of totalitarianism and colonialism.

Whatever the I.L.O. can do to strengthen democracy in our country and in Latin America will contribute to its own renown in the historic fight for a just world order. Every country is entitled to choose its own rulers by democratic election and to enjoy full self-determination free from any intervention external to the system of interdependence which has been established for defence against totalitarianism and colonialist interference. If our regional system breaks down the first victims will be the workers. We therefore need a strong I.L.O. to defend the workers' rights in a world of justice, peace and liberty.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. ISMAIL (Representative of the League of Arab States)—I have pleasure in greeting you, on behalf of the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, and in congratulating the President for the great trust that has been shown in him by his election to his high post.

I would also like to thank the Director-General for the invitation he addressed to the Secretariat of the League of Arab States to attend this 49th Session of the Conference.

Following the efforts that have been made by the League in accordance with the wishes of the I.L.O., I am glad to see that all Arab States are joining the International Labour Organisation, to welcome warmly the accession of the Arab Republic of Yemen and to express to it my best wishes for progress. I hope that this Organisation will soon include the other independent Arab States or those which will shortly be achieving their independence.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Zambia, Malta and Malawi on having joined the Organisation.

The identity of purpose which the League of Arab States seeks to achieve with the principles for which the International Labour Organisation was created establishes a close link between the activities of the two organisations and has led to close co-operation between them. This co-operation was, moreover, defined in the provisions of the agreement concluded between them in 1958, provisions which relate to reciprocal representation at meetings where matters of common interest are discussed, to the exchange of technical experience, information and statistics, and to consultation in fields of mutual concern.
Fifteenth Sitting

Bearing in mind the fact that the Arab language is the language of approximately 100 million persons belonging to the Arab States, the League, within the framework of its collaboration with the Office has published a complete translation of the two volumes of the International Labour Code. This certainly contributed to raising to 234 the number of international labour Conventions adopted by the Arab States by 1 January of this year. Furthermore, the League has translated the Constitution of the I.L.O. and the Standing Orders of the Conference into Arabic, as well as certain technical reports published by the I.L.O. dealing with questions of particular importance for the Arab States, such as the Labour Survey of North Africa, Employment and Economic Growth, Why Labour Leaves the Land, etc. Finally, the General Secretariat of the League prepares yearly studies in Arabic bearing on the items on the agenda of the sessions of the International Labour Conference.

You are certainly aware that the Arab countries form, when taken as a whole, a single nation with all the characteristics of unity. This unity is based not only on historical reasons but also on geographic, economic, cultural and social considerations. The Arab nation has strongly resisted all the circumstances of diversity that have led to its being split up into several political entities and it continues to resist the plots that are directed against it.

In order to achieve the fundamental wish of the Arab peoples for unity; being convinced that the regroupment of the labour forces within a single Arab nation represents one of the cornerstones of Arab recognition and that collaboration in the labour field will advance Arab society; with a view to social justice; with a view to guaranteeing the Arab's right to a better life and in response to the requirements of economic and social development; basing itself on the Charter of the League of Arab States and in accordance with the principles and rules laid down by the I.L.O., the Council of the League of Arab States approved, at its 43rd Session in March 1965, the recommendations of the first Conference of Arab Ministers of Labour which met in Baghdad in January 1965. These recommendations included a plan for the adoption of an Arab Labour Charter and at the creation of an Arab Labour Organisation, which would be a specialised agency of the League of Arab States.

This action bears witness to the sincere interest which the Arab States have in labour matters. It is also a guarantee of the right of the labouring masses in the Arab nations to better conditions—a right which the Organisation aims at safeguarding and of the establishment of an educational system corresponding to the needs of the Arab States as regards human resources and their economic development; joint studies in the field of planning and of full employment, as well as in the field of labour relations.

Certain Arab States have already filed with the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States instruments of ratification of the Labour Charter and the Constitution of the Arab Labour Organisation. We hope that other Arab countries will ratify these two documents so that the Arab Labour Organisation may assume its responsibilities and thus become the second specialised Arab institution following the establishment of the Arab Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organisation.

It may be noted that among the recommendations of the first Conference of Arab Ministers of Labour was one for the establishment of unified Arab labour legislation, as well as one for the creation of an Arab institute for vocational and technical training.

The Secretariat has formed a technical commission to draft such legislation and the statutes of the institute, whose activities, we hope, will complement the work of the Turin Centre.

We hope also that fruitful co-operation between the two bodies will help to safeguard the rights of the labouring Arab masses to be trained with a view to raising the productive capacity of the Arab nation.

The activities of the Secretariat of the League of Arab States are not confined to co-operation with Arab governments; they also include co-operation with Arab employers' and workers' organisations, which takes the form, for example, of participation in meetings organised by employers' and workers' organisations, with a view to securing the best possible information on the viewpoints of all the parties concerned. Furthermore, the Secretariat co-operates with these organisations in the technical and material fields.

May I, in reviewing the agenda of this session, express my appreciation for the efforts which the I.L.O. is making as regards the revision of its General Programme and for the resolution in which the I.L.O. is facing the ever greater requirements of this changing world, adapting its means to the most varied situations.

I realise the importance of the responsibilities which must be assumed by the Organisation, whose membership has grown by about one-third during the past six years. I hope, however, that the developing States—and they include the co-operative Arab nations—will give a greater share of that technical co-operation of which they are in such great need. Thus the Organisation will really have served the cause of world peace and of social justice.

I am glad also to express satisfaction at the happy choice of subjects for consideration at this session, especially the items on agrarian reform and women workers with family responsibilities. Indeed, the study of the first subject will help to eliminate unemployment in its various forms, to increase national income and production levels, and to raise the standard of living of the agricultural worker—all problems which particularly affect developing countries.
With regard to women workers, they certainly deserve the assurance that they will be able to carry out their work without prejudicing their family responsibilities.

I should also like to stress the honourable attitude taken by the Conference with regard to the question of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa; I hope that it will take energetic measures to eliminate apartheid wherever it obtains.

The success of the Conference in condemning the States which practise this inhuman policy leads me to hope that the Conference will also condemn the crimes of slavery that are being perpetrated against our brothers in Angola and in Mozambique; conscience dictates that this should be done.

I wish this Conference every success.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. Galdós García (Employers’ delegate, Spain)—In the name of the employers of Spain, I am very happy to be able to congratulate Mr. Raza on his well-deserved election to the post of President of this Conference.

The Report submitted by the Director-General which we are discussing here describes the work of the Office along the lines set out at earlier meetings for the future action of the I.L.O. The subjects are limited to those where, during the discussions, a considerable degree of conformity was reached and although the length of experience has not been very long to enable one to draw precise conclusions, it would appear that the action of the Office has intensified and that there is cause to hope that in the next stage positive results will ensue. The Director-General has said that perhaps in the near future proposals will be made in connection with certain items which are open to discussion.

With reference to international labour standards, he says that the opinions more or less coincide and that this fact strengthens the need for establishing new rules; hence he deduces that it is superfluous to continue the discussion on this subject. I hope Mr. Morse will permit me to express my disagreement with such a sweeping conclusion. The Employers' group has maintained a very clear position in this connection, which is open to no misinterpretation. We feel that the international labour standards in force cover the needs of the time. They have not all as yet been applied everywhere, and we feel that the emphasis should be on application rather than have a profusion of instruments which might be quite unsuitable.

We fully approve of the proposal urging an improvement in conditions of employment, the participation of the workers' representatives and employers in public planning and the inclusion in such public plans of provisions relating to the world of labour, particularly that of employment.

We also feel that it is very desirable to decentralise activities both for reasons of functional efficiency and because it makes it possible to focus on problems from a rational point of view more satisfactorily than can be done by highly concentrated bodies. Thus the I.L.O. can better meet the requirement, which the Director-General considers to be imperative, that it should have a full understanding of the situation in each country and in each region. This spirit is reiterated when the Director-General brings out the need for the study and solution of labour disputes, bearing in mind the interests of the national community.

Taking these paragraphs as examples of many more outstanding expressions of the Director-General’s intentions, I should like to say that what he says certainly does not imply any compromise with the principles on which the very essence and existence of the I.L.O. depend.

We have observed, however, that our institution has started along rather dangerous paths which may result in deplorable consequences if the action of the I.L.O. does not flow through orthodox channels. At my speech at the 47th Conference I said that the I.L.O. must not continue to convert itself into a platform for the discussion of matters which might be very interesting, but which should be handled by other and more appropriate organisations.

If all countries had exactly the same political, economic and social régimes, and if the power of the country were exercised always in exactly the same way, there would be no need to have an International Labour Organisation. Its existence is justified precisely because of the very diversity which arises out of the circumstances and the realities deep-rooted in each region. The universality of the Office should make expression of each and every point of view possible, and the most convincing arguments should be adopted. For our part, we do not like intervention or nationalisation. These are the extreme recourses which we think should be practised only when there are no other feasible solutions. Therefore, we do not approve of a system which takes restrictive action against the promotion of private initiative. But that does not mean that we refuse to listen, provided others listen to us and that both sides are sincere. No one can claim to possess all the truth, but it is valuable to appreciate the stand taken by those who differ in opinion without having recourse to violence. Here we are trying to persuade the world to adopt those standards which, because of their universal nature and their justice, could be established in all countries. To reach this objective, the I.L.O. is characterised by its tripartite nature where a proper balance is maintained between Governments, Employers and Workers. Anything which might destroy this balance would be an attack on the basic principle of the I.L.O.

Consequently, we consider any formula to be unacceptable which would make it possible to impose on any of the three groups—on the Employers in particular—persons who were not elected within the group itself. It is only natural, of course, to permit appeals against irregularities, but let us not shelter irregularities by imposing persons on the group who do not have the qualifications to represent those persons they are supposed to represent. The person concerned must really be an employer; one cannot just simply attach a label to a person and call him an employer when he is a government agent.

We do not know if any new procedure will be possible, but no solution would be acceptable
if it were to distort the basic rules essential to the very existence of this Organisation.

We are very much concerned to see certain political manoeuvres which reflect so much passionate ill-will that they lead their authors to make false accusations and to raise questions that are quite out of place in the I.L.O., using language which is unacceptable and inadmissible in institutions where good manners are basic. There are some who think that the use of this kind of language gives greater force to the argument. That is not only untrue but exposes far more clearly an unreasoning attitude and a lack of decorum such as are never shown by those who, in good faith, firmly believe in their arguments. This is clear evidence of an attempt to introduce politics, which is not in line with the objectives of the I.L.O. and may lead to the beginning of its end. Perhaps this is what certain persons have in mind when they make use of these methods. It would be of no use to have a new structure of the I.L.O., whether more or less effective in certain fields, if at the same time the foundations of the Organisation were undermined by forces which finally destroyed it.

In this connection, I think anything that the Office can do should be done to avoid fostering any illegitimate aims based on motives which cannot be own to others and which are perhaps designed to prevent examination of the behaviour of those practising these methods, who attempt by means of false accusations to divert attention towards those of us who fortunately have a higher concept of our fellow men.

There are many countries, but unfortunately not all, whose frontiers are open and whose territories can be visited quite freely. Great numbers of private citizens are the best judge of the degree of freedom of every country. The world knows who it is that sets back time by fostering conflicts and maintaining humanity in a state of constant uncertainty instead of trying to solve urgent problems.

Men and peoples of goodwill are collaborating in constructive work. We are ready to accept advice and information from those who try to convince us with a philosophical analysis of the systems that they practise. But those who attack us, imputing to us improper practices which they themselves pursue are wasting their time.

Let the luke-warm and the apathetic take heed. Diverg nces can be harmful and an evil which is not nipped in the bud can grow into a real danger for those who naively believe that certain attitudes merely represent a private quarrel.

The projects are ample and well thought out, and you can see how they require all of us in our interventions to take up considerable time in expressing what is happening, at least as food for thought. I do not wish to omit to point out what my country is doing in the field of wise evolution, maintaining principles which have been proved by time and experience. It has just set up provincial and national councils of employers and workers respectively. All posts, without exception—I wish to stress this, without exception—including those of chairmen, are filled by completely free elections. All persons concerned take part without discrimination, regardless of religion, race, political beliefs, sex or background. They elect representatives, including those who come to the I.L.O., and their action corresponds to principles of freedom which we prove by our unequivocal attitude. I can provide full proof of my statements with regard to the employers who make up the councils, and I can give you their names and activities. No falsification is possible here. The years of service of representatives and those they represent in undertakings well-known inside Spain as well as outside are incontrovertible evidence.

My country has now drafted legislation connected with the right to strike, which will convert a de facto right into a de jure one. There are some countries which have recognised it in their legislation but in practice do not allow its application.

For us the time has come to put our law into conformity with practice and thus prove that there is no intention to evade the issue. Many have understood the situation and recognise the truth. This can be proved to anyone who with open-minded sincerity wants to know what is the actual situation.

I hasten to say that we do not expect as a consequence of our very free statements here that there will be a stop to the attacks on Spain made by those for whom no reason is sufficiently valid to cease behaviour which is based on motives which have nothing to do with what their arguments affirm.

It is quite clear that everything we do is a consequence of our free decision, not due to weakness, fear, or any desire just to please anybody. It is significant that every time we take a new step forward the attacks increase.

The spirit of all Spaniards is in its very essence free, and we maintain a high and uncompromising concept of sovereignty, which is so often invoked from this rostrum. In our constant progress we are rapidly attaining a situation which many who make it their business to plot and foment trouble would be only too glad to have for themselves.

Whereas, for example, there is no military jurisdiction in my country to judge or intervene in specific cases, the contrary is stated, and it is deplorable that there are still people who in good faith believe that this is true without taking the trouble to see what the actual situation is.

I conclude by pledging our honest collaboration in working towards a better world illuminated by freedom and justice. It was this desire that moved Spain to become a Member of the I.L.O. from the very inception of this international body.

Mr. PALMER (Workers' delegate, Sierra Leone)—On behalf of the workers of Sierra Leone, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, and to associate myself with the remarks made by the other speakers on your elevation to your high office and wish you all success in steering our deliberations. Much has been said about your nice qualities by various speakers, and I do not wish to expound on them.

 Permit me to inform this Conference of my organisation in brief. On 18 June 1964 history
was created in the Sierra Leone labour movement, when the then Sierra Leone Council of Labour and Trades Union Congress met, resolved their differences and agreed on the birth of a new organisation known as the Sierra Leone Federation of Labour.

My organisation has a non-alignment policy which coincides with that of my Government. It is the policy of my organisation to work in close concert with other African labour movements in particular and with other international organisations in general.

Although this is my first opportunity of attending the International Labour Conference, I have found the Director-General's Report very concise, educative, straightforward and stimulating. May I say that my organisation wholeheartedly supports and endorses the remarks made by the Director-General in his Report under the heading "Living and Working Conditions" and prays fervently that the International Labour Organisation will be able in the near future to tackle this important problem, in keeping with the principles of the I.L.O. The Director-General has been able to cover in his Report a wide range of industrial problems facing young developing nations so as to bring about happiness and stability in the nations. On behalf of my organisation, I have to thank the Director-General for the excellent Report which he has presented to us and I wish him continued success.

Regarding the policy of apartheid being practised by the Verwoerd régime in South Africa, the workers of Sierra Leone stand firmly behind the I.L.O. in any positive action to be taken, and this I think has the support of the Government of Sierra Leone. Today, we are in a changing world and one should not be pragmatic over the past, but should be optimistic so as to move with the times.

The relationship between my organisation and the Government is cordial. My organisation is free from government interference and therefore enjoys the right of freedom of movement and to organise. My organisation is autonomous and keeps within the principles of the I.L.O.

I wish to inform you that some unions in Sierra Leone have signed collective agreements with various employers providing the workers with improved wages and fringe benefits (apart from the statutory awards made by various wages boards and joint industrial councils), as an impetus to increased productivity and to create security for workers in their employment. I am very happy that the Government of Sierra Leone has ratified the Governing Machinery Convention, 1963 (No. 119), and I hope that it will speed up legislation which will also embody the provisions of the Termination of Employment Recommendation, 1963 (No. 119).

There is no social security scheme provided for the workers by the State. However, the Government has for some time been considering the inclusion of a provision for a provident fund whereby each employer will have to contribute a certain percentage of workers' salaries. It is the aim of my organisation to discuss the improvement of the Workmen's Compensation Act with the Government in order to bring it into line with present-day needs.

It is the intention of my organisation to appeal to the Government to look very seriously and urgently into the wage pattern in the country so as to obviate the disparity in incomes, which is considered at present to be too wide. When this is done, there is sure to be happiness among the workers and the creation of new jobs.

Regarding the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of Sierra Leone, it is evident that a clear and practical policy conceived by the I.L.O. will be most beneficial to our country, taking into account our natural resources. If our resources are pooled, there will be (a) more employment, (b) more circulation of currency (boosting the country's economy), and (c) stability in the nation. My organisation is actively contemplating the running of its own co-operative for the benefit of its members and their families.

Permit me to appeal to the African workers' representatives present here to be more united and co-operative so that the Organisation of African Unity can at least achieve its objectives. It is quite certain that no government can plan its economy without including the labour movement. And as such, the labour movement should be prepared to co-operate with the government of the day when it comes to matters affecting the projection of the African image. While we are convinced that we should go all out to ensure the improvement of the workers' lot our international policies should not be diametrically opposed to those of our governments. Although some labour movements are free from government control, yet, in important matters of both national and international import, there should be a degree of unity in our action in order to bring about fruitful results. It is indeed a shame for me to say that the African governments within the Organisation of African Unity are more united than the African workers. May I appeal once again to my African comrades to think in the interest of Africa as a whole so that we can pool our resources in order to build up Africa as a great unit in the very near future.

Once again I wish to congratulate you on behalf of the workers of Sierra Leone on your election to preside over this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. The good qualities you have shown so far convince us that, with the co-operation of the I.L.O. staff, this will undoubtedly be one of our most successful conferences.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mrs. DEFILLIPPI MORENO (Workers' delegate, Chile)—It is a privilege for me to speak at this Conference—a privilege which seems all the greater when I remember that I am the first woman to have been elected to represent the workers of my country at this tripartite meeting. I have observed with real interest and pleasure that the agenda of this session of the Conference includes specific points of international importance to women workers: the employment of women with family responsibilities, and the application of the maternity protection instruments, particularly the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3), the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 (No. 103), and the
Maternity Protection Recommendation, 1952 (No. 95).

In the name of the workers, and particularly of the working women of Chile, representing 300,000 organised workers, I should like to assure you of our sincere desire to co-operate with the Governing Body of the I.L.O., in view of the magnificent and well-documented work which the Organisation is doing to lay down general labour standards at the international level. These international instruments are of vital importance for the workers, and particularly for the working women, because in my country, as in many others, they have not been recognised as having the equal rights to which they are entitled as human beings; nor, what is more, has there been recognition of the increasing role which working women play in the life of the country.

The workers of my country regard the standing-setting work of the I.L.O. as extremely important, and they strongly desire that this work not only continue but be intensified and extended until it reaches the farthest corners of the world.

There is another point which I would like to stress here, namely that the I.L.O., using all the means at its disposal, should give greater publicity to these standards, particularly those which refer to women, because the great majority of women have no exact knowledge of their rights, and, without such knowledge, they are discriminated against and exploited without knowing that they have legal recourse against these situations.

I should like to make a cordial appeal to all delegations to this Conference to support unanimously the proposed Recommendation being drawn up by the Committee on Women's Work so that there may be finally a unanimous vote in favour of the proposed Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities.

I should now like to refer to that part of the Director-General's Report which relates to women workers, and to congratulate the Office very warmly on the work it has done and is doing in this field.

We women consider that the time has come for greater regard to be paid to the undeniable fact that women make up a third of the economically active population of the world, and that consequently, at the level of the I.L.O. and within each of our countries, priority should be given to the following problems.

Firstly, young women workers should, without distinction of sex, be given sound vocational training as a basis for their future working career, and the public authorities and employers should be reminded at all sectors and levels that this kind of training is as necessary for women as it is for men.

Secondly there is another field in which the co-operation of the I.L.O. can be of great benefit to women workers. I refer to technical assistance in the educational work which the trade unions are carrying out. By means of its aid and technical assistance, the I.L.O. could contribute to equipping women who have leadership qualities with the knowledge and training which they need to carry out responsibly their difficult task of securing not only a higher standard of living but also an improvement in conditions of work for their comrades.

I sincerely thank you, Mr. President, for having enabled me to express my modest but frank ideas in defence of the particular interests and rights of working women.

(The Conference adjourned at 4.45 p.m.)
ADDRESS BY MR. DACKO, PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT—It is one of my most pleasant duties in this session to welcome His Excellency the President of the Central African Republic, Mr. David Dacko, to this Conference. It is an honour of which we are fully conscious. He has, in spite of his multifarious duties and cares of office, found time to come here; this shows the esteem in which this Organisation is held everywhere in the world.

I have great pleasure in calling upon him to address the Conference.

Interpretation from French: Mr. DACKO (President of the Central African Republic)—Mr. President, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, the Central African Republic greets you through me, and, through all the delegations, greets also the nations represented here, which are tirelessly exploring every avenue in their efforts to ensure peace in the world.

I also greet the new member States on their entry to the Organisation which has just been welcomed by you.

I should like personally to thank the President of the Conference, His Excellency Hashim Raza, for permitting me to associate myself with your work, and I should like also to thank those who have attended this special sitting arranged on my behalf.

I should like to pay tribute to the International Labour Organisation for the valuable services which it is rendering to society, and for the lofty aims which inspire its special bodies. The Central African Republic is resolutely committed to support the I.L.O. and to apply its decisions for the greater good of our people, whose present standard of living is the subject of our constant concern.

In our Republic we believe that politics or political tendencies should not be the main interest of the national organisations in the new African States or the international organisations to which they belong. Neither the speeches nor the ideologies of the colonial Powers which colonised or exploited Africa, nor, again, the ideologies of the new Powers wishing to make use of Africa, will remedy the evils from which some African States, such as the Central African Republic, suffer, namely underdevelopment in the midst of as yet unsurveyed natural wealth.

Colonialism is only a memory for us; and we cannot speak of neo-colonialism in a country which is still making its way in the community of nations.

Communism, which seems to provide a pretext for some Powers to commit crimes against humanity, should carry no weight in the discussions in the I.L.O., one of the preoccupations of which, within its special field, must be to seek to establish social equilibrium between the favoured and the less favoured countries such as the Central African Republic, where the annual income of our citizens is less than $40. Therefore our Republic has set itself as its immediate objective the raising of the standard of living of the population. This explains my presence among you today, and the voyage of information I am now making through Europe. I shall go to other continents afterwards and in each country which I visit I hope to draw practical lessons from its economic organisation and consider the possibility of applying that experience in our country. I shall also call on these countries for assistance, but without impairing the independence of the Central African Republic.

Of course, all co-operation implies mutual comprehension and tolerance between the State providing the assistance and the one receiving it. Multi-national assistance by reason of its very anonymity is probably more effective than bilateral aid. The United Nations and its specialised agencies must strive to understand the problems, which we, as so-called underdeveloped countries, are experiencing and must do everything they can to help us to solve them. Otherwise, we shall be left perpetually at the mercy of external interference, which will be a constant threat to peace throughout the world.

May I draw your attention to the particular case of our continent. In the Central African Republic we consider that some organisations of a political nature, while having the merit of promoting friendly relations between African States or their leaders, cannot, however, contribute to the economic and social development of our countries. Only regional groups forming an economic entity—either because of their natural resources or because of their geographical position, such as the Central African Economic and Customs Union and the countries bordering the Sahara and Lake Chad—can play a decisive role in the unity of Africa.
which we seek, because such groups seem more stable, and we should like the international organisations such as the I.L.O. to support them.

I hope that the efforts which you make to this end during your discussions here will be successful and lead to the establishment of social justice among the peoples. I am convinced that you will be able to define the tasks of the I.L.O. without falling into the confusion sometimes inherent in international organisations.

Thank you for your kind attention.

The PRESIDENT—Your Excellency, fellow delegates, it is my very pleasant duty to express our grateful thanks to His Excellency who has given us this thought-provoking address this morning. Everyone in the world wants peace, and this great Organisation cannot discharge its functions without peaceful conditions all over the world. We in the I.L.O. need peace to pursue our work. Africa is on the march and is showing the dynamism of youth, and we all feel happy and pray for the solidarity and prosperity of the States which have emerged as independent in the last decade.

Thank you, Your Excellency, once more.

FIFTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE 1: SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT—The next item on the agenda is the fifth report of the Selection Committee. I call on Mr. Menon, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the report.

Mr. MENON (Government delegate, India; Chairman of the Selection Committee)—I have the honour to present to the Conference the fifth report of the Selection Committee, the text of which has been distributed to delegates. This report relates to the participation of non-governmental international organisations in the work of certain Committees and to changes in the composition of certain Committees. I commend the report to the Conference for adoption.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now open for discussion. If there are no objections, I take it that the Conference adopts the report.

(Report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from French: Mr. O. B. DIARRA (Government delegate, Mali)—Since the end of the Second World War the International Labour Organisation has been constantly and successfully adjusting itself to the new needs of the modern world. We must be glad of the positive results that it has obtained in this way, which make it today the organisation that inspires the most confidence among the African States and the workers of the world.

Each year the Director-General and his team set the tone and point the way with faith, determination and clear-mindedness in reports placed before the sessions of the Conference. The work is done with objectivity and understanding, that it is difficult to avoid paraphrasing what is so well presented in the documents. You will therefore forgive me if instead I explain the point of view of my Government on the main subjects for discussion at the present session.

Our attention has been particularly drawn to the following: the problem of the programme and structure of the I.L.O., the settlement of which is decisive for the future of the Organisation; the role of the occupational organisations in economic development, particularly in the developing countries; and conditions of work, freedom and human dignity.

Many exchanges of views have taken place on problems of programme and structure in the last three years, for the world today is very different from what it was ten years ago. The advent of a technical and mechanical civilisation, the atomic revolution, science fiction becoming a reality with interplanetary flight, and the appearance on the international scene of the young nations, all confront our generation with acute problems for the solution of which a world at peace is required. Progress must be placed at the service of all; all must profit fairly from the enrichment of the more favoured; the interdependence of nations resulting from modern telecommunications and the elimination of distance must be translated into close co-operation between them. The coexistence of highly industrialised countries and countries which have hardly left the stage of handicrafts and subsistence economy is a source of trouble in itself if the former do not in due time take action to reduce the gap.

For all these reasons we approve the new orientation of the I.L.O.’s programme towards the search for better ways and means of satisfying the needs of the developing countries through appropriate economic expansion. The utilisation of human resources, together with equitable conditions of work and life will enable results to be achieved rapidly. The whole problem, in fact, is one of means and methods.

How are human resources to be utilised? How are the manpower needs of the developing countries to be met? How are we to increase production and productivity for the well-being of the people? Part II of the Report deals at length with vocational training at all levels. We entirely approve the projects for initial and advanced training on the spot, reserving training abroad for instructors and supervisors. In this sphere the Turin Centre leads to high hopes and we believe that it can effectively meet the training needs of the developing countries. We have to thank the Italian Government and the City of Turin, the Director of the Centre, Mr. Bacon, and all the governments which have helped in starting the Centre. We would also appeal to all governments to support it so that it may become a
real international centre, both through its work and through the human contacts and understanding which it will make possible when it opens.

The I.L.O. should aim at having supervisor training for our countries imparted on the spot and at making use of our own technicians. International aid must not be transformed into a racket in which the underdeveloped countries are nothing but “stand-ins” who receive nothing but long reports on subjects with which they are already familiar. Nor should we content with approximate and purely empty training which produces people with high-sounding titles and much pretension but little real capability. The time has come to put an end to a certain kind of accelerated training without any real content or efficiency. An engineer, an inspector, or a planner must be the real thing and not merely a cheap substitute specially prepared for underdeveloped countries. The evident result of that would be to make technical assistance indispensable for an indefinite period; as some of our countries are beginning to discover, technical assistance has in some ways serious disadvantages and can be merely an expensive substitute for both giver and receiver if it is not appropriate and lacks continuity.

My country gives close attention to these problems, and our educational reform, now in its fourth year, has fixed precise objectives whose achievement will enable us to meet the needs of our population at all levels. We have given back to our technical and agricultural education the dignity which the colonial régime would not accord it. The number of schools and the number of pupils have increased more than fivefold. We have a technical secondary school with a practical curriculum. We have schools of engineers for industry and agriculture at all levels. We have a special school for secondary-school teachers and we have a national school of administration for our magistrates, economists, administrators, labour inspectors and diplomats. Following the conclusive experience gained with the secondary school of health for the training of nurses, midwives and welfare workers, a school of medicine is soon to be opened. In all these establishments international co-operation, bilateral as well as multilateral, has enabled us to obtain very encouraging results. We have to create continuously and, though we do not pretend to compare our schools with those in Europe or elsewhere, we are convinced that this is the only path to take, that the reputation of our establishments must be created by ourselves and that this can only be done by faith, determination and daring.

Perhaps, because of the size of our States, regroupings will be necessary sooner or later. It is certain that training abroad means loss of roots, loss of adjustment, and sometimes, alas, ideological indoctrination and all that that involves.

It is not sufficient to train supervisors; they must also play a full part in economic development. They must feel themselves protected by fair legislation so that they can produce more.

On these two levels my country has done everything possible for the workers. We have state undertakings and companies in all sectors of the economy. The Report of the Director-General rightly stresses this new phenomenon, the importance of which for our national life and for the interests of the working masses has been recognised by us since our independence. State undertakings and companies are covered by general rules of which the preamble states that they are “a decisive achievement of the workers of the Republic of Mali”. They are the property of the people and can never return to private ownership. The activity of the national undertakings must be grafted towards the development and consolidation of the peoples’ property in the interests of the whole people.

They must put men and women first and therefore must constantly improve industrial health and safety through social and cultural institutions for the workers; they must be a training school for supervisors for the whole nation. Better still, the trade union organisations are associated at all levels in economic development within the Cultural and Social Committee, which is the planning and control body for social matters, and in the Economic and Planning Committee, which is the highest economic planning and control body. At a lower level in the state undertakings a management committee composed of representatives of workers in the undertaking participates in annual planning with the management. It also supervises implementation of the plan and proposes all necessary measures in this regard. This committee automatically examines all questions concerning work organisation, the improvement of productivity, the system of remuneration, and engagement and dismissal. Lastly, it proposes the best workers for bonuses and other distinctions.

You will see that my country approves and applies entirely the recommendation made by the Director-General, who asks the I.L.O. to give social organisations the possibility “of playing an active and constructive part in the development of the society to which they belong. In particular they can and should be associated in the formulation and implementation of . . . development programmes . . . .” As I have just said, these measures are fully applied in my country, and we are pleased with the social atmosphere that now exists, for we have never had any strikes and the workers have willingly made more sacrifices than any other workers in Africa, or indeed in the world. For the worker, in the form of a civic tax and a special contribution, gives his country 25 to 30 per cent. of his wage because he is convinced that his sacrifice will lead to the abundance which his faith and work will create. Thus my country relies on its own efforts above all and refuses any false prosperity for the benefit of certain social classes—a prosperity the price of which is loss of the independence and dignity for which our people have struggled. International co-operation and assistance are not and cannot be more than a supplement to the great effort which the people of Mali are making for themselves.

In this spirit we thank the I.L.O. in advance for the forthcoming opening of the training centre for office workers. We have been waiting for several years for an expert on manpower.
planning and training. We welcome the effort made by the I.L.O. in the form of workers' education courses, which have been going on in Mali since 1964. Thanks to the faith, the objectivity and the competence of the I.L.O. experts, these courses are an exemplary success. Today six regional centres work under the direction of supervisors trained at Bamako, and others will be opened within the next few weeks. Experts and observers have realised that our trump card is not only our faith and determination but also and above all the trade union unity which our workers have achieved to the since before our independence, and also the symbiosis of an entire people in a single party based on democratic centralism. Say what you will, the evidence is conclusive; the achievement of unity at all levels is a precondition for the development of our countries in which the State existed first and the nation still has to be created.

But this I.L.O. programme, in the present and in the future in Mali, does not blind us to the need for structural adjustment. We think that in order to play its full part the I.L.O. must fully respect its universal character at all levels. More than anywhere else, in the international organisations the interests of all men must be safeguarded and each must seek to participate fully in this work. We should beware of sectarianism and avoid the prejudices which lead to division and cold war. We must use to the full all values, all capacities, all aptitudes, without any other consideration than efficiency and the interest of mankind. The developed countries, with their past, their science, their technique and their ethics, should understand this and should not take into account secondary considerations of prestige or vanity. The Asian, Latin American and African countries are today full members of the world community. We enter it without a sense of revenge or hatred, with only the determination to save the world from the evils of the past which have seen peoples dominating one another, embarking on fratricidal wars, dividing themselves into civilised colonisers and colonised savages without human dignity. We enter the international community with the determination to make our contribution to its improvement and to respect the principles of justice, equality, dignity and freedom for all mankind.

We believe that an ever greater place should be given to the non-aligned countries, and particularly to Africa, in the I.L.O. We should be permitted to carry out our apprenticeship, we should be given responsibilities greater than those of underlings or office boys. It is not our fault if we do not have university degrees but it is a fact that we have many men and women in our country who could teach university people a lot. Believe me, the school of life is the place where one learns most, quickest and best —better than in a university or anything of that sort. We urge the I.L.O. to try to use some of these valuable people who have only a primary education but whose real training may enrich our country's wealth by the product and the fruit, good will and experience.

As regards the regional offices and field offices, it is time to leave the fringe and to enter the heart of this continent which has been so often emptied of its men and resources by offices on the coast. We believe that the regional groupings should not be linguistic but should correspond to economic and geographical realities. This is the affair of the Africans also. We have confidence that the I.L.O., in consultation with all interested parties, will take the necessary effective measures.

However, we are convinced that one of the most embarrassing obstacles to the work of the I.L.O. is the violation by some countries of the principles on which our Organisation is based, that Organisation which aims to be the conscience of the world.

It is true that last July we saw the unanimous adoption by acclamation of the moving Declaration concerning apartheid. It is also true that we voted the amendments to the Constitution making possible the suspension or exclusion of States Members practising apartheid. But a great deal remains to be done so that these texts may be translated into reality. We must continue to resist the South African Government, which insults the conscience of mankind.

We must think also of Portugal, which persists in the same course with more refined, more subtle, methods. The I.L.O. should not be the accomplice in any action to whitewash Portugal. There is something Machiavellian about the way in which legal points are handled in connection with the Portuguese case. The authorities of that country are wrong if they think time is on their side. It is a sign of the times that not a single African dares to face the opinion of Africa on this question. We adjure the I.L.O. here as in the case of South Africa to follow the course of history.

We are convinced that the Director-General, with his objectivity and habitual honesty, will propose the necessary action against Portugal and thus increase the prestige of the I.L.O. even further. The Director-General knows that he can count on the unanimity not only of the African countries and the other uncommitted countries but also of the great majority of the States Members of the Organisation, because of their passionate love for justice and freedom.

The world has its eyes upon us. We are sure that under your direction the I.L.O. will never disappoint it. The families of those who die in Angola, in Mozambique, in the Isles of Cape Verde, in Bissau Guinea, are looking to you for something more than a skilfully emasculated resolution. I am convinced, knowing the men and women of this Conference, knowing the authorities which watch over the destinies of our Organisation, that Portugal, as yesterday South Africa, will have no friends here, because all will unanimously condemn the abject policy of human degradation and of racialism. This is the sacred duty of the I.L.O., the moral conscience of humanity. It is the duty of us all; and for you, my African brothers, this is to respect the oath of our Heads of State at Addis Ababa at the birth of the Organisation of African Unity. None will fail, and the enemies of Africa or the imperialists and their lackeys will fail if they remain blind to the maturity of this continent which cannot be suppressed.

In closing, may I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election. We are also glad that
the uncommitted countries have been honoured in your persons. It is a success for you personally, but also for all the Asian countries, and all those that are still underdeveloped. Your first days of office presage a successful and rewarding session of the Conference. I would like to congratulate also the three Vice-Presidents whose election shows the possibilities of international comprehension.

May I also congratulate all the staff of the I.L.O., who, day and night behind the scenes, provide us with the documents we need so much, the interpreters who permit our dialogue to continue, and all those who are the real artisans of the I.L.O.'s so carefully constructed machine, which has done so much for men in the past, and can do so much more if we accept and believe in it.

Mr. POSPIESZYŃSKI (Workers' delegate, Poland)—Having read very carefully the Report of the Director-General, I should like to present to the Conference the views of the Polish trade union movement, and which were not included in the Report and concerning basic activities of the International Labour Organisation.

These proposals result from a broad discussion which took place at the two last sessions of the Conference regarding the adjustment of the programme and structure of the I.L.O. to present needs and wants, to events and changes which are taking place in the world.

I fully appreciate the steps which are being taken by the Director-General and by the Governing Body—measures tending towards ensuring the implementation of the programme. I have, however, doubts regarding the timing of the measures which are aimed at solving problems linked with the programme and structure of the I.L.O.

We all know that proposals and suggestions made by the delegates during the discussion on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. were submitted to a special Working Party composed of members of the Governing Body and that this Working Party submitted its first report to this session of the Conference.

It is clear from this document that the Working Party deferred *ad calendas gregas* consideration of proposals concerning structural changes of the I.L.O.

We believe that not only is this decision unjustified, but it is also contrary to the opinion expressed by many delegates who pointed out the need to find solutions to a series of problems regarding the programme and structure of the Organisation.

Above all others, there is a need to find a solution to the problem of structural changes and thus create conditions suitable for the implementation of the programme. Every programme, even the very best one, may be implemented only if there is an adequate organisational and structural basis and if account is taken of a number of factors which contribute to the complexity of the International Labour Organisation and of its executive organ, the International Labour Office.

It may also be recalled that the Working Party called upon to consider the proposals and prepare conclusions is not sufficiently representative. As shown by the composition of the Working Party, set up by the Governing Body, a number of tendencies existing in the world trade union movement, and which were not represented in the Governing Body, have had no opportunity of contributing to the discussion and conclusions concerning the programme of activities and structure of the International Labour Organisation.

If I raise this matter, it is because I have had to conclude that for many years the position has not changed and that nothing has been done in practice to ensure a democratic and broad representation of all tendencies which exist in the world trade union movement. It would be difficult to hold against us the fact that we have doubts and that we take a critical stand in respect of the implementation of the programme of activities of the I.L.O. if such a programme is not based on an appropriate democratic structure of the Organisation, if, in the main organs of the Organisation and consequently in the Workers' group of the Governing Body, the main tendencies of the world trade union movement are not represented.

The still prevailing system of majority election is among the causes of this state of affairs, which is not normal.

We consider that the principle of proportional representation in the Workers' group of the Governing Body should be admitted. Under those conditions a truly democratic contribution could be made by all concerned, a creative discussion held, and the contribution, so essential, of the trade union movement as a whole brought to the revision of the programme and structure of the I.L.O.

The Polish trade unions will co-operate in the solution of the main problems outlined in the Report of the Director-General whilst, however, continuing their efforts towards democratisation within the I.L.O.

The Polish trade unions, all working men and women of my country, are fully supporting the noble objectives of the I.L.O.—peace, freedom from want, and social justice.

The ensuring of world peace is a basic condition for a proper use of human resources, for social progress, and for continual improvement in the living and cultural conditions and standards of working men and women.

We are confronted with a serious contradiction. At the same time as we are discussing here in this hall vital problems affecting all nations, there are regions where guns are talking, where towns and villages are being bombed and where armed aggression and intervention are taking place.

As a citizen of a country which, in the course of the Second World War, suffered untold losses, I have not only the right, but the duty, to speak of peace.

Aggression in Viet-Nam and in the Dominican Republic is perturbing the world situation and threatening peace. Billions of dollars which are wanting when requests for assistance to the developing countries are made turn into napalm bombs which are killing Vietnamese men and women and destroying their poor possessions.

The PRESIDENT—I think you will have seen or read the ruling which I gave yesterday
about not referring to theatres of war, and I
would therefore request you not to continue in
that strain and to omit references to theatres of
war, for the sake of the proper conduct of the
proceedings in this Conference.

Mr. POSPIESZYŃSKI — Such behaviour,
which is aimed mainly at using military force
to slow down the irreversible process of social
change, is in open contradiction with the
United Nations appeal that 1965 be the
International Co-operation Year. All these
facts have a serious adverse effect on inter-
national collaboration and render difficult and
far less effective the work of international
organisations.

Also, we cannot remain silent when, in spite
decolonisation and the introduction of Civil
Rights Bills, people whose only fault is that
they have skin of a different colour are subject
to discrimination, such discrimination being
practised in various territories and not only
those which still have a colonial status.

Dictatorships in Spain and Portugal, in spite
of the pressure of world public opinion, refuse
the workers of those countries basic rights and
liberties.

We support fully the resolutions concerning
the existing situation in Spain and Portugal
and we hope that they will be adopted by the
Conference.

On many an occasion the Polish Workers’
delegation has emphasised the importance and
role of the world trade union movement, which
can and should contribute towards the solution
of the burning economic and social problems.

I regret to say that the trade union move-
ment has not always been able to influence fully
the events that take place in the world. The
main reason for this state of affairs is the lack
of unity in the trade union movement, whose
objective, regardless of political systems and
tendencies, is to defend the interests of all
working men and women.

We appreciate that, over the years, many
difficulties have arisen among the representa-
tives of the various tendencies in the trade
union movement and that consequently these
difficulties have been reflected within the
I.L.O.

But the present situation requires and de-
mands from all of us that we should eliminate
gradually the obstacles piling up on the road
leading to unity of action and thus enable the
international trade union movement to play
its full part in the shaping of both the present
and the future.

I cannot understand those who refuse to
admit that the present world is different from
the world which existed several decades ago,
and even only a few years ago, and who refuse
to reject, regardless of outdated opinions and
ideas.

The I.L.O. is today the only place where the
trade union representatives of practically the
whole world can meet. It seems, therefore, that
within the context of its programme of activi-
ties and the implementation of such a pro-
gramme the I.L.O. should increase its efforts
to bring closer all tendencies in the trade union
movement, thus enabling the movement to
take a greater part in the realisation of the
I.L.O. programme of activities.

You may ask how the I.L.O. could contribute
to bringing closer the trade unions of different
tendencies when it comes to considering concrete
problems concerning living and working
conditions.

I will give you just one example—namely
the last session of the Coal Mines Committee
which took place recently.

It seems to me that, in the light of this
example and of other examples which could be
taken from outside the I.L.O., a round-table
meeting of representatives of the different
trade union organisations would be justified.
This meeting would be concerned with an
exchange of views on the participation in the
international labour movement as a whole in
ensuring peace, the implementation of the
programme of the I.L.O., and the solution of
many complex problems which are facing both
working men and women and the nations.

The I.L.O., which is a tripartite organisation,
can and should work towards creating the best
conditions for closer collaboration between all trade unions in respect of realisa-
tion of the objectives and aims which are the
very foundation of this Organisation.

The Polish trade unions will continue to do
their best to bring about closer co-operation
within the international labour movement as
a whole because such co-operation is an essen-
tial condition of social progress and peace.
Thank you.

Interpretation from French: Mr. NGOM
(Workers' delegate, Cameroon)—This is the
third time I have had the honour of speaking
from this rostrum in the name of the workers
of Cameroon. I should like first of all to asso-
ciate myself with the many speakers who have
preceded me in extending the most sincere
congratulations to the honourable delegate of
Pakistan, Mr. Bazu, on his well-deserved
election to the presidency of this Conference.

The Federation of Trade Unions of
Cameroon, the F.S.C., which I represent here, is
the unified national trade union which repres-
ents the great majority of the workers of
my country. It came into existence in January
1963 as a result of the fusion of the trade union
organisations which existed at that time in
Eastern Cameroon, except for a minority of
the Union of Believing Workers. This is the
autonomous independent national union which
is affiliated to no international union and which
bases its actions on the principle of non-
alignment. The objectives of the F.S.C., which
is organically independent of political parties or
governments, are to achieve total trade union
unity at the national level, to educate the
labouring masses of the people, to contribute
to the work of the economic and social develop-
ment of the country, to defend constantly the
rights and interests of the workers, to fight
against colonialism and neo-colonialism, to
contribute towards trade union unity through-
out Africa and to struggle for peace and
international co-operation.

The organic independence of the F.S.C. is
no obstacle to relations with the national
political parties, the Government, or trade
union organisations at the national or inter-
national level, whenever such relationships have
as their objective the achievement of one of
the goals to which our Federation has set itself. Thus we took part in a trade union seminar organised in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1963, in the world conference on education at Algiers, and in the international conference of transport workers at Sofia, and so on. We have just sent four delegates to a trade union seminar in Canada and we are preparing to participate in the next study cycle of the social and economic study centre at Bobo Dioulasso in Upper Volta.

I should also like to extend a fraternal welcome to the great family of the I.L.O. from the delegates from Zambia, Malawi, Malta and Yemen. It is high time that we should see sitting beside us in this place delegates from our brother peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Bissau Guinea, who at present are struggling to free themselves from Portuguese colonialism, together with delegates from all the African territories which are still under foreign domination. We congratulate the I.L.O. on having expelled South Africa, the Government of which has been pursuing the ignoble policy of apartheid which has been categorically condemned by the United Nations and by public opinion at a world-wide level. It is high time to apply the same measures to the Government of Portugal which refuses to recognise the desire for national independence openly expressed by the African peoples to which I referred a moment ago and pursues in those countries a policy of racial discrimination and social injustice which is contrary to the principles of the Constitution of the I.L.O. By supporting the struggle for independence of the colonialised peoples, the I.L.O. strengthens its own prestige and broadens its scope of action. The proof of this is that from 1960, which was the great year of African independence openly expressed by the African peoples to which I referred a moment ago and pursues in those countries a policy of racial discrimination and social injustice which is contrary to the principles of the Constitution of the I.L.O. By supporting the struggle for independence of the colonialised peoples, the I.L.O. strengthens its own prestige and broadens its scope of action. The proof of this is that from 1960, which was the great year of African independence, the number of Members of the I.L.O. rose from 79—that was the number in 1959—to 112 at the beginning of this year. This number is increased even further with the addition of new independent countries which have just shaken off the colonial yoke and which I welcomed a moment ago.

When we read the Director-General's Report our attention is caught by several points. Four years ago, at this same rostrum, a certain number of delegates—and I was one of them—declared that the I.L.O. would have to be attuned to the changes which had taken place in Africa and other parts of the world if it wanted really to play its proper part in the enormous work of economic development and social progress in the developing countries. The hour has come: the hour of the final disappearance of the colonial régime, the hour of the return to life, freedom and equality of rights for hundreds of millions of men previously enslaved by colonialism.

In Cameroon we have a man who said that in the end truth always triumphs. That man is President Ahmadou Ahidjo. The historic truth which has just triumphed in this second half of the twentieth century is that 300 years of colonialism did not succeed in crushing the man of Africa in spite of all that had been done to remove from him all vestiges of human dignity and to reduce him to slavery. Today an independent Africa has recovered the place that was stolen from it so long ago in the international world. No one, I think, can deny this fact.

It is for that reason that when we look objectively at the balance-sheet drawn up in the Report of the Director-General we observe that an effort has been made but this effort is nevertheless insufficient so far as concerns the democratisation of the leading organs of the I.L.O. Much as we approve the decentralisation of the International Labour Office into 11 departments as a measure which will permit efficient functioning of the executive machinery of the Organisation, we also urge and demand that high African officials be called upon to work in each of these departments.

So far as the Governing Body is concerned, we say that the I.L.O., as the advocate of social justice, owes it to itself to set an example by re-evaluating the composition of the Governing Body and in particular by giving to Africa the number of seats which corresponds to the importance and the role which this great continent plays in the work of the I.L.O. in 1965.

The programme of regionalisation of the I.L.O.'s activities is an objective arrangement because it will make it possible to know local realities and to orientate efforts to undertake action in a better way. But there again we urge that in each region concerned, and particularly in Africa, officials should be recruited from the countries concerned. We insist also that geographical distribution of regional centres of the I.L.O. be established on equitable principles.

Having made these few comments, I should like to indicate our approval of the orientation which has been outlined in the Director-General's Report in so far as concerns the development of human resources, labour relations, trade union promotion and the development of social institutions, and living and working conditions.

In Cameroon in these various fields the workers have already made a start. We are strengthening the Federation of Trade Unions of Cameroon and its activities in all fields. In the recent elections of staff representatives we obtained 2,200 seats compared to 1,717 in 1963 and we expect to increase this representation in the near future.

On 1 May of this year workers' demonstrations of a size never seen in the past took place in a number of cities and centres of the country. At Yaoundé more than 3,000 workers paraded with banners, to the sound of popular music, through the main streets of the capital. The Prime Minister and many members of the Government and the diplomatic corps attended the great trade union meeting which was the culminating act of this parade.

The F.S.C. is also sharing in the preparation of the second five-year plan in Cameroon in the various bodies set up by the Government, and we are prepared to give our full support to carrying out the objectives of this plan. But the most urgent need which is at present of concern to our federation is the training of supervisory staff. In this connection we urge the I.L.O. to put into effect the project of organising a trade union seminar in Cameroon
which was recommended by our federation in 1963.

As far as working and living conditions are concerned, the regulations arising out of the labour code cover a whole series of provisions made in this connection, although there is still a great deal yet to be done. As the industrialisation of the country develops and the cost of living rises, it will naturally be necessary to re-adjust the structure of the existing bodies and to re-evaluate the distribution of the national income. In this field my Federation is carrying out permanent action in defence of the interests of the workers while contributing to the awakening of their pride in their work. In 1964 and at the beginning of this year we obtained wage increases of between 15 and 23 per cent. for the administrative staff covered by the labour code, for employees in commerce, banks, navigation, the automobile industry and manufacturing industries. We are making the same efforts now to include workers in the agricultural and forestry sectors.

The problems of employment raised in the Director-General's Report are problems which we are familiar with today in Cameroon. Unemployment in the big cities, particularly Douala and Yaoundé, unemployment in the rural areas, insufficiency of statistics, shortage of skilled manpower at all levels to attain the objectives of the plan, are questions with which we are having to cope. The efforts made by the Government, with the assistance of the I.L.O. and other international bodies, for the training of supervisory staff, must be given vigorous support. The beginning of work on the trans-Cameroon railway and other industrial activities, as well as the development of the rural economy, give cause for hope that a good deal of this unemployment and under-employment will be overcome.

In this connection, co-operatives of all categories and agrarian reform, subjects before this session of the Conference, may play a very great role in the work of economic and social development. Thus my Federation supports the development of co-operatives and has included in its own programme of action the creation of co-operatives and mutual benefit societies.

Without being unduly optimistic, we think we can say that in Cameroon we are working along the right road. We are aware that, in order to build up our country and to build up the new Africa, all efforts must be co-ordinated. It is for that reason that we place the question of unity in the forefront of our objectives: national unity, trade union unity, unity in the work of development.

By creating the Organisation of African Unity and its Economic and Social Council, the African countries laid solid foundations for their future. The unity of the Organisation of African Unity must be safeguarded. The I.L.O. must co-operate closely with the Economic and Social Council of the O.A.U. to carry out its programme in Africa. In this connection we should like to stress one point with which we are particularly concerned. The Economic and Social Council of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting at Cairo, adopted a resolution on 22 January 1965 in which it recommends the achievement of trade union unity through the creation of a central African trade union organisation, independent of all other international trade union organisations. At present all progress on this question has come to a standstill.

In its resolution on African trade union unity the extraordinary congress of my Federation, which was held last October in Yaoundé, proclaimed that our trade union organisation was ready to act as an intermediary between the All-African Trade Union Federation and the African Trade Union Confederation, working towards any solution which could achieve trade union unity in our continent.

I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to make a new appeal to all African trade union organisations to make further efforts along these same lines, working towards this goal of trade union unity. Within the framework of its co-operation with the O.A.U. the I.L.O. can and must make its contribution to this great undertaking. Conflicts and struggles for influence, questions of personalities and dreams of hegemony will be to the detriment of Africa.

We are all emerging from the night of colonialism. We have all great need of light and life. Let us help to achieve unity and Africa will be saved, because as the resolution of the O.A.U.—to which I have referred above—proclaims, we are convinced that only a unified African trade union movement which is independent can assume the heavy responsibilities of the workers in the harmonious development of the continent and the strengthening of African unity, while safeguarding the interests of the workers.

Mr. POULSEN (Representative of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations) — Last year I had the opportunity to participate in the discussion on the structure and the future activities of the I.L.O. It seems to me to be appropriate, at this year, to assess the state of some of the problems that were discussed on that occasion, in the light of the Report of the Director-General which is now before us.

In a general way we regard the Report as marking a positive step in the policy of the Organisation, and we are satisfied that it incorporates several of the suggestions made by the Workers' side last year. The reorganisation of the I.L.O. and the establishment of the 11 technical and service departments, regrouped in three large administrative units, is a step which the labour movement can support. What matters now is the emphasis that is going to be placed on the different aspects of the work of each department.

We hope that the new structure of the Office will not only facilitate the process of formulating and adjusting programmes to major needs in member States' but above all will adjust the activities of the Office to the major needs of workers in member States, since we regard the major aim of the Office as that which was assigned to it when it was first established, namely to protect the rights of workers by promoting a policy of social justice.

We should like to see the department responsible for promoting the development of human resources give particular attention to
vocational training and vocational guidance, for which there is a very widespread demand, particularly in the developing countries, although no country can claim an excess of skilled labour. We should also like to see an increase in I.L.O. activities in the field of labour legislation, which, in our opinion, has not received as much attention as it deserves.

The concept of labour legislation should not be interpreted in a narrow and formal way, but should be broadened to include voluntary agreements, such as collective contracts, the effects of which may frequently be assimilated in legislation. Systematic analysis of collective agreements and of their role would supply much-needed information and standards of comparison. This would help convey to the public a more accurate picture of social conditions as reflected in the various kinds of legal instruments.

Last year we expressed concern about the decreasing importance of I.L.O. industrial activities, a concern which is connected to the labour movement as a whole. This year a draft resolution on the industrial activities of the I.L.O. has been submitted to the Resolutions Committee of the Conference. A resolution on this matter was adopted last November by the International Trade Secretariat General Conference and was submitted to the Governing Body Committee on Industrial Committees and to the Working Party on the programme and structure of the I.L.O.

We regard the Industrial Committees as one of the most effective instruments through which the tasks of the I.L.O. can be accomplished. We particularly value the role of the Committees as an international forum for consultation and collective bargaining, a role to which they are well suited by their specialization. This role will assume increasing importance as the trend towards concentration of economic organisation arising today is controlled in about ten years' time by no more than 600 or 700 companies.

In this context we find that the new forms of economic organisation arising today are worthwhile fields for I.L.O. investigation, particularly the increase in international and multi-national companies, which are often in a position to decide the fate of workers in several countries, and the budgets of which often exceed those of governments of even medium-sized States.

In dealing with the I.L.O.'s industrial activities we have also stressed the need not only for more meetings, but for continuous research, information and follow-up activities. This need remains, and it is one that could be met by the Conditions of Work and Life Department. We cannot agree with the suggestion that living and working conditions should not receive priority in the activities of the I.L.O. On the contrary, we find that more information should be made available on subjects such as workers' earnings, duration of working time, holidays and vacations, job security, ways in which redundancies are handled, unemployment, consumers' prices, industrial conditions, development of productivity, health and welfare problems, social security and the like.

I should add that a mere accumulation of statistical material is not the type of information we have in mind; what is called for are more comparative analyses, of such a sufficiently detailed and specific nature as to provide a picture of the prevailing trends in working conditions in different countries. The I.L.O., which has already rendered very valuable services as an international clearing-house of information, should build up this aspect of its activities, activities which it alone is in a position to perform.

We have noted with great interest the commitment to promote employment in rural areas expressed in the Director-General's Report, in order to raise the contribution of the rural sector to the national income, and to improve the living conditions and the prospects of the inhabitants of rural areas. We should like to recall here the proposal by the Workers' group at the Tripartite Technical Meeting for the Food Products and Drink Industries, held in Geneva in 1963, of a world plan for the development of food-processing industries, with an inventory of needs and desirable priorities. In a resolution on world food problems and technical assistance to developing countries in the food products and drink industries, adopted unanimously, the Meeting stressed that the development of food-processing industries can considerably assist in improving standards of living and nutrition, in stabilising or developing agricultural production in the countries in which they are set up, by providing new employment possibilities.

We believe that the policies outlined in this resolution are very relevant to the concern for developing employment in rural areas expressed by the Director-General. We are heartened by the fact that the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations is at present considering action on precisely the same lines, and we would welcome an equal concern with this issue on the part of the I.L.O.

Finally, we emphatically agree with the reaffirmation of the principle that efforts for economic and social development must be undertaken with the active participation of all interested parties, which includes, in the first place, the working population of the countries where such efforts are made; and that the participation of employers and workers in economic planning at the national level needs to be paralleled at the plant level by measures enabling the workers to participate in the formulation of management decisions.

The great progressive trend of our time is the affirmation of a deeper and wider concept of democracy, a concept which implies the participation of ordinary people in the making of all decisions affecting their lives and the management of society. There is every reason why economic life should participate in this trend; not only reasons of efficiency, which are powerful enough, but also wider social reasons. A society cannot survive as a democracy when its economy is organised along military lines and the worker is treated like a foot-soldier on the battlefield of industry. A person who agrees to submit his authority to a boss in his working life, which is the better part of his existence, will remain a passive subject of authority outside of produc-
tion as well, and will be unprepared to take his place as a free citizen in a democracy. Whoever lives in fear of the foreman, the supervisor or place as a free citizen in a democracy. Whoever

tion as well, and will be unprepared to take his

tion in decision-making at all levels of those

tion in a free society. We are gratified that the

tion of authoritarian social patterns, as it too often

tion of the undertaking.

It is with very keen interest that we studied

The Conditions of Work and Life Department would thus be able to make a constant concrete effort to bring together documentation which would be extremely useful, in our opinion, to the employers' and workers' repre-

Interpretation from French: Mr. GRAEDEL

The interpretation from French reads:

It is with very keen interest that we studied

We should like to stress that, in our opinion, in its general effort of adjustment to the new

conditions preceding from technical develop-

ment throughout the world, the I.L.O. should not only, as the Report says, aim at "formu-

lating and adjusting programmes to major needs in member States". It should above all adapt its programmes to the needs of the workers in those States. After all, the main objective of the I.L.O. organisation should remain that assigned to them when the Organisation was set up. It is the social content of economic policies which should be the first preoccupation of the I.L.O. It cannot, with its limited financial means, make an essential contribution to the rapid increase of industrial and general production throughout the world. It can, however, contribute to improving production in the light of the workers' interests and, above all, can develop employment possibilities.

On the other hand, we are unreservedly pleased at the programme drawn up by the Office for a better utilisation of human resources. Economic expansion today depends to a very large extent on accumulating knowledge and skill and on the popular support for economic development policies.

This brings us to the important problem of vocational guidance and training and, in some countries, the equally important problem of vocational re-adjustment. It is good that the I.L.O. should devote an important part of its resources to technical aid for the training of skilled manpower at all levels. However, it is equally important that the trade union movement should be more closely associated in this new activity. The workers' organisations consider that the tripartite principle should be applied in this field, for trade unionists believe they have precise ideas on methods of vocational training and the administration of the institutions set up under the auspices or with the aid of the I.L.O.

I should remind you in this connection that several Industrial Committees have adopted resolutions on this point which, unfortunately, have not yet been put into effect. They should be reviewed and duly implemented.

Speaking of the work of the Industrial Committees, I should also like to recall that the international occupational organisations
very much hope that the role of these Committees will not be diminished in the future, and that they will not be weakened, for instance by a large transfer of their competence to groups of experts. This does not mean that we are against the establishment of groups of experts or Working Parties, but one should remember that the best results are achieved in the social field by direct negotiations between representatives of employers' and workers' organisations. It is these representatives who should determine the role of the experts who will define certain means of applying the employer-worker agreements.

As for popular support for economic development, in our opinion this can be obtained only by the direct participation of representative organisations such as trade unions. Here also the I.L.O. could play an important part. Technological development and concentration of economic power in the hands of States or big corporations, which are often international, raises the problem of the participation of the workers in economic decisions at all levels. This participation at the level of the factory or of the industry at the national and at the international level is becoming necessary. Democracy cannot be restricted to the political field. The I.L.O. gives an example in its own tripartite structure of active participation by the workers and employers in the formulation of rules and directives of a social character. For the future it would be desirable if other international agencies followed this example of direct participation by social groups. In our opinion the participation of employers and workers in the determination of economic policy and in programming cannot be limited to the national level. It is in the workplace that the lot of the workers is most of all affected by economic decisions and production planning. The worker passes the greatest part of his life at the workplace. It is therefore natural that he should have a word to say at that level, and it is only by consultation and direct participation of the workers in forms which may vary from one country to another that effective direction of industrial and economic activity will be possible in the future. We think also that the I.L.O. should pay more attention to the new forms of economic organisation, and particularly to the internationalisation of production and its financing by big international companies which often decide the lot and the material condition of the workers across national frontiers, and which have budgets often exceeding at the international level the budgets of the small and medium-sized countries.

However, to ensure that the workers actually can and do share in the economic and industrial programming to which I have referred, the legal and contractual protection of workers in their jobs must be developed. Workers attach particular importance to the protection of their shop stewards against the threat of arbitrary dismissal. It is only natural that workers' representatives cling to the idea of job security and the protection of their rights in carrying out their functions as representatives of their occupational organisations. It is only on the basis of this material and moral security that you can develop the dignity of labour, which is the aspiration of all workers.

With reference to the Conditions of Work and Life Department, let us say straight away that we give its activity a very high priority, and we hope this activity will increase even further. We have already indicated that the I.L.O., in our opinion, should be the best source of information on the subject of living and working conditions. The I.L.O. should have the most complete information at the world-wide and national levels, as well as at the level of the various branches of occupation. We want complete information and precise descriptions concerning the methods of generation, employment, unemployment, real wages, consumers' prices, labour conflicts, the evolution of productivity, and so on. The I.L.O. could also complete its action in the field of safety and health through the work of preparing and adopting codes and manuals for the various sectors of economic activity and for social security. The Director-General's Report refers to these problems, and we hope that the excellent intentions which are stated there will not remain for too long at the stage of mere projects, but that they will become a living reality which will contribute to a great extent to I.L.O.'s prestige throughout the world of labour.

In conclusion, may I stress once again the importance which the trade union movement attaches to the action of the Industrial Committees and to the results of their work. A resolution on this subject was submitted by Mr. Abid Ali, Mr. Mör and Mr. Faupl. Moreover, last November the General Conference of International Trade Secretariats adopted a resolution on the Industrial Committees. This resolution was communicated to the I.L.O., to the Committee on Industrial Committees of the Governing Body, and to the Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the Organisation, and sets forth very clearly the goals of the International Trade Secretariats. These organisations consider that the Industrial Committees are one of the most appropriate tools by which the I.L.O. may effectively and efficiently carry out its programme. They attach very great importance to the continuity in action of the Industrial Committees, which serve the interests of both the industrialised countries and the developing countries. The Industrial Committees were set up in the post-war period to become the forum of consultation and industrial negotiations at the international level. In this connection our hopes have been realised to a large extent. However, the Industrial Committees should direct their attention to this very delicate and difficult task if they want to take into account the present economic evolution which, according to estimates we have heard from employers' circles, will be such that in about ten years' time some 600 or 700 large companies will dominate three-quarters of the world's industrial production. I should like to quote a relevant passage of the resolution adopted by the General Conference of International Trade Secretariats regarding the Industrial Committees. It reads as follows: "The Conference of International Trade Secretariats is convinced of the need of maintain-
ing and broadening the scope of the industrial activities of the I.L.O., in particular: by holding more frequent meetings of Industrial Committees and similar bodies of the I.L.O., including those for industries and public services which have not as yet been covered, and also by following closely and analysing systematically the evolution of the situation in these industries in the inter-session periods and by publishing the results of such studies; by mobilising the traditional means of action of the I.L.O. in the form of investigation, research, evaluation, publicity and recommendations, through the study of problems of immediate and general interest to all workers as, for example, the composition of workers' income, the modalities of wage claims, comparison of the evolution of direct and indirect wages in the various countries and in different industries, estimation of real wages, operation of the various systems of labour relations, analysis of social conflicts and the examination of the working and living conditions of the workers."

The resolution goes on: "The resources of the I.L.O. must be used so as to promote the aspirations of industrial democracy which, in different forms and to different extents, are common to workers of all countries and to all types of society, which may be defined as follows: (a) an effective participation of the workers in decisions concerning the economic and social life of their countries and their regions; (b) the development of all forms of co-determination and the sharing of all workers in the management of industry compatible with the conditions which prevail in the various States Members of the International Labour Organisation."

Those are the desires and hopes of the International Trade Secretariats in connection with the future operation of the Industrial Committees, which we consider of very great importance.

(The Conference adjourned at 11.30 a.m.)
RATIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS BY SWEDEN

The PRESIDENT—I have pleasure in informing the Conference that the Director-General of the International Labour Office has registered, on 11 June 1965, the ratification by Sweden of the Hygiene (Commerce and Offices) Convention, 1964, and of the Employment Policy Convention, 1964.

FIRST REPORT
OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE:
SUBMISSION AND NOTING

The PRESIDENT—The first item on our agenda for this morning is the first report of the Credentials Committee. I call on Mr. Zanetti, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to present the report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ZANETTI (Government adviser, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee) —I have the honour to submit to the Conference the first report of the Credentials Committee, the text of which has been circulated to delegates. The report contains a section on the composition of the Conference as at 7 June 1965, a section on the quorum, and one dealing with incomplete delegations. The Conference is asked to take note of the report.

The PRESIDENT—This report was also unanimously adopted by the Credentials Committee, and the Conference is therefore merely required to take note of it.

(The report is noted.)

SECOND REPORT
OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE:
SUBMISSION AND NOTING

The PRESIDENT—The first report of the Credentials Committee was adopted unanimously by the Committee, and the Conference is therefore merely required to take note of it.

(The report is noted.)

THIRD REPORT
OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE:
SUBMISSION AND NOTING

The PRESIDENT—The next item on our agenda is the third report of the Credentials Committee. I call on Mr. Zanetti, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to present the report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ZANETTI (Government adviser, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee) —I now have the honour to submit the second report of the Credentials Committee, which has been circulated to delegates. This contains decisions of the Committee regarding protests against the nomination of the Chinese delegation and of the Workers' delegate of Israel. There is also a section regarding a communication received concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate of France. These decisions were taken unanimously, and the Conference is therefore merely required to take note of the report.

The PRESIDENT—This report was adopted unanimously by the Credentials Committee, and the Conference is therefore merely required to take note of it.

(The report is noted.)

1 See Appendix II, p. 491.
2 See Appendix II, p. 493.
FOURTH REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE 1: SUBMISSION AND NOTING

The PRESIDENT—The next item on our agenda is the fourth report of the Credentials Committee. I call on Mr. Zanetti, Chairman of the Committee, to present the report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ZANETTI (Government adviser, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee)—I now submit the fourth report of the Credentials Committee, which has been circulated to delegates. This relates to the representation of the Dominican Republic. The report was drawn up unanimously by the Committee and consequently calls for no action.

The PRESIDENT—The report was unanimously adopted by the Credentials Committee and, as the Committee itself indicates, does not call for any further action.

(The report is noted.)

FIFTH REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE 2: SUBMISSION AND NOTING

The PRESIDENT—We now come to the fifth report of the Credentials Committee. I now call upon Mr. Zanetti, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to submit the report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ZANETTI (Government adviser, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee)—I now submit the fifth report of the Credentials Committee, the text of which has been circulated to delegates. This contains a decision of the Committee regarding objections to the nomination of the Workers’ delegate of Somalia. There is also a section on a communication received regarding the appointment of the Workers’ delegate of Panama. These decisions were taken unanimously by the Committee, and therefore I would ask the Conference merely to take note of the report.

The PRESIDENT—This report also was adopted unanimously by the Credentials Committee, and the Conference is merely required to take note of it.

(The report is noted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume the discussion of the Director-General’s Report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. DUMI-TRESCU (Government delegate, Rumania)—In the name of the Rumanian delegation, may I express to the representative of Pakistan, Mr. Raza, most sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the 49th Session of the General Conference of the I.L.O. The Rumanian delegation would also like to extend its warmest congratulations and best wishes for a satisfactory start in the activities of our Organisation to the representatives of Malawi, Malta, Zambia and Yemen.

If I may, I should like at this time to say a few words to you about the basic problems appearing on the agenda of this session of the Conference with respect to the adaptation of the programme and structure of the Organisation—and of course its activities—to the changes which have taken place in the world. The Report of the Director-General reflects the concern felt about the achievement of this objective, with regard to which, it may be recalled, a general consensus appeared to have been reached at the 47th Session of the Conference. Some of the solutions presented in the Report and in the conclusions of the Working Party show that no efforts have been spared to work out, on the basis of the suggestions and reservations expressed by member States, those regarded as worthy of being taken into consideration. This is encouraging, even though there are still a great many constructive proposals and critical comments which it would be particularly useful to examine.

Some of them relate to the structure and activities of the I.L.O. and fall exclusively within the I.L.O.’s competence. Others arise out of the responsibilities shared among all the organisations belonging to the United Nations family.

The international organisations in the United Nations system obviously have characteristics peculiar to their specific fields of activity, but what is common to all of them is their duty to contribute to the strengthening of peace through the promotion of multilateral cooperation based on a strict respect for the independence and sovereignty of each State, and on the inviolable right of the peoples to decide their own destiny. These are basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

This is why we consider that the International Labour Organisation, in turn, has the duty of opposing resolutely any violation of these principles, wherever it may occur. It would be an intolerable if the I.L.O. considered itself exempt from this duty. It is not through isolation in the face of the major problems of international life that the I.L.O. will deserve and enjoy the prestige which it has gained thanks to its activity in the great family of the United Nations as well as in the various member States.

At the present Conference, you, Mr. President, in your opening address, just as much as other speakers, quite rightly expressed your concern at the existence of centres of fear and tension in various regions of the world which constitute sources of danger and threats to peace. At present there are flagrant violations of the generally recognised principles of international law.

The Rumanian delegation is firmly convinced that the interests of peace and international security demand that a stop be put straight away to the aggressive action directed against the people of Viet-Nam, as well as to the interference in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic and in other regions of the world.

1 See Appendix II, p. 494.
2 See Appendix II, p. 495.
The PRESIDENT—I would request the speaker to bear in mind the attitude which I have adopted. I have suggested that discussions about theatres of war should be omitted in this Conference, because we have our own agenda to which we should confine ourselves. That is why I have requested that we concentrate on matters coming within our competence.

Interpretation from French: Mr. DUMITRESCU—Such action represents serious violations of the sacred right of every people—whether of large or small nations—to decide their own destiny in the light of their own aspirations, and our Conference cannot remain unmoved in the face of it. The maintenance of colonial domination in various parts of the world, and particularly in Africa, and the practice of racial discrimination, seriously affect the activities of our Organisation. The unanimous adoption at the 48th Session of a Declaration condemning apartheid requires our Organisation to concentrate on the abolition of all the consequences of colonialism and racial discrimination.

The Report of the Director-General contains certain interesting ideas and proposals with regard to determining for the future the priorities to be given to the tasks of our Organisation. I refer to those proposals concerning human resources and economic development, living and working conditions and the development of social institutions, as well as to the proposals which affect the adoption of new international instruments. It should be stressed that this is the first time that we have taken up seriously major problems which are of particular interest to the developing countries, such as agrarian reform and co-operatives.

Our delegation also appreciates the way in which the Report handles questions relating to the use of human resources. Without going into detail on the problems of training supervisory staff at the national level, it is obvious that no country can develop rapidly a harmonious and well-balanced economy. This has been proved by the experience of all countries, including my own.

At present Rumania is a country in full development where industry is going through a process of constant improvement and adaptation to the requirements of contemporary technical progress, and agriculture is making more and more use of its great reserves. Therefore, every year we see an improvement in the welfare of the people. The volume of industrial production this year is 9.5 times more than it was in 1938. During the last six years the annual rate of growth of industry was 14.4 per cent. Recently published projections concerning the problem of the universality of the I.L.O., particularly from the point of view of the tripartite system of representation which is peculiar to this Organisation.

As far as concerns the achievement of programmes and objectives common to the various sectors of economic, social and cultural development, it is only natural that the I.L.O. should extend considerably its co-operation with the other specialised agencies of the United Nations, as, moreover, is envisaged in the Director-General's Report.

We reaffirm our conviction that the I.L.O. will not be in a position to mobilise all the resources available to it for the achievement of its fundamental objectives unless it proceeds resolutely to the elimination of the obstacles caused by its present structure.

Therefore we support the opinion expressed by you, Mr. President, and other speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum, that in the near future all the peoples of the world should be represented in our Organisation.

Many statements have been made here concerning the problem of the universality of the I.L.O., particularly from the point of view of the tripartite system of representation which is peculiar to this Organisation.

As we have already pointed out, one cannot speak of the existence of true universality so long as we fail to have represented in our Organisation hundreds of millions of workers and their trade unions. I am thinking of the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Democratic Republic of Korea and the German Democratic Republic, countries which are kept artificially outside our Organisation.

It is also time to put an end to the anachronistic practices followed in respect of the delegates who are heads of undertakings, and towards workers, in the socialist countries, who are prevented from exercising their full rights of participation in the I.L.O.'s activities.

Along the same lines, our delegation would like to state once again that it is essential to apply very strictly, without exception, the principle of equitable geographical representation in all the I.L.O. bodies to which members can be elected, as well as in the recruitment of staff for the International Labour Office.

We should also like to express our conviction that, through the growth of the role of the General Conference as the supreme forum of
the Organisation, the prestige and the efficiency of the I.L.O. will be increased.

The Director-General’s Report refers in detail to the measures adopted for the decentralisation of the services of the I.L.O. with a view to increasing efficiency by better co-ordination of the I.L.O.’s work and by avoiding duplication in the activities of its various departments. Although these measures represent a step forward compared with the situation existing at present, they do not eliminate, in our opinion, the main deficiencies of the Organisation, to which reference has been made several times at this Conference.

During this session some draft resolutions have been submitted which reflect our preoccupations. I am thinking of the draft resolutions submitted by Poland, the Ukraine, Yugoslavia, the United Arab Republic and other countries. Adoption of them, in our opinion, would represent an important step forward in the growth of efficiency of the I.L.O.

In conclusion, I should like to express the desire of the Rumanian delegation to see the work of this Conference truly contribute to the finding of solutions and methods which may make it possible for the Organisation to make an even more substantial contribution to the strengthening of international co-operation.

Interpretation from French: Mr. CAMARA
(Government delegate, Guinea)—In the name of my delegation and of the Government of Guinea, I am glad to pay some compliments and to address some good wishes; first, our good wishes go to all the delegates and to the working people they represent, particularly those of the brave territories of Zambia, Malawi, Yemen, Gambia and Malta, which have obtained their independence and whose first titular delegations we welcome with friendship and encouragement.

We congratulate also the newly elected President and other Officers. They have deserved this honour by reason of their personal qualities and their high technical qualifications to direct and inspire the work of the session. We are convinced that the choice of our President, which honours the individual and his country, will prove entirely justified.

We learned a few days ago with great sorrow of the catastrophe at Kakanj in Bosnia. The working people of Yugoslavia have thus once more been stricken by the loss of a hundred miners. This is a sad repetition of history for those who died, leaving hundreds of orphans, were themselves the sons or grandsons of the terrible fire that exploded in the same mine in 1934, which cost the lives of an even greater number of miners.

I would ask your permission, Mr. President, to suggest to the Conference that it may wish to lay the foundation for co-operation between the Yugoslav people and the bereaved families.

(The Conference observes a minute’s silence.)

Interpretation from French: Mr. CAMARA
Mr. David Morse has done a very fine job in submitting to us a Report so full of information and so well-documented and the scientific quality of which is fresh evidence of the indefatigable constructive work of the Director-General.

But how can one be completely happy and still have a quiet conscience? How can one speak of the maintenance and defence of peace, the safeguarding of our peoples’ liberties, the social policy of our countries, the planning of manpower or vocational training or even automation in the present world context? Indeed, can we even think of economic development, of social welfare, when, white or black, our brothers are dying in Angola, Mozambique, Bissau Guinea, in the Spanish Sahara, in the island of Fernando Po, the island of Annobon and elsewhere, the Trust Territory of South-West Africa, in Southern Rhodesia—countries which we hope will attain national independence in the best possible conditions and as soon as possible?

Our feelings and reason continue to be revolted by inadmissible genocide in martyred Angola and by the growing despair in the Union of South Africa. These matters directly concern the I.L.O.

One-third of the 11 million Africans have already lost the right to choose their place of residence. By the mere decision of some civil servants over 100,000 persons have been forced to leave their homes and settle in distant regions where there is no work. Five hundred thousand inhabitants are about to be deported and when the Bantustans have been established over 5 million people will have been uprooted. Nothing like this has been seen since Hitler—the implementation of a co-ordinated programme for the forcible transfer of whole populations with the sole aim of serving the interests of an oligarchy.

My delegation addresses a solemn and urgent appeal to the governments which on flimsy pretexts still provide arms for the present de facto authorities in Johannesburg and continue to invest in South Africa for their own greedy purposes and those of an unworthy minority. My delegation is prepared unreservedly, in the name of our Government, to co-operate in the carrying out of any solution, any effective means, for the final elimination from our Conference of representatives of South Africa, Portugal or other similar countries.

The importance of the Director-General’s Report cannot be denied. In order to grasp its full meaning one must think of the historical development and meaning of the right to work, which has been influenced to a large extent by the rules of international competition; one must take into consideration the continuity of the stages through which this right has passed in its advance to maturity.

My delegation thinks—as do the other African delegations and those of all developing countries—that a new stage started for the I.L.O. with the entry, during the past ten years, of some 30 new African countries and almost as many newly independent countries of Asia and other continents. Our task is no longer only to eliminate international competition between capitalist countries or merely to lay the foundation for co-operation between socialist and capitalist countries in the I.L.O.; we have to deal with the necessity for profound
and rapid change in all the structures of the I.L.O. in order to respect the most elementary democratic need to permit the new countries to have full and equal rights, by suppressing in all bodies, including the Governing Body and the Secretariat, the many legal and material forms of discrimination, which have become intolerable.

The universality for which we call, and which will benefit the development of the I.L.O., must induce the Organisation to promote the establishment of regional organs which can co-operate more effectively in each geographical area with the most representative political and trade union organisations. As far as Africa is concerned, that means the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.)—the political organisation bringing together all the independent countries of the continent—and the All-African Trade Union Federation (A.A.T.U.F.), which is independent and is not affiliated to any international organisation and is therefore entitled to consultative status with the I.L.O.

We welcome the objectives of the Organisation as regards human resources, which envisage the very necessary association of human and economic potential.

Delegates are aware of the close and unbreakable links between social and economic questions. The I.L.O. cannot neglect the economic consequences of social reforms or remain indifferent to the social repercussions of economic programmes. Economic organisation means also political organisation, for the development of production affects employment, unemployment and recession.

Therefore there is certainly mutual interdependence of political, economic and social questions, and all affect the position of each social class. That is why we must all agree and recognise that the competence of the I.L.O. extends to everything which concerns the improvement of the lot of the workers. Our international Organisation, as its Constitution envisages, must defend world peace by all possible means but it is obvious that there can be no real peace without social justice, without happiness for the peoples and justice for man. As long as there is anywhere poverty and privation due to domination and arbitrary action, peace and harmony will always be threatened.

My delegation therefore expresses its active support for the resolutions put forward by the United Arab Republic condemning Portugal because of its forced labour policy in African territories. For the same reasons, the delegation of Guinea will contribute as much as it can to the discussion of the resolution concerning the protection of the rights of the Spanish workers put forward by the Yugoslav Workers' delegation.

The Government of the Republic of Guinea has, for the past seven years, given many proofs of its political and international vitality, which have enabled it to make a worthy contribution to the United Nations and the specialised agencies, such as the I.L.O.

But our Government quickly realised that, after centuries of darkness and nearly three-quarters of a century of colonisation, the country and people of Guinea required happiness, progress, social justice, and necessary and urgent readjustment in order to create in all social classes the justice and equality which all the African peoples desire because they have been deprived of them for so long.

The Constitution of our Republic is eloquent on these matters. It speaks of the "fundamental rights and duties of the citizens"; it deals with the liberties of the people, racial, religious and ethical discrimination, freedom to work and trade union rights, in particular in paragraphs 1 and 2 of article 44. Since independence, the I.L.O. has, in less than seven years, has done more for the workers than was done during 60 years of colonisation. National trade union officers take part in formulating and carrying out social legislation, and indeed prepare the projects themselves. This holds good for the Labour Code of Guinea issued in 1960. I should like to mention some of its chapters on trade unions, work contracts, wages, conditions of work, health, safety, medical service, protection of workers and machinery in order to give you some idea of the scope of this fundamental instrument, issued only two years after our independence and five years before this present session.

The Government of Guinea has financed the construction of a labour exchange without equal in Africa and better equipped than some of our ministries. It has all the material equipment and special services required to act as a clearing house between the various branches of the economy and also to promote relations with progressive trade unions all over the world.

In Guinea trade union officers have been being trained for the last few years. Apart from the labour exchange at Conakry, the National Confederation of Workers of Guinea opened, in 1960, an African Trade Union University, which has now been moved to the capital of our country. Six hundred trainees have attended this Institute and at least 300 of them have come from other African countries.

Furthermore the Social Security Act gives workers, their families, pregnant women, children, persons injured in accidents and those with occupational diseases, other invalids, older workers, and survivors, substantial allowances at the expense of the employer alone, and also medical and social care of all kinds through the National Social Security Fund.

The State has also sought to improve the Guinean civil service and particularly the lot of the majority class, the peasants, who constitute 85 per cent. or 90 per cent. of the population, in order to enable them to face their great national responsibilities.

As regards women and young persons, the Government is, of course, deeply concerned with the lot of those who were the base and formed the vanguard of the revolutionary combat, and who are now at the forefront of national construction.

The Government's comprehension for trade unionism is easy to explain. Trade union members were the indispensable instrument of progress, development and freedom in Africa, and did contribute as much as they can to the success of democratisation and peace, towards which the active forces of Africa and the world tend.

It is in this way, of course, that the African
trade union movement stands out, for it is not only committed but actively participating and is a decisive force in our revolution, which is extending to the limits of the continent. Our labour world is also an active part of our racial universe, entirely mobilised for the construction of a new phase of African history.

Facing a labour movement entirely mobilised behind the policy of the nation, the employers are better able to appreciate the sense, nature and quality of the development in which they are themselves also necessarily engaged. The concerted action of political forces and the working population leaves little scope for particular vested interests. Voluntarily or not, the employers now, in the context of the national interest, make, with conviction, a cooperative contribution to the over-all development and progress of our people.

The modification of structures, means, methods and objectives requires constant adjustment and reconversion and the employers must necessarily associate themselves with such a trend.

As already stated by our President Sékou Touré: "The economic revolution will be achieved thanks to the mobilisation of all the forces of the country and their deliberate action. This action will be due to the professional conscience, political conscience, and national conscience of the whole working population. This population must understand that, at the worksite, in the offices, with the hammer, or the pen, or the book, or the syringe, the world of labour, which creates and produces, is in the service of the nation, in the service of a cause which is aimed at the rehabilitation of Africa and at meeting the legitimate hopes of all the populations of Africa who all wish to build an African fatherland in independence, dignity, honour and progress."

To return to some of our concerns regarding the structure and activity of the Organisation, I should like rapidly to recall that the Conventions voted by the Conference do not receive many ratifications. Moreover, some of these ratifications are conditional, while others are registered by States which have no interest whatsoever in the application of the particular Convention. Sometimes the ratifying State already has more advanced legislation. Other Conventions are of pure principle, without any practical effect. This is true, a fortiori, of the Recommendations.

The problem of the level of international standards remains to be solved. Should it be in line with national legislation? Or should it be a minimum? Should it aim at uniformity or provide for various stages of advancement? The unification of labour law is far from being achieved; it will no doubt never be achieved, so great is the disparity in the economic development of the nations and their conception of the welfare of man and of peoples.

The Organisation must develop new forms of activity in regard to assistance on the spot and technical aid in the training of national skilled labour, as well as in regard to the dispatch of advisory missions on unemployment, migration, manpower, industrial relations, labour inspection, industrial health and the establishment of vocational training centres.

It must be noted with regret that the Organisation is concentrating too exclusively on the industrial countries of Europe whereas regional decentralisation would benefit all geographical areas and all States Members of the I.L.O.

We must state with the same disquiet that one does not know what to think of the reports submitted each year by I.L.O. organs evaluating the programmes and projects of the Organisation. It seems to be a fact that the discussions and decisions of the Conference, the supreme organ of the I.L.O., do not lead to practical results. The preoccupations stated in the Reports of the Director-General, the analyses made by delegations are forgotten as soon as the session is over, although concrete, interesting proposals may have been made. The composition of the Governing Body is questionable, with the disproportionate privileges that are granted to some States in violation of genuine democracy, and with the total disregard for the geographical realities of the world today that exists in it. The Governing Body, therefore, cannot have powers symbolising genuine delegation of the powers of the Conference between sessions.

However, my delegation is convinced of the efficiency of the I.L.O., and the need for it to continue its task. But it must adjust its structures, it must readjust daily to the requirements of a constantly changing world.

In conclusion, I hope that these two imperatives will always be the essential preoccupation of all the delegations so as to promote the achievements awaited by the those who suffer, die and hope.

Mr. Issa (Minister of Health and Labour, Somalia)—It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity of addressing this session of the International Labour Conference.

On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I offer to you, Mr. President, our warmest congratulations on your election. We have no doubt that under your able direction and guidance this session of the Conference will be a complete success.

My delegation wishes to welcome the Republic of Yemen as a new member of our Organisation. The Somali delegation also welcomes the admission to the International Labour Organisation of the Republic of Malawi, Malta and Zambia and congratulates them on achieving their independence.

The Somali Republic earnestly hopes that the remaining territories under colonial rule in Africa and elsewhere will soon achieve their independence and take their seats in the United Nations and the specialised agencies as free and independent nations. In particular, we hope that the French Government will be wise enough to grant independence as quickly as possible to the territory of French Somaliland which, I may say, is the only remaining French colony in the whole continent of Africa.

Many African ministers who preceded me on this rostrum have raised again this year the question of apartheid and racial discrimination still pursued by the Nazi-like régime in South Africa, under the leadership of racist and
fanatic elements. The African ministers also accused the Portuguese authorities who continue practising openly and widely the system of forced labour in the African territories under their colonial rule, namely: Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. This brutal and inhuman system practically represents a form of semi-slavery aimed exclusively at the exploitation of the African peoples inhabiting their own homeland.

My Government strongly supports the proposals made by some African ministers that both South Africa and Portugal be expelled immediately from the International Labour Organisation. It is indeed disgraceful that racist fanatics in the Union of South Africa firmly committed to enforce their diabolic doctrine of "absolute white supremacy" and the leaders of the fascist régime in Portugal still continue to hold Members of the United Nations, the I.L.O. and other specialised agencies.

A number of African ministers also raised the critical situation in Southern Rhodesia, where a minority of European extremists are seeking to perpetuate their colonial rule over that unhappy African territory. African leaders throughout the continent are today faced with the threat from these extremists of what they call the "Unilateral Declaration of Independence", or "U.D.I.". This means, in reality, the perpetuation of colonial domination over and the subjugation of 4.5 millions of Africans in Southern Rhodesia.

Without the consent and connivance of the United Kingdom Government these racist elements cannot succeed in realising their dreams of establishing another "South Africa" in the heart of the continent. The Somali delegation strongly recommends that the present Labour Government in the United Kingdom be urged not to consent to a plan aimed at enslaving permanently the entire African population in Southern Rhodesia. The British Government should be reminded that the future destinies and the hopes of these Africans lie in their own hands.

Since the Labour Party is a Socialist movement which claims to represent the interests of the workers, I think it would be most appropriate if the representatives of the trade unions gathered in this hall were to address an urgent telegram to the Labour Party and to the British Government appealing to them to prevent the implementation of such an evil plan. The leaders of the British Trades Union Congress, a labour movement representing well over 8.5 million workers throughout Britain, can and must contribute positively to prevent Southern Rhodesia being turned into another "South Africa".

While on this subject, I wish to recall the grave injustices perpetrated by a previous Labour régime against the indigenous inhabitants of that same area in Central Africa. I am referring to the post-war Labour Government of Lord Attlee, which was responsible for imposing on the African populations of Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of Malawi and Zambia, the now dissolved Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It took over a decade of struggle and sufferings before the people of the African States of Malawi and Zambia finally succeeded in overthrowing a federation controlled by a group of European extremists. Let us hope that the present Labour Government in the United Kingdom will not repeat the same serious error in Southern Rhodesia.

With regard to the technical aspect of this Conference, I wish to say that we are very much alive to the importance of labour problems in Somalia. There is a full-fledged Department of Labour and our Labour Code is one of the advanced and liberal pieces of labour legislations. We are trying to improve it further to suit the changed conditions following our independence. There is complete freedom of association for trade unions and we have confederations of labour affiliated to the various international labour movements. Our Labour Code provides also for the freedom of organised strikes by workers. There is a set procedure for the settlement of labour disputes and contractual obligations. Hours of work and working conditions are well regulated. The Code provides for a Central Labour Commission which would be tripartite in its composition and would deal with all labour policy matters. There is a well-established system of registration of unemployed persons and their placement in jobs through the offices of the district labour inspectors.

We have a social security system which provides for employment-injury insurance for workers. Besides the cash payments, this insurance scheme provides also for medical treatment of the injured.

We have read with great interest the Report of the Director-General and the memorandum on the activities of the International Labour Organisation during 1964. We have noted with satisfaction the reorganisation of the internal structure of the I.L.O., which will enable it to handle more efficiently the important tasks assigned to it. We have every hope that, in staffing this structure, attempts will not be spared to ensure that nationals of developing countries in Africa and elsewhere are given due opportunities to participate and contribute their mite to the working of the Office. The problems of the developing countries can only be well appreciated and appropriate measures of assistance and beget executed when nationals from such countries are given the opportunity of associating themselves with the work of the reorganised structure of the I.L.O.

We agree that in the changed context of economic development the three major I.L.O. programme areas should be: (1) human resources development; (2) labour relations, trade union development and the growth of sound social institutions; and (3) conditions of life and work.

Of these three we attach more importance to human resources development, as, without this, economic and social development is either not possible or cannot be sustained, particularly in countries which are just making a start and where the shortage of professional and technical persons is the greatest bottleneck in achieving speedy development.

We in Somalia are fully aware of the importance of manpower assessment and planning. Our first Five-Year Plan attached vital importance to a manpower survey of the existing supplies of technical personnel, the existing
shortages and surpluses and the future requirements of the various categories of manpower. We, therefore, are active in the I.L.O. with the services of an expert to undertake the survey and advise us on manpower planning measures. Considerable work has been done by this expert and we will profit immensely by his conclusions and recommendations. Realising that planning and manpower assessment are to be considered as an integral part of general planning for our country's economic and social development, we hope that the I.L.O. will continue assisting us in this respect.

For our part, we have established a Manpower Section in the Planning Directorate to maintain constant liaison with the planning authorities so that the manpower aspect is given full consideration in evolving policy measures. An Employment Section has also been set up in the Labour Department to collect and compile data and analyse the manpower information programme. We are thus trying to ensure that our plans should make the necessary allowances for investment in human resources policies and that programmes are geared to the need for speeding up economic and social development.

In view of the vital importance of human resources planning, we fully support the proposal of the Director-General that the I.L.O. should undertake extensive research into questions of employment promotion, with a view to establishing a body of practical techniques of employment planning. The fruits of this research should be made available to developing countries in Africa and elsewhere, which are conscious of manpower planning and are committed to accelerated economic and social development.

But while human resources planning is essential, the basic question in developing countries is the improvement of the knowledge and skill of the human resources. Like many developing countries, the most crucial problem in Somalia for the time being is the acute shortage of skilled manpower. The training of existing manpower and the provision of educational and training facilities for producing the required type of persons in future are some of our most urgent needs. We, as perhaps many newly independent countries, are in a stringent financial situation; we are not, therefore, in a position to provide on our own the training and educational facilities to the extent required. It is in this sphere that the most useful assistance to the developing countries can be given by the I.L.O.

Despite our efforts to establish a training centre to train the craftsmen we urgently need, we have not yet been able to meet the various requirements for starting such an institution. We should be grateful for any assistance in this respect by the I.L.O. Not only in our case but, I venture to say, in the case of all developing countries is the improvement of the knowledge and skill of the human resources. Like many countries is the improvement of the knowledge and skill of the human resources.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to thank you again for giving me the opportunity of addressing this session of the International Labour Conference. I wish the Conference every success in its deliberations.

Mr. JOMADAR (Minister of Labour, Observer, Mauritius)—As leader of the first Mauritius delegation to attend an International Labour Conference it is my proud privilege to congratulate the President on his election to this august assembly. Although the delegation is here with Observer status, it is tripartite in its composition and all its members are fully alive to the contributions which the I.L.O. has been and is making towards ensuring peace, economic development and social progress in all parts of the world irrespective of the size
and importance of the countries. We cherish the hope that in the very near future Mauritius will attain independence and its representatives will be able to attend future conferences with full Member status.

Before proceeding further I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express the gratitude of my Government to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. for the invitation extended to my country which has enabled our delegation to be present here today and also has provided me with the opportunity of addressing delegates from this imposing rostrum.

With few exceptions, little is known of my country in the international field because of its size and remoteness from the centre of activities. To some it might have come to notice as the land of the dodo—a bird species now extinct in the world; to others interested in stamp collecting through the high value and importance attached to one of its early stamps; in stamp collecting through the high value and importance attached to one of its early stamps; but Mauritius has always been and remains a sugar-producing country.

I believe it would serve some purpose if I were to give briefly some background information. Mauritius is a small island in the Indian Ocean some 500 miles east of Madagascar. It has an area of about 720 square miles with an heterogeneous population of over 730,000. Following the eradication of malaria in the immediate post-war period which accounted for a substantial reduction in infantile mortality, the birth rate, which is among the highest in the world today, has resulted in a problem of overpopulation for the island, accentuated by the smallness of its size and the limitations of its natural resources.

With a density of population which at the present time is over 1,000 to the square mile and is likely to increase in future years, Mauritius is confronted with what appear to be insurmountable problems in respect of unemployment, underemployment and other social evils which such phenomena bring in their train. I need not mention the consequent effects which these problems bear on economic growth and social progress.

The sugar industry dominates the economy of the country to the extent of over 95 per cent. It follows, that the prosperity of the country depends almost entirely on the vagaries of a one-crop economy, added to which are, unfortunately, the frequent visits of cyclones to the region. An agricultural economy in itself poses manifold problems for any country, but in the case of Mauritius these problems are enhanced by difficulties of diversification in the absence of mineral and other natural resources. None the less, my Government is doing all in its power to face the problems effectively and to endeavour to bring about all possible improvements in the status and standard of living of the people. There is not the least doubt that we need outside help in the least impasse.

My Government believes that the answers to the present problems of the country reside in family planning, emigration, diversification of the economy and intensification of our agricultural industry. With these aims in view, family planning measures have been initiated; legislation has been introduced to provide import duty concessions (and in some cases complete exemption) in respect of machinery, plant and raw materials for manufacturing processes, and there is also a system of tax relief for new industries. It is unfortunate that we have not so far been able to negotiate an emigration plan with any country to help check the increasing number of persons coming on to the employment market each year. At the moment this figure stands at 6,000 a year; for a country of the size of Mauritius this constitutes a major problem which calls for rapid action, but the situation appears more tense when one realises that the solution must come from outside. It is our fervent hope that one of the countries with manpower shortage will soon come to our rescue and that the I.L.O. will assist by providing facilities for vocational training if the situation so demands.

Speaking of the establishment of new industries in Mauritius, being now in Switzerland, I cannot refrain from mentioning a proposal to construct in Mauritius a factory where imported synthetic gems will be drilled and re-exported for subsequent use in this country in the assembly of watch bearings. The setting up of such an industry is not only of immense value to Mauritius, but reflects at the same time the esteem which the Swiss principals have for the reliability and skills of Mauritian artisans. It is my earnest hope that some other countries will be able to meet their requirements by using the trained and skilled labour in Mauritius.

In the field of social services, although there is still much ground to be covered to bring them into line with modern concepts and standards of industrially developed countries, Mauritius is not too far down the list of developing countries. There are on the island over 200 government and government-assisted primary schools providing free tuition to some 130,000 pupils between the ages of 5 and 12 years. Education is not compulsory, yet 98 per cent. of children of this age-group attend schools. Some 25,000 pupils are in secondary schools. Up to quite recently, almost exclusively of the grammar-school type, run on the English pattern and leading to university courses. A government secondary school with a technical and commercial syllabus was opened in January this year. Secondary education is not free, but the Government provides for the award of 120 scholarships annually on the results of a competitive examination at the end of the primary school career of the pupils which entitle the winners to free tuition, travelling and a money grant for secondary education. In addition the Government grants annually six scholarships (four boys and two girls) to those who top the lists of candidates at the Cambridge Higher School Certificate examination. The scholarships entitle the holders to a four- to six-years' university course in the United Kingdom or other approved countries at the expense of the Government. Each project is under study for the opening of a university college in Mauritius.

The health services are fairly adequé in spite of the fact that enlargement and renova-
tion of existing hospitals and dispensaries are having to be effected, and the establishment of a new hospital is contemplated to meet the increasing requirements. There is also provision in the labour legislation for certain employers to maintain a hospital or dispensary on their estate. Except for a few private wards, treatment at hospitals is given free to all inpatients and out-patients.

In addition there are 11 infirmaries, 11 orphanages which are run by various religious denominations, and 25 maternity and child welfare centres.

Cash benefits are paid under the Public Assistance Ordinance to the needy and the poor. A system of non-contributory old-age pensions also exists for all persons on attaining the age of 60 years, which includes provision for the payment of the pension to blind persons after the age of 40.

A family allowance scheme is also in force, providing a monthly sum for a family with three children under 14 years of age, free of income tax.

There is also a system of compensation for industrial injuries and diseases which is governed by a Workmen's Compensation Ordinance, for the enforcement of which the Government is responsible. In general it provides for weekly payments in case of temporary incapacity and lump-sum payments in case of permanent disablement or death.

Turning now to the co-operative movement, which has special significance because it is one of the items on the agenda of this Conference, I feel proud to say that Mauritius celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its co-operative movement in 1963. In fact the foundations of the Mauritius co-operative movement were laid in 1913 with the enactment of the Co-operative Credit Societies Ordinance of 1913 and the registration of a few societies in the same year. In its early stage the movement was merely confined to credit societies for small planters in the sugar industry, but by 1945 the scope of co-operative activities was widened to include all types of co-operative societies.

The co-operative movement in Mauritius is supported by the following agencies: a government department together with a secondary society—the Mauritius Co-operative Union Ltd.—provides the necessary guidance; financial support is provided by the Mauritius Co-operative Central Bank Ltd. and the interests of agricultural and distributive societies are looked after by the Mauritius Co-operative Agricultural Federation Ltd. and the Mauritius Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd. respectively.

The co-operative movement in Mauritius consists of four secondary societies with some 317 co-operative credit societies which include consumers' stores societies, societies for savings facilities, transport societies, housing societies, a printing society and a farming society. It is gratifying to mention that a group of large planters has recently formed a co-operative society to lease and manage a tea factory which was operated previously by the Government.

In the conditions of Mauritius, with its population problem and its extensive dependence on a one-crop system, the co-operative movement has a special contribution to make, which is to provide the necessary impetus to economic growth. In a plural society, such as that of Mauritius, the economic role of the co-operative movement becomes more important to the welfare of the country by fostering improved human relations. For at least these reasons, if not for others, we are grateful to the I.L.O. for having placed this particular item on the agenda of the present session of the Conference.

Although Mauritius is still a colonial territory of the United Kingdom, it has been possible to apply without modification 30 international labour Conventions and two others with certain modifications.

I have read with the utmost interest the Director-General's comprehensive Report which is illuminating in many respects. It is our belief that the reorientation of the activities of the I.L.O. by decentralisation and setting up of regional offices as well as the creation of new departments within the head office in Geneva will ensure that each developing country, whatever be its size, is given the necessary help and assistance to promote the economic growth and social progress consistent with the aspirations of the people.

In matters of labour relations, Mauritius is privileged that the Mauritian Employers' Federation, formed only a few years ago, is now able to speak on behalf of the great majority of employers. On the other side, an attempt to bring about a merger of all the workers' organisations failed in 1960, but a year ago the Mauritius Labour Congress was formed and the rate at which it has gathered strength would indicate, if progress continues at the same tempo, that it will become a fully representative organisation of workers. What is needed in respect of labour relations at this stage is the introduction of modern techniques for which the I.L.O.'s assistance is imperative.

The consumer price indices operating at present in Mauritius are the result of a family budget inquiry undertaken by an I.L.O. expert in 1961-62 and the advice tendered subsequently.

In the field of rural development the I.L.O. has provided the services of an expert for a period of three years (1962-65) for the promotion of small-scale industries. The Government of India has now sent us a manager and a few instructors to take the extension work of small-scale industries a stage further. We are very grateful to the Government of India for this kind assistance.

While admitting that international standard-setting has greatly contributed to social change and progress throughout the world, I would like to mention the changes effected by the I.L.O. with the aim of giving great importance to technical co-operation and assistance. I believe that it is in this field that the Organisation can provide more assistance to developing countries, in particular to those with restricted means.

May I close by expressing the wish that the present session of the Conference will help to bring about the desired changes in the policies of the I.L.O. for the benefit of one and all.

Mr. LIU (Government delegate, China)—As a delegate and as a fellow Asian, I wish to extend to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your
election to the high office of the presidency of this Conference. Your many high qualities have impressed us all, and I wish you complete success in conducting the proceedings of this august body.

I intend to confine myself to certain brief but specific comments on our main theme at this Conference, which I believe is still the question of the reorientation of the I.L.O.'s major activities for the years ahead.

First of all, I should express the appreciation of my delegation to the Director-General and to the Working Party of the Governing Body for the successful, though none the less very lucidly presented and thought-provoking reports which they have laid before us as a basis for our discussion. I can see clearly reflected in these reports the sincere sense of dedication with which the Director-General and the Working Party approached the tasks entrusted to them. Nevertheless, I should say out of candour that my delegation—and I believe many others—would be much happier if those reports had gone somewhat further in their scope and presented to us some more definite proposals. The need of the developing countries for I.L.O. assistance in their development is of such an urgent nature that the I.L.O. should treat its own reorientation as a project of top priority and proceed at a faster pace. A piecemeal approach will not only retard the process of effective reorientation, but will also have the unsalutary effect of making it more difficult for the delegations to the General Conference to assess the several proposals against the whole picture and in their true perspective. I hope that at the next session of the Conference we shall have before us a complete set of concrete proposals so that the Conference may lend them its final authority and put them into effect at an early date.

Secondly, my delegation is in substantial agreement with the proposals of the Director-General regarding the scope and content of the three major areas of the I.L.O. programme, namely human resources development and utilisation in relation to economic development, labour and social institutions, and living and working methods of the I.L.O. regional organisations of the United Nations family. Perhaps some more thought could be given to decentralisation along the lines which have long been established. Take my own country as an example. In the opinion of my Government the field of I.L.O. activity which occupies a central position in the current endeavours of the developing countries to achieve balanced development, which holds the most appeal for these countries, and which should be assigned particular prominence in the substantive work of the I.L.O. for the next few years, is the field of human resources development and utilisation. Overall manpower planning, employment policy and the promotion of productive employment in all sectors, vocational training and retraining, and allied activities—all these, taken together, can best answer the crying needs of the developing countries at the present stage, and represent the area in which the I.L.O. can be of the greatest help with equally great prospects of timely success. Furthermore, these problems are not peculiar just to the new nations; they are common, though in different ways, to almost all countries, whatever the size of their population, the stage of their development or their socio-economic structure.

Take my own country as an example. In spite of the considerable progress made in our economic development during recent years, we now find ourselves faced with tremendous problems of a basic nature in this sphere, all full of social implications and consequences; and we are grappling with them as a matter of very high priority in our short- and long-term plans of national development.

Therefore we are convinced that it is only through the timely and accelerated implementation of a well-integrated and co-ordinated programme for human resources utilisation that the I.L.O. can most effectively answer the urgent needs of the times and best contribute to the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade.

Thirdly, with this reorientation of I.L.O. programmes, decentralisation along regional lines is but a logical and unavoidable conclusion. It is indeed hard to see how, under the régime of central control from Geneva, which has been the I.L.O. practice until now, the operational activity of the Organisation could take its deserved place and become truly effective.

In this connection my Government wishes to welcome the establishment of the Field Department in the International Labour Office as a move in the right direction. We also support, in principle, the idea of appointing regional and area representatives to co-ordinate operational activities in the field.

However, any scheme of decentralisation, in order really to work, cannot be achieved through half measures or partial fulfilment. It should go right to the appropriate point in the given circumstances. Therefore, I think we should study and take fully into account the experiences in decentralisation—including both the happy and the sad ones—of the other organisations of the United Nations family. Perhaps some more thought could be given to the desirability and feasibility of patterning decentralisation along the lines which have long been established in the World Health Organisation. In saying this, I have in mind, among other things, the role, status, terms of reference and working methods of the I.L.O. regional conferences and regional advisory committees, as well as those of the newly created posts of regional co-ordinators.

Fourthly, as regards the proposal of the Director-General to appoint a regional co-ordinator for Asia and the Middle East, my
Fifthly, with regard to the standard-setting activities of the I.L.O., I am sure we are all very proud of the glorious record of achievements of our work in this field. If social justice is the soul of the I.L.O. and the tripartite system the body, then the 244 international labour Conventions and Recommendations should represent—at least up to now—the backbone of this great Organisation. However, I think that the I.L.O. can afford to have more than one backbone, and one of the backbones might perhaps be left relatively inactive for a while so as not to become over-exhausted. My delegation shares the view that our endeavours in the field of international labour legislation should now go through a period of relative pause, so that the time thus released might be devoted to taking an inventory of our books, keeping them up to date, pruning away the obsolete instruments and—most important of all—consolidating and improving the application of the remaining instruments. For one thing, the new member States of the I.L.O. will need time to catch up in the application of these instruments, and may also need some assistance from the I.L.O. in translating these documents into realities. For another, the more developed countries may also require a little more time to digest, process and put into practice some of the existing instruments. Therefore, my delegation warmly supports the suggestion to go slow on the formulation of new standards until, perhaps, about the time of the golden jubilee of the I.L.O., which is anyhow but a few short years away.

In our present deliberations we are in fact addressing ourselves to new thrusts towards vast new frontiers. We are all inspired by a new-born spirit of dynamic realism and a deep sense of humility and brotherhood. We are bracing ourselves to make the requisite adjustments—adjustments not only in the established patterns of our tangible efforts, but also in our old ways of thinking. This presents a great challenge to every one of us in the International Labour Organisation, and I wish to give an assurance that the Government and people of the Republic of China intend to join all of you in taking up this challenge and following it through with all courage and full force.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. KABAKAS (Workers' delegate, Hungary)—The Director-General's Report to this year's Conference contains a number of quite important and interesting thoughts. The World Federation of Trade Unions and its member organisations, and also the progressive workers' organisations and governments, have in years gone by expressed the desire for beneficial results of decentralisation. I hope that the Director-General will kindly take a second look at this proposal, while reappraising the responsibilities and authority to be vested in that office.

The demand that the structure and activities of the I.L.O. should be adjusted to the new state of affairs in the world is evidenced also by such a positive factor as the twofold increase in the membership of our Organisation over the past few years. Most of the new Member States have only recently acquired independence, and the majority of them are also developing countries. Therefore, this increase in membership not only ensures new opportunities for the I.L.O., but confronts it with new tasks. As the Director-General says, development is not only of political importance, since the Organisation has been enabled to assist newly formed or recently emancipated countries. The Hungarian Workers' delegation appreciates the reorganisation of the I.L.O., but also wishes to point out that this internal reorganisation does not mean the solution of those urgent problems which have arisen during the past few years. This reorganisation has not put an end to the harmful discrimination against the W.F.T.U. and its member organisations and against representatives of other progressive organisations, a discrimination that has often been justly denounced. This situation is intolerable when, because of various machinations, the representatives of the W.F.T.U. and its member organisations are deprived of the opportunity to take their place in the leadership of the Workers' group at the Conference and the Workers' group of the Governing Body. The existing election system discriminates against various trade union movements and prevents their proper representation on the Governing Body. These contradictions are growing more serious and can be overcome only through the introduction of an election system based on proportional representation. Only thus will the Governing Body reflect the real state of affairs in today's world trade union movement.

It is of particular importance for the problem of discrimination has arisen in recent years to be overcome. Governments should respect the I.L.O. Constitution and appoint Workers' delegates from among the most authoritative trade unions in their country. The I.L.O. can and should do a great deal in this connection.

The Hungarian trade unions—even though with some reservations—approve the programme in the Director-General's Report by and large. However, the basic problem in the programme is not emphasised sufficiently. The I.L.O. should work more effectively against unemployment, which places such a heavy burden on millions of workers, with a view to ensuring normal living and working conditions and proper social security facilities.

The Hungarian trade unions supervise the aims that are being followed by the I.L.O. in giving assistance in the setting-up of representative workers' organisations which would play an active role in the economic and social development of their countries. We also welcome the aim of enabling trade unions to cooperate in the planning and carrying out of economic and social development programmes. The trade unions of the socialist countries, including the Hungarian trade unions, refer to their own long experience to affirm that the solution of this problem is one of the principal
functions of trade unions in upholding the interests of the workers. I am referring to a task which, despite the divergence of interest, the social order, vitally affects the lives and work of the whole community. We would be glad to share the experience which our own trade unions have acquired both in fulfilling the traditional functions of upholding the interests of the workers as well as in participating in economic and social planning.

That is one of the fields in which the International Labour Organisation can usefully collaborate with the trade unions of the socialist countries. Another field in which such co-operation is possible is the organisation of international seminars and training courses. As evidence I would mention the international seminar on occupational safety which was organised last year in Budapest at the request of the I.L.O. by the Hungarian trade unions. I believe that this I.L.O. and the participants acquired a great deal of useful knowledge through this seminar.

The successful implementation of the programme proposed by the Director-General would be facilitated by closer co-operation between trade unions with different ideologies. We consider that every opportunity is available for this both at the annual Conference and on other occasions also. However, a precondition for this should be the dissipation of an atmosphere of cold war in the I.L.O.'s work.

The Hungarian trade unions are convinced that the International Labour Organisation has a particularly heavy responsibility in the struggle for peace, particularly in the specific field of the study of the economic effects of disarmament and its social consequences. As on previous occasions we again urge that one of the basic tasks of the I.L.O. is to assist in establishing and consolidating peaceful relations between nations.

Only 20 years ago a devastating war was brought to an end—a war that caused untold damage and suffering to mankind and especially to the workers. Now, once again, hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent on armaments and the burden of this rests once again on the shoulders of the workers, thus delaying the satisfaction of their economic and social needs. If general disarmament were achieved, vast material resources would be released which could be devoted to far more noble purposes and specifically to implementing the I.L.O.'s programmes and helping the newly independent countries. Events in the capitalist countries have long shown the fallacy of the idea that it is possible to overcome unemployment by means of armaments. We should like to emphasise once again that the I.L.O. should take a positive stand on this issue if it wishes to fulfil its vocation.

The Director-General's Report stresses the fact that this is a year of co-operation. We are glad that the I.L.O. is willing to participate in the achievement of such aims as co-operation between all peoples in maintaining peace, promotion of social and economic progress and consolidation of freedom. It is particularly urgent at a time when the I.L.O. should struggle for the achievement of these aims. In the existing international circumstances, when the United States aggression in Viet-Nam, the Dominican Republic and other countries is once again threatening the peace of mankind, the International Labour Organisation should use all its prestige and influence . . .

The PRESIDENT—I would remind the speaker of my earlier ruling about theatres of war. I do not want references to the question of war because we do not want to bring the cold war into this assembly. Everybody wants peace, but there are other organisations looking after that.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. KARAKAS—The International Labour Organisation should use its prestige and authority to help avoid the danger that threatens mankind. The Hungarian trade unions are always prepared to help the I.L.O. in this respect.

Mr. RANSELEY (Employers' delegate, Malta)—First of all I wish to add my own congratulations to those you have already received on your election as President of this 49th Session of the General Conference of the I.L.O. and to express my grateful thanks to you, to the Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and to my fellow delegates for welcoming our delegation and our country as a Member of this Organisation.

This year is an extremely important one for the employers of Malta as it is the first year in our long history and tradition in which we are able to speak from this rostrum as representatives of a Member of this great social organisation which was conceived in the minds of those wise men so many years ago and brought into being by that most outstanding and enthusiastic reformer and believer in human dignity, Albert Thomas. The seeds of social progress so well planted by him gave rise to vigorous growth which has withstood the test of time, war and depression and which has developed into the vital living body that it is today. I pay homage to that great man and wish he were here to see the fruits of his labour; I am sure he would not be disappointed. The objectives which were before him are the aims of the present Director-General of the I.L.O., David A. Morse, and I believe Albert Thomas would be pleased to know that the guiding hand at the wheel of the Organisation is as courageous as his own.

This courage is evidenced by the Director-General's Reports to the 47th and 48th Sessions of the Conference and to this one. The social and economic pattern over the past 20 years has thrown up new, challenging and ever-changing situations and problems which are being met with forthrightness and fortitude. This Organisation has not been allowed to settle in the dust of time as so many other well-intentioned organisations, resting on their laurels, have done. The extent of the reorganisation proposed by the Director-General may be looked upon as a measure of the strength of the I.L.O.; it is certainly a recognition that, unless we gear ourselves to the years in which we live and look forward into the future with anticipation of the new patterns which are likely to emerge, the Organisation will be unable to meet its obligations.
Last year, when I spoke from this rostrum as an observer, I drew attention very briefly and lightly to the dangers inherent in any reorganisation. This year I am able to speak more freely since in the meantime Malta has achieved its independence and early this year became a member of the I.L.O. Therefore I am able now to join in the discussions on an equal footing with other delegates. It gives me great pleasure to place on record my appreciation and thanks that our situation has changed from the observer status last year.

I mentioned last year the importance of placing the right man in the right job. Reorganisation enables this to be done with facility. Organisation and reorganisation are perhaps more of an employer's function, particularly as the result of the employer's work in this connection determines in no small measure whether the employer is to sink or swim. Labour unrest during and following such changes is a danger that is foremost in the employer's mind; it is perhaps not considered by governments and international organisations to the same degree, although it is also an important question.

As in the economic field also, the changes which inevitably have to be made must be dictated by the particular developments and objectives. The reappraisal of new functions and the implementation of new methods is a costly exercise which has instantaneous effects upon the operation of the organisation. Woolly thinking and excessive zeal can be equally expensive, but I am sure that the Director-General has given all these points his deepest consideration.

Many countries, including my own, are being faced with similar decisions. Industry is continually undergoing change, expansion, reduction, improvement and absorption. In some cases the process is gradual, in others it is almost explosive; in all cases much—very much—depends upon the support that men give to the changes. In other words, the type of men selected to support them must be men with belief and courage; a forward look, a willingness to work and to devote themselves to the job in hand, are essential factors in the eventual success of the changes. In short, leadership is the key word.

In Malta we view our economic and social progress with these factors in mind. Our problems are not entirely different from those being faced by other countries, although we are unique in many respects. Expansion on all fronts must be made, more jobs must be created, better economic conditions must be achieved. The economy must be a lively one to encourage investment both at home and from abroad. The changes which have taken place in Malta over recent years have required a rethinking and reorientation towards the building up of a diversified economy. We will achieve this. The first steps have already been taken, and as the employers of Malta are ever-conscious of the needs of the workers, they are working together hand in hand with them and will continue to do so in facing the enormous tasks which lie ahead of both sections of the community.

The theme of the Director-General's Report, therefore, is a most fitting one for us. The development of human resources as a component of economic advance is, as the Director-General rightly points out, essential if progress is to be made. The supply of equipment and capital, as he indicates, is not enough. The training of the workers, especially the younger workers, is a vital aspect of economic development, as it is the young workers of today who are to be the backbone of the economy tomorrow. Although this matter is being attended to in a certain manner, I wish to ask to what degree the I.L.O. is helping those young persons who, because of reasons beyond their control, do not have the means to continue their education and training beyond the primary school period. Increasing and expanding primary school facilities mean that more and more young persons with a small amount of education, but without any training, will enter the ranks of the unemployed each year, and in this Malta is no exception. I looked closely at Part II of the Director-General's Report and I am led to the conclusion that, in so far as technical co-operation is concerned, while some assistance has been given in this sector its extent is not very great, and yet this is one of the most vital areas of need.

It is not necessary to create conditions for the support of the I.L.O.'s programme. The situation in which employment exists for the working population or in which it exists partly for some and partly for others obtains almost everywhere. In the former, we endeavour to improve conditions of work, skill and productivity, and in the latter we endeavour to train the unemployed and the underemployed for jobs that are available, and encourage the organisation of services to fit the man to the job. By the former, improved economic conditions are expected which, in turn, may be hoped to provide new jobs for more workers; but what happens in those areas where little or no technical assistance is being applied when it is so badly needed? Should this great Organisation not play a more active and important part in helping to improve these basic economic conditions? Is just being associated with the Economic Commissions of the United Nations enough? I maintain that this is not and cannot be enough. Let us not forget that the danger of starvation, actual and present, does not only in working in the situations I have mentioned previously, but also in working actively and painstakingly in other conditions and situations, helping to create the atmosphere for economic improvement so that from its source the dignity of man is upheld and raised to the highest peak. In practical terms, what does this mean? In my view it is desirable that there should be full co-operation with the United Nations in the preparation of economic development plans, and that the I.L.O. should be able to bring its influence to bear when loans and economic measures affecting employers and
workers are being considered by, for instance, the World Bank and the International Development Association. It means that the I.L.O. should be placed in a better position to enable it to take a more practical role in economic and social development. I make this suggestion because of the obvious need to enhance and improve the co-ordination of all technical assistance, and what better international organisation than the I.L.O. exists to ensure this co-ordination?

I would add that I agree most heartily with the Employers' delegate from Nigeria when he indicated on 9 June that there is too much emphasis being placed on standard-setting. The need for greater concentration of operational activities is more and more apparent, and therefore it becomes increasingly important that the momentum of the growth of technical assistance operations should be accelerated.

As with most countries, Malta too has its economic development plans, and its goals have been set. The initial action taken is resulting in a general expansion of the three sectors of the economy. Private investment in industry is increasing and covers a number of different types of enterprise and activity. Factory construction is proceeding at a fast pace, and in this connection the Government has been extremely helpful in that many of the newly constructed factories are let at subsidised rents; these factories we look upon as constituting a major contribution to the diversification of the economy.

The development of the tourist industry is gaining momentum, and the number of tourists visiting the island increased by some 20 per cent. last year. Improvements are being made to existing hotels, and a number of new ones are being constructed involving a private investment of some $17 million. The services allied to the industry are also receiving attention and we hope that, with all the improvements which are now being made, the number of visitors to Malta during the coming years will continue to increase as it has in the past year. All these developments, as well as those undertaken in the primary and public sectors, are providing more and better jobs, but there still remains the training of the workers for the support of expansion. Skills must be improved at all levels, in addition to the training required of the new entrants to the labour force.

Notwithstanding, there is still the overriding lack of sufficient labour outlets; highly qualified Maltese are not likely to remain in Malta unless their working conditions are improved. A large number of trained and skilled men leave the island annually and wastage of talent is therefore rather high. The Government, employers and workers must continue to work together and speed up the type of development that will satisfactorily use the human resources which our island possesses. I believe we are finally on the right track, but we are aware that the goals set in the economic development plan will not be achieved easily. However, with the right type of assistance at the time it is required, set up on an organised and co-ordinated basis, I feel confident that the struggles through which we are progressing will not have been in vain.

In conclusion, I wish only to say once more that in all these things, in all our dreams, there is a part to be played by every one of us, and that from the Maltese employers' viewpoint we have been thankful for the help and assistance which have been given to us in the past; we look forward to an era of working far more closely with the United Nations and its agencies, particularly with the I.L.O., than has been possible in the past. I hope this can be done, for our confidence and belief in the I.L.O. is very extensive.

Mr. NILSSON (Workers' delegate, Finland) —Mr. President, may I first of all associate myself with all those speakers who have so warmly congratulated you and this Conference on your election to the presidency. Perhaps still warmer congratulations should go to the Conference which has the pleasure of having you.

May I also congratulate the Director-General for his excellent summary of all the points in the discussions of the last two years on which a fair amount of agreement has been reached. I think this method of proceeding is right. The more progress we can make on the less controversial issues, the better will be the atmosphere for facing the controversial ones. But, of course, they will have to be faced, too. The I.L.O. can survive as a worthwhile instrument only by virtue of its universality, and, since this our universe is full of divergencies and controversies, these have to be faced with boldness and vision and skill and patience.

I am happy that the Working Party has given first priority to human resources and their harnessing. There is certainly no other social and economic issue which is more central; none which more underlines the interdependence of the nations, in spite of the very great difference between its various aspects in various countries.

As for my own country the burning problem of the day is the balance of payments. I feel justified in referring briefly to that problem and quoting my own country as an example, because the problem is well known in many lands—developed and undeveloped. We have embarked on a policy of fairly doctrinaire liberalisation, both domestically and in our foreign trade, without sufficiently analysing whether we were ready for it or not. The result is that for five consecutive years we have been building up ever-growing trade and payments deficits, and when at long last the Government wakes up to face realities it finds that it has deprived itself of most of the instruments by which it could redress the situation without running into international difficulties. It therefore has recourse to the classical instrument: curtailment of total demand, curtailment of production and employment by means of a tight monetary policy. We have, for instance, plenty of unemployed building workers, plenty of building materials of our own and an acute housing shortage. All material prerequisites for an expansion of building activities therefore exist in our own country, but there is no equilibrium between monetary policy and real resources on the other hand. To quote another example, we have an excess of dairy produce: last year we exported about
one-third of it by means of subsidies, which were in most cases about 200 per cent. more than what we were getting for export prices. But we pursued a policy of cutting down total consumption, and that includes home consumption of foodstuffs, thus continuing with that ruinous export. And—perhaps worst of all—the restriction on credit also curtails such productive investment as might eventually improve our balance-of-payments position, and thus we are turning the process into a vicious circle, which unless it is fundamentally changed will force increasing numbers of unemployed, including a considerable proportion of skilled workers—and also taxpayers—to leave the country. The process is already well started. Maybe countries with big populations, such as Italy or others, can afford that but we cannot. If workers and taxpayers leave the country, the remaining basis of production becomes insufficient to finance that investment in infrastructure which is necessary for ever-continuing renewed growth. It is not therefore a case of stop and go, as it is sometimes described; it is a case of stop and decline, which threatens to become a case of a cumulatively depressed areas. Diethard liberalists say: let them go abroad to seek jobs; after all, it is just a case of mobility of labour. But many of those who would have to go do not find it at all easy to do so, and such an adaptation process has all the makings of a major social conflict.

Of course, as trade unionists, we cannot accept such a policy. We are then told that international financing institutions, including some which belong to the United Nations family, do not approve of any other than sound economic policy. It is maintained that we shall lose our credit-worthiness, that trade and financial reprisals would ensue if we tried to pursue a full employment policy for which we actually have a law.

We for our part cannot accept that the prestige of any United Nations body should be used to intimidate us into accepting unemployment. It is very much a balance-of-payments problem, and this is why I am grateful for having access to this international tripartite forum and assembly to voice, I hope with some vigour, a protest not only against the practice of abusing the names of international organisations but also against the discrepancies between material possibilities and monetary policy in so many market-economy countries, which are trying to beggar their neighbour by pushing their payments problems onto each other. Perhaps the question of international liquidity today is not as burning as it was a few years ago, but even today we have the serious position of different countries going begging their neighbours and trying to force them to take larger balances of payments.

In Finland we have accepted the principle of an active labour-market policy, and we have tried to pursue it. But even now we are having difficulties in finding, in the case of some groups of workers in redundant industries or infrastructural branches, for retraining. It is all very well to embark on training schemes and give new skills but we must also see that these workers who are trained for new jobs are assured that these jobs will be continued.

Under competitive market-economy conditions, provision of jobs depends, in the final analysis, on comparative basic resources in the widest sense of the word, which includes not only natural resources, geographic position, but also climate, soil, the mental endowments of a people, capital already accumulated, industries already developed, "know-how" and access to markets and so on. If we view the future possibilities of various nations from that viewpoint and if we correlate them to their possibilities of basic resources, we get a more complex division of nations than a mere division into developing and industrialised countries. We shall have underdeveloped, half-developed and three-quarters developed countries, some with good chances of rapid development and others with less good chances. We shall have, on the other side of the fence, a number of highly developed countries with poor resources, perhaps reorganized to regain the old general principles of capital accumulation continue under the so-called classical liberal economy as hitherto. We talk about neoliberalism and neo-capitalism, but I do not know what is so essentially new in the main features of the form of economic position compared with the past.

The point I wish to make is that sooner or later—and I associate myself with the last speaker, from Malta, on that point and with some other speakers—the I.L.O. must concern itself more with fundamental economic issues, unless some of the other United Nations organs themselves are reorganized on a tripartite basis too. We cannot, for instance, proceed very far in the matter of agrarian reform unless we have something to say about prices. I am not arguing that we in the I.L.O. should take unilateral action in fields within the competence of other international organs. But we should not, on the other hand, be so overawed by their prestige that we do not dare to talk about these things except in half-whispers. When questions of human resources, agrarian reform, etc., come up against insurmountable obstacles, we must have a right to pursue our viewpoints beyond those demarcation lines, to put our views to other bodies and jointly to seek solutions. After all, we do not know how long some of these fairly new bodies will exist. The I.L.O. has seniority in the United Nations family and it has a record of its own that is second to none, starting from the General Assembly and the Security Council and down the whole long list. Would it be that our shy-ness is partly due to the fact that we are "only" concerned with human dignity, freedom, justice and happiness, whereas the other bodies may have more economic and political power? I think we need to redefine our competency in economic matters with greater boldness and greater vision than hitherto.

I am pleased to note the efforts made to give the I.L.O. a more up-to-date working structure. But as an old Organisation man, I could not help making a few mental question-marks, perhaps because of my cautious nature.
Experience has often shown that a well-trained, co-operative staff, accustomed to the job, will be able to cope smoothly with many tasks, even beyond their formal terms of reference, whereas a more up-to-date and more streamlined set-up or organisation may bring about considerable transition difficulties—even if the new framework is much better on paper. I hope that the new set-up has been achieved after consultation at all levels and that none of these transitional difficulties will appear. I would not have had the audacity to refer to this had it not been for the fact that the first item of news I came across, on arriving in Geneva and reading the papers, reported personnel changes in the top team and attributed these changes to divergences concerning the reorganisation.

We do not know what is going to happen to this world. The United Nations may disappear and even worse may come. But our objective should be to have this, our I.L.O., so deeply embedded in the minds of men that if the worst should happen, the first international action of the remaining cavemen, when eventually they creep out of their lairs, will be to re-establish the I.L.O. To ensure that, the I.L.O. must never bow so deeply to economic and political power that it puts human rights second on its priority list of values.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)
EIGHTEENTH SITTING

Monday, 14 June 1965, 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Raza

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. KUCHEROV (Employers' delegate, Ukraine)—At the last session the Director-General mentioned that the solution of many important problems must be preceded by agreement between the various principal groups of interest within the Organisation.

To establish and promote fruitful international co-operation in the I.L.O., there must be mutual understanding and, specifically, the anomalous situation within the Employers' group must be ended. Unfortunately, the Report of the Director-General does not touch on the problem of the internal structure of the I.L.O. However, I consider the structure of the I.L.O., specifically the question of the relationship between the representatives of private capitalist enterprises on the one hand and those of state enterprises on the other, to be a very important factor in the activities of this Organisation.

As the representative of the Employers of one of the socialist Members of the Organisation, I cannot remain silent when I see that not once in the history of the I.L.O. has a representative of the Employers of a socialist country been elected to the Governing Body. This is an anomalous situation and it should be radically corrected. Historically, the situation is that in the beginning the Employers in the I.L.O. were represented only by the private sector; however, the representatives of this private sector regarded a temporary situation as something permanent and unalterable. They refuse to accept the advance of history or to recognise any qualitative changes in the world.

The impact of this attitude of the Employers is so powerful that even certain governments which have nationalised large sections of their industries continue to send to international conferences only private employers in order to avoid conflict with the intractable majority of the employers. This constitutes the first link in the existing chain of anomalies. The next link is where the Employers' group, as it has been constituted, refuse to elect the employers of socialist industry to the committees of the Conference or to the Governing Body and so on. The socialist countries account for more than 37 per cent. of total world industrial output. If that is added to the products of state or public enterprises in a number of other countries, it is seen that approximately one-half of total industrial world output is not represented by the Employers on the Governing Body or other organs of the I.L.O. Thus we see reflected in these organs not the present-day structure of the world economy, but that of the beginning of the century.

The refusal of a certain group of Western employers to co-operate with the managers of the socialist enterprises is, of course, harmful to the interests of the International Labour Organisation, and the whole absurdity of this policy became apparent at the 161st Session of the Governing Body in March of this year.

During the elections to the Industrial Committees, the Employers attempted to apply their internal boycott policy to matters directly affecting the interests of member States. What happened then we all know. They were forced to acknowledge the fallacy of their own position and had to admit defeat.

The case of the elections to the Industrial Committees has shown us once again that the question of the membership of the Employers' group in the Governing Body represents a major part of the problem of adapting the I.L.O. to the present world.

The time has come for the International Labour Organisation to put an end to discrimination against the representatives of the nationalised industries. It is impossible to accept the policy that has turned the Governing Body into the tool of a narrow group of interests. It should be the representative body of the whole of the I.L.O., and that is why I support the resolution concerning universal observance of the principle of equitable geographical distribution in the organs of the I.L.O. that has been submitted by the Government delegates of Poland and the Ukraine. The adoption of this resolution would ensure equitable tripartite representation of all regions on the Governing Body.

Several comments should be made on the organisation of the Industrial and analogous Committees. We must, of course, agree with the Director-General's statement that there should be greater flexibility in the organisation,
functions and procedure of Industrial Committees.

What should be revised, of course, in the first place is the procedure concerning composition of the Committees, in order to ensure equitable geographical distribution of seats. As you see, there are ways of solving this problem on the basis of a compromise, and this can and must be done forthwith. The fact that this problem has not been solved, the one-sided membership of the employers' group of the Governing Body, leads to one-sided activities of the I.L.O. as a whole.

To quote another example: in Part II of his Report the Director-General points out that a significant trend in developing countries is the increase in the number and size of state-owned undertakings which are of great importance for the national economy, so that the government has to set an example for employers in the private sector.

All this testifies to the increasing role of the managers of state-owned undertakings, and the decreasing role of the private entrepreneurs. It is quite incomprehensible, therefore, that the whole research sector in the activities of the I.L.O. should be concentrated around the entrepreneurs of the private sector. Why is not the experience of the socialist managers, and their participation in the planning of production, in solving social questions, in co-operating with trade unions in the management of socialist enterprises, etc., studied and disseminated?

Perhaps that is why, in drafting the section on the I.L.O. programmes, the Director-General omitted such an important sector as the social and health services in undertakings, which are so greatly developed in the socialist countries, and which private employers are so reluctant to introduce.

For the past two years the most capable minds in the Organisation have generously sown proposals upon the stony ground of the International Labour Organisation. Now we see that some of these proposals have taken root and are beginning to bear fruit. But the harvest is pretty meagre, for from the vast cloud of inevitable structural changes which appeared over the horizon of the I.L.O. only a few droplets of practical proposals have so far fallen. Unless the Director-General's programme is accompanied by appropriate structural changes, it will certainly not have the success upon which we can and should reckon.

The Ukrainian people has recently celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the liberation of the Ukraine from Fascist occupation and the defeat of Nazi Germany. During these past 20 years, we have witnessed vast constructive achievements in the Ukraine. From the burnt-out ruins have sprung up a large number of major industrial plants. Some 2,500 major up-to-date enterprises have been built, equipped with the latest technology: a vast basic structure in the form of power plant and general construction has been established, and many new sectors of industry have been developed; the transportation network has been rebuilt. In terms of industrial development, Ukraine is in the very front ranks of the countries of the world, and we can judge these achievements from the following few figures: for instance, in 1964, in Ukraine we produced 31.3 million tons of pig iron and 34.6 million tons of steel. More than 80.3 million tons of iron ore were mined. The gross industrial product of the Republic in 1963 was 4.7 times greater than the pre-war figure of 1940, and the increase in the metal trades was by 10.3 times. The production of electric and thermal power increased by 7.3 times, and the high rate of industrial development can be seen from the fact that during last year alone the increase in manpower amounted to 500,000 persons.

The vast changes in the economy of our country have provided a solid foundation for the steady improvement in the standard of living of the people, which is achieved by means of increased wages and the growth of the social welfare funds.

The Director-General points out that his Report deals only with those subjects on which a clear consensus existed among delegates to the General Conference. Unfortunately, not all these subjects have been duly reflected in the Report.

In discussion of the Director-General's Report at the preceding sessions, there was a considerable degree of agreement that the I.L.O. cannot stand aside from the fight for peace, for peaceful coexistence and for the development of friendly relations between all peoples. According to I.L.O. figures, 40 delegates at the last two sessions called upon the I.L.O. to contribute to the cause of peace. Nevertheless, the Report before us is silent on this crucial problem of our time. Yet today more than ever before the cause of peace must be the focus of attention of all international organisations, including the I.L.O. There is an old saying that when cannons roar laws are silent, and the I.L.O.'s activities and the effect of its Conventions are reduced to nothing when bombs are exploding, when alien forces armed to the teeth are engaged in aggressive wars against the people of Viet-Nam and the people of the Dominican Republic who are fighting for freedom and independence...

The PRESIDENT—I would refer you to my earlier ruling, when I requested speakers not to refer to theatres of war.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. KUCHEROV—You have called upon us to speak about peace. In supporting your ruling, that is precisely what I am doing—I am speaking against war in favour of peace.

Mr. McPHERSON (Workers' delegate, Jamaica)—Let me join others in congratulating you on your elevation to your high office in our Conference. I cannot forget the grace with which you averted a crisis last year when you stood down after being nominated to the high office you now occupy. Your remarkable qualities of tolerance, understanding of human problems and sense of fair play and justice are among the attributes that have piloted you to tremendous heights in the councils of men.

I observe with increasing interest and appreciation the realistic way in which the International Labour Organisation is applying itself to its task. The very excellent and masterly
Report of the Director-General encompasses the practical course which the Organisation must pursue if it is to continue to achieve worthwhile objectives in a world that is rapidly changing with the creation of new and diverse problems.

It is heartening, and speaks well for the future, that the I.L.O. recognises its new and added responsibilities which are consistent with the setting of standards for the general improvement of the life of the workers and the masses and for the conduct of labour relations. The 114 member States of this Body are at varying stages of development or under-development, and are pursuing various patterns of economic, social and cultural and political life. But we all have the same goal: that of a fuller and more prosperous life.

Between 60 and 65 per cent. of the world's people reside in areas the economies of which can only support a very low standard of living, and these economies will have to be helped to attain new and better goals in the process towards prosperity.

The gigantic job which challenges the I.L.O. is successfully to co-ordinate its efforts with all those organisations whose help it is important to obtain so as to bolster these economies and thus the whole world by which standards of living will be raised.

Among others, the following are a few things which give evidence to the fact that the I.L.O. is prepared to tackle its new tasks with determination and courage.

In Part II of the Director-General's Report attention is called to—(1) the active part played by the I.L.O. in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development last year, due to the general acceptance within the I.L.O. that greater stability in world prices of primary products and the promotion of a higher and steady volume of international trade is essential for securing the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world; (2) the fact that the I.L.O. submitted to the Conference on Trade and Development a resolution urging that those responsible for the work of the new international machinery to be set up to deal with the question of foreign trade should take full account of, and seek to attain the employment objectives defined in, the I.L.O.'s Employment Policy Convention, 1964, with particular reference to action aimed at securing substantial improvement in living standards in the less developed areas; (3) the bold step forward by the I.L.O. in tackling the question of agrarian reform with particular reference to employment and social aspects—a matter which is being dealt with by this Conference.

In the same chapter the Director-General calls attention to the fact that in preparing a paper on the subject of agrarian reform the I.L.O. collaborated with a number of United Nations agencies, particularly the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, as part of its new approach of involving sources which are capable of helping it to achieve the objectives which it seeks to attain.

Delivering the policy speech for the Government and people of Jamaica, I am pleased to note the contribution of my country to this new concept which the I.L.O. is evolving. In previous speeches I have made here, I have consistently called for this new approach as a means of effectively achieving benefits from the policies which the I.L.O. enunciates.

I am pleased to say that the objectives put before this Conference by the Governing Body of the I.L.O. for an international programme for agrarian reform have been the very basis for the present Agricultural Development Programme of Jamaica.

In order to give the fullest possible effect to the successful operation of Jamaica's Agricultural Development Programme, our Government is shortly to introduce legislation which will give it power to ensure that idle or grossly under-utilised lands in private ownership are brought into production. The proposed Land Utilisation Act will allow the landowner the opportunity to present a rational plan of development for lands declared idle or under-utilised according to minimum standards of usage, based on economic and agro-technical criteria such as soil capability, topography, rainfall, location, market possibilities, etc., and having regard to the social well-being of the workers.

If the landowner fails to submit an acceptable plan of development or fails to carry out the development agreed upon, the area of land in question will become subject to compulsory acquisition by the Government with adequate compensation. Certain safeguards within the terms of the Jamaica Constitution relating to the protection of the basic rights of property, including the right of appeal to a properly constituted land tribunal, are to be included in the Act.

Jamaica bids fair for a bright and prosperous future, and all efforts must be exerted to ensure against external forces blighting its prospects and those of the other less developed countries which are in a similar position.

My Government and country therefore welcome the new concept of approach by the I.L.O. to social and economic problems affecting working people and the masses, particularly as this new approach will affect agrarian reform in Jamaica. The I.L.O.'s approach to co-ordination with various United Nations agencies will certainly be of assistance to Jamaica to bolster its programme and to help it chart the way to effectiveness. The I.L.O. is indeed making valiant efforts to achieve for the less fortunate peoples of the world greater measures of improved living.

Without international co-operation there is absolutely no possibility of achieving the fullest programme of agrarian reform in the less developed areas of the world. We therefore rely heavily on the I.L.O. to press on in its admirable determination to collaborate with other world agencies which are capable of helping in the achievement of success in agrarian reform.

I now turn to something that has been occupying my mind for some time, that is the obvious efforts of the Conference to find and create new standards for social and economic application. Adorable as this is, the fact is that already there are a number of I.L.O. instruments which, if fully applied, would mean the universal emancipation of the workers.
The I.L.O. is approaching its fiftieth year of existence. I think it is of the utmost importance that the fiftieth anniversary serve to take stock of the extent to which the instruments and resolutions of the Organisation have been implemented, and with what effect. After carrying out the fullest evaluation possible, the Organisation can then move forward with the experience gained from this stocktaking.

I suggest the fiftieth anniversary for this purpose as it will give participating nations of the I.L.O. three clear years in which to make every effort to give effect to the instruments already adopted by the I.L.O.

I leave this proposal as a challenge to this international forum and for action upon it by the Governing Body.

Interpretation from French: Mr. SOW (Workers' delegate, Senegal)—It is in the name of the National Union of Senegalese Workers, which we call U.N.T.S., that I have today the honour and privilege of speaking, more to follow tradition than to contribute any new elements to the Director-General's Report. This complete and thorough work shows once more the great competence and high-mindedness of this master and his much love of the many problems raised by previous sessions of the Conference and arising out of the daily accomplishment of the I.L.O.'s difficult task in a developing world. My first duty therefore is to congratulate the Director-General and his staff for their constant and superhuman efforts to satisfy the aspirations of the peoples of member countries.

May I now, despite your modesty, add my sincere and warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your brilliant election to the presidency of this session?

The questions raised in the Report and the solutions recommended are worthy of interest not only because they are essential elements in the permanent work of the I.L.O. but also because of their urgent character at the present time, since they proceed from the new imperatives of a world in which events move so fast that no delay can be tolerated. This turning point in history, with its scientific and technical progress, economic fluctuations, accession of many countries to independence, suddenly has to face new and thorny problems of all kinds arising out of the vestiges of colonialism and the chronic malady of under-development, problems which call urgently for employment of the I.L.O.'s increasingly extensive means of action.

It is evident that the I.L.O. cannot effectively meet the obligations placed upon it by the emergence of new functions, for one thing because of the insufficiency of existing means and for another because its structures are out of date and this neutralises its operational efficiency in the vast field which now belongs to it. The U.N.T.S. therefore fully supports the proposed reorganisation of the central services of the Office and the additional recruitment of personnel from the countries in course of development. This practice, which has already been initiated, will have the double advantage of training and specialising personnel from our countries and using them as informed advisers on the problems of our own regions. The periodicity of the general and regional conferences and other committees should be revised with a view to reducing the number of speeches which often merely repeat the same eternal principles. This would make it possible to save money which could be better spent on our regions, on the efficient offices and on sufficient polyvalent technicians and other personnel. The States Members of the I.L.O. should make an effort, in the course of this reform, to increase the means available to the Organisation, for the expansion and success of its operational activities will depend on the increase of its human and financial resources.

In the developing countries and particularly in Africa the rational solution of the problems of human resources, development, social institutions and conditions of life and work can be found only within the framework of an integrated and harmonious economic and social development plan. The first two African Regional Conferences held respectively at Lagos in 1960 and Addis Ababa in 1964 clearly revealed the anachronism of economic liberalism and stressed the need for balanced economic and social planning which can alone liquidate barter and other economic feudalism, free men from sickness, poverty, ignorance, unemployment and underemployment and raise the standard of life so as to ensure true and complete dignity for all men and women.

We in Senegal soon understood this need because we enjoy the privilege of having President Senghor, a theorist and a man of action in these matters who, following the path of African socialism, rejects capitalism and communism and chooses the middle path of non-alignment aimed at safeguarding moral and human values. Hence our first Four-Year Plan which started in 1960 and took the human being as its means and its objective. We described the economy of this Plan at the Lagos Conference and at the 45th Session of the General Conference in 1961, when the burning problem of technical and economic and social planning of the African Trade Union Confederation, to which it belongs, and by the All-African Trade Union Federation.

Planning does not necessarily mean nationalisation, but it is important for all elements of the nation to co-ordinate their activity in a general plan which will determine the objectives to be reached and the means of reaching them. It would be senseless to reject capital in a country where there is hardly any private saving. Capital must be placed at the service of the nation for general prosperity and well-being. Accordingly, the Senegal investments code ensures the security and profitability of capital. The object is to rescue man from slavery to capital and to place the latter at the service of the former's well-being.
human capital is the basic factor in economic growth, we feel that training is a point which can never be over-stressed. The success of our plans depends on man’s intellectual capacity, knowledge and physical strength. Therefore the programme of health, education and training at all levels is the major preoccupation of our Government and of U.N.T.S.; four ministries—the Ministries of Education, Technical and Supervisor Training, of Youth and Sport, of Popular Education, and of Health—co-operate in the development of human resources in accordance with the objectives of the Plan.

It should also be pointed out that President Jomo Konyatta, to whose contribution should be paid for his courage and clear-sightedness, has recently accepted and adopted President Senegale's doctrine in a pamphlet on African socialism and its application to Kenya's Plan. Rejecting metaphysics and sterile dogmatism, he states the need to adjust principles to the economic, social and human realities of his country by means of a rational over-all plan.

Senegal's second Four-Year Plan, which has just been discussed by the Social and Economic Council, is to start on 1 July 1965. After participating in the formulation of economic and social policy and all related projects in the national and regional planning commissions, the workers are also to be associated in the execution of the programmes. In the Social and Economic Council the main machinery for discussion and agreement between the State and the various elements of the nation, the U.N.T.S. sits side by side with representatives of industry, traders, handicraftsmen, and farming, fishery and stockraising co-operatives, so that all classes of society may contribute and participate in considering draft legislation on economic, social and financial matters and in the research and surveys which are necessary in order to put forward suggestions which will promote economic and social development and human advancement. The U.N.T.S. also represented on the price control committee which prevents fluctuations which would diminish the purchasing power of the workers and of the people generally.

The Constitution of Senegal guarantees freedom of association and the exercise of trade union rights. The Labour Code governs labour-management relations. Over 35 collective agreements determine conditions of employment and wages in the various occupations. Good human relations are indispensable to the proper operation of undertakings, for the workers not only wish their demands to be met but also desire to be treated with due respect as human beings. It is only on the basis of mutual understanding and respect that employers and workers can co-operate smoothly with a view to the prosperity of undertakings and the general interest.

Accordingly the U.N.T.S. considers that economic and social development and social justice can be promoted by discussion, peace and social stability. The tripartism which is an essential feature of the I.L.O. thus retains all its value. The States proclaim it here in the Palais des Nations, which is a very good thing; but it would be better still if they all applied it at the national level to the realities of development and labour relations.

The revision of international standards or the creation of new ones is perhaps a necessary adjustment to these changes, but it is still more necessary to ask why States which have taken part in the preparation of the instruments and voted in favour not only do not ratify and apply them but deliberately violate all their provisions. To quote only one instance, the notion of freedom of association varies from one country to another according to national legislation and practice. Violations of all kinds occur and these increase the difficulties of the African trade union movement. Therefore the U.N.T.S., which now includes almost all the workers of Senegal, calls for the unity of the African working class. Sterile division and antagonism are factors of economic and social regression in countries which need to join forces against the common enemy, underdevelopment. We therefore wish for resumption of the discussions between the African Trade Union Confederation and the All-African Trade Union Federation, aimed at unity, which began in October 1962 at Dakar. In particular, we support the proposals by A.T.U.C. last December at Addis Ababa for a seminar for officers of the two organisations, under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity and the I.L.O., to study and adopt bases for agreement and unity. We welcome in this connection the proposals adopted at the recent O.A.U. Conference at Nairobi, which endorse the point of the A.T.U.C. to the effect that discussion between the two parties is required. The false and the true revolutionaries—if there are both these groups—should meet and fight together for the construction of our young nations and of Africa.

The U.N.T.S. thanks the I.L.O. for the attention it has been giving to the training of trade union officers in Senegal. The Morin mission in 1952 and the Lambert mission in 1964 have given a new impetus to the training of our economic and social officers and the establishment of permanent courses at the national level and in the seven administrative regions.

Co-operatives and agrarian reform are the key to development in the developing countries, and particularly in Africa, where 80 per cent. of the economy is agricultural and pastoral. The socialisation and diversification of agriculture, the establishment and development of co-operatives, the reform and modernisation of commerce (through the establishment of the agricultural marketing office and credit machinery in the first plan in 1960) and the recent National Lands Act (adopted with the unanimous support of the landowners concerned) have enabled this fundamental problem to be finally settled in Senegal to the advantage of the peasants who were so long the victims of a barter economy and of middlemen.

It is therefore desirable that appropriate instruments be adopted to enable the neglected populations of the developing countries to move along the path of progress.

I must also stress the contribution made last year by the Conference on Trade and Development which pointed to the growing gap between the advanced countries and those which are less developed and called for more active solidarity in exchanges and for the fixing and protection of commodity prices.
which have a direct repercussion on the economic and social development of the young nation. As economic and social development are linked to freedom, peace and democracy, how can one build up the economy of countries still subject to colonial domination or to the dictatorship of minorities which monopolise all freedoms for themselves to the detriment of the local population? We must therefore constantly appeal to the United Nations and to the conscience of mankind to put an end to the wars in Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea, where people groan under the burdens of poverty and exploitation and men and women are killed by bullets every day.

We also condemn the undemocratic attempts being made in Rhodesia to impose a minority dictatorship without previously consulting the people.

We appeal to the Eastern and Western blocs which, in their race for world and cosmic mastery, will soon occupy the moon and coexist with the Martians at the cost of enormous sums which would be better spent on more assistance to men and women who, in the underdeveloped countries, can hardly keep body and soul together under the pressure of ignorance, sickness and poverty. The I.L.O. should mobilise all its strength of conciliation and act to put an end to the cold war, which at present is growing hotter and brandishes the sword of world disaster over our heads. The I.L.O., established under the Treaty of Versailles in answer to the workers' demands and with their participation, is bound to save mankind from a recurrence of the horrors of war.

The I.L.O. whose name is already inscribed in letters of gold in the book of history, will once more respond to the call by ensuring peace through progress and social justice for the greater well-being of all men in unity and brotherhood.

Mr. MANICKAVASAGAM (Minister of Labour, Malaysia)—May I tender to you Mr. President my sincere congratulations on your election to your high office.

I also wish to extend a warm welcome to Malawi, Malta, Zambia and Yemen which have become fellow Members of the I.L.O.

For the third year in succession the Conference has before it the vital task of formulating I.L.O. programmes to meet the growing needs of changing world, and of adjusting the structure and working methods of the I.L.O. to implement such programmes. It has been a challenging task and though a number of issues still remain to be considered, it is satisfying that a clear consensus has been reached on the three major I.L.O. programme areas.

I would like to congratulate the Director-General for having taken the initiative in reorganising the internal structure of the International Labour Office itself. From the outline given of the duties and responsibilities of the various departments into which the Office has been reorganised, I feel confident that the Director-General and his staff will be able most efficiently to undertake their responsibilites in the implementation of I.L.O. programmes.

The structure of the new Field Department, which will include three regional branches with emphasis on the control and co-ordination of all field operations in each region by a regional co-ordinator will, I think, greatly enhance the effectiveness of I.L.O. field operations. There will be not only better co-ordination of effort within the I.L.O. itself but also closer co-operation with other technical assistance agencies of other members of the United Nations family in the region. The Office itself will also build up a greater knowledge and a better understanding of the conditions and problems of each country and region, which will be most valuable in the appraisal, planning and implementation of programmes.

I hope the Director-General will as far as possible do his best to accelerate the appointment to posts not only in Geneva but also in the regional offices, including senior posts, of suitably qualified persons from the regions concerned. It is true that there is a general shortage of qualified persons in most developing countries, and such qualified persons as are available are more urgently required for their national needs. This has often been cited as a reason for not offering more posts on the I.L.O. establishment to such countries. But in time this reason may no longer be valid. In Malaysia, for instance, an increasing number of our nationals graduate each year from universities and institutions of higher learning at home and abroad, and many are keen to enter the international civil service.

I would strongly urge the Governing Body to accept the proposals to give a bigger role than hitherto to the regional advisory committees and the regional conferences, which should have more frequent opportunities to meet and advise on the particular needs of the region so that I.L.O. activities can be better reviewed and co-ordinated to serve their needs.

I think the possibility should also be considered of holding meetings of some of the Industrial Committees in different regions by rotation, instead of in Geneva as always. This will be in keeping with the policy of greater regionalisation of activities and will also even out the disadvantage now suffered by countries in Asia and elsewhere in having always to pay the considerable expenses of sending delegates to Geneva.

It is universally agreed that the development and utilisation of human resources is a key factor in economic growth. I am glad that there has been general agreement by the Conference that the I.L.O.'s plan of action in the human resources area should be principally directed to the problems of developing countries, and that it should cover a comprehensive and co-ordinated field including manpower planning and organisation, promotion of employment, vocational training, vocational rehabilitation, management development and productivity.

In my country the development of human resources is a basic part of our National Development Plan, and includes, in addition to
various programmes in which the I.L.O. is concerned, other programmes in education and social welfare. We have been receiving valuable technical assistance from the I.L.O. and we are happy that in future such assistance will continue to be available to developing countries, with a new impetus.

The I.L.O. should conduct more extensive practical research to discover ways and means of promoting and creating more productive employment, with particular reference to developing countries that are faced with problems of high population growth, unemployment and underemployment, and industrialisation.

I now turn to the proposals for I.L.O. action in the development of employers' and workers' organisations and other social institutions and labour relations. At the last two sessions of the Conference we stressed that each country should be free to develop its own forms of organisations and its own system of labour relations, best suited to the particular conditions of the country, provided that in the process there is no deviation from the basic principles and objectives of the I.L.O.

Political and constitutional advancement, as much as economic development and technological progress, has created new problems in labour relations, particularly in developing countries, which have a tradition far different from those of the industrialised countries. Some of these problems have not even been experienced by the industrialised countries, in which current concepts of trade union organisation and labour relations have evolved historically.

In the solution of differences arising between employers and workers, for example, it is the duty of the Government to ensure that adequate machinery and procedures are set up, which, by applying the principles of conciliation, negotiation, and arbitration, will help bring about an expeditious settlement, in the interests of the parties concerned as well as in the interests of the nation as a whole.

My country is faced with aggression from a neighbouring country and, since September last year, has been under a state of emergency. Despite the emergency we are determined that our National Development Plan must continue in order to maintain and further improve the standard of living of our people. My Government is faced with grave problems of external and internal security. With the object of maintaining the stability of the administrative machinery of government and of the economic life of the nation, it has recently been necessary to introduce certain measures, which are temporary and which affect only certain essential services and industries, providing for the orderly settlement of labour-management problems. These measures have caused anxiety to certain of our trade union leaders. But I wish to state that these measures do not in any way infringe the legitimate rights and freedoms of trade unions. They provide for the settlement of differences by negotiation, conciliations, and arbitration and, in the case of the civil service, also by impartial consideration of a Salaries Commission, to which civil service unions have in fact already submitted claims.

I would add that my Government has introduced those measures with great reluctance and only because certain action taken by some trade union leaders in recent months has brought about serious disruptions in the working of the normal machinery existing at various levels for the settlement of industrial disputes and thereby affecting the public interest.

I support I.L.O. action in the promotion of the growth and development of employers' and workers' organisations and other social institutions which are genuinely independent and representative of all sectors, including those as yet unorganised and also of rural inhabitants.

Promoting the participation of these representative organisations in the formulation and implementation of economic and social development plans is an aim that must be linked with the educational programmes of the I.L.O. to provide additional training for all persons who are directly involved in labour relations at various levels. It is only with such training that they may be better able to assume their responsibilities.

For many years employers' and workers' organisations have been represented on a great number of boards and bodies in my country, and they will, as far as possible, continue to be associated with such bodies as are connected with economic and planning activities.

I also endorse the other proposals for I.L.O. action as outlined by the Director-General regarding labour administration; the status of the worker and the research and dissemination of information on this subject, and personnel policy, including management training and the promotion of joint consultative machinery at the level of the undertakings.

We are in the middle of 1965, the International Co-operation Year, a year dedicated to co-operation between all nations in maintaining peace, and to the promotion of economic and social progress for all people and of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Unfortunately, this ideal is not being achieved in many areas of the world.

My country, despite our present difficulties, is determined to carry on with our National Development Plan. Here I wish to express my country's gratitude for all the generous assistance received from the I.L.O. and other United Nations agencies and from many friendly countries which, like ourselves, sincerely believe in peace and practise international co-operation as a means of achieving peace.

It is fitting that all members of the I.L.O., whatever political differences there may be, should rededicate themselves to the noble purpose of this Organisation to help people everywhere towards a better life.

Interpretation from French: Mr. Ilboudo (Workers' Delegate, Upper Volta)—In the name of the workers of Upper Volta, I should like to associate myself with all those who preceded me at this rostrum in congratulating you most warmly on your election to the presidency of our Conference at its present session.

The workers of Upper Volta have analysed very carefully the Director-General's Report.
This clear and well-documented text meets, in general, with their approval. At the 48th Session of the Conference our delegate expressed the sentiments of horror aroused in the workers of Upper Volta by the criminal system of apartheid. That is why, this year, I should like to thank the Director-General for the special report which he has submitted to us on apartheid. All nations in favour of peace must support the action taken by the I.L.O. and adopt energetic measures to destroy the inhuman régime imposed on the black Africans and on the other so-called coloured peoples of South Africa. Africans from now on are well able to distinguish their friends from their enemies, in spite of the ability of some people in trying to deceive them with fine words empty of meaning. They have no right to speak of liberty to those who look on, indifferent, at the injustices perpetrated in South Africa and at the barbaric treatment meted out by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Bissau-Guinea.

The Conference should invite all States to cease their deliveries of arms to South Africa and Portugal. We strongly request that the Conference be informed of the effective application by States of the Declaration on apartheid.

Since 1963 the I.L.O., under the guidance of the Director-General, has been endeavouring to adapt itself to the changing realities of our time. We therefore urge that the work and the posts within the International Labour Office be equitably distributed. We condemn all discrimination within our own Organisation. We must further Africanise the posts in the International Labour Office. It is possible to find now in Africa experts and officials who could do more effective work on the spot than experts coming from other continents.

We would also like regional conferences to be held frequently. They could be held every two years instead of every four years as is the case at present. The regional conferences, because of their practical nature and their composition, are extremely effective. I need only mention the Addis Ababa Conference, which was a magnificent success, as everyone has recognised.

We are concerned with problems of training trade union leaders because, without such training, it is impossible to obtain the benefits to be derived from participation of workers in various national bodies. The work to be done in this field in our country is enormous. That is why we are pressing with all the persuasion at our command for an intensification of the I.L.O. programme in this connection. There can be no economic and social development without the active and intelligent participation of the workers. Consequently, at a time when the workers of Africa, and in particular the workers of Upper Volta, are participating in the gigantic economic battle, it is urgent, very urgent, that there be an increase in the number of workers’ education courses. I should like to seize this opportunity to thank the Director-General of the I.L.O., on behalf of the workers of Upper Volta, for the assistance which has already been given to us in this field. But what has been done is truly insignificant in the light of what still has to be done. We are convinced that, by helping the workers, the I.L.O. is helping their countries to emerge from their state of economic underdevelopment.

Workers’ education seminars are extremely beneficial but unfortunately, they are limited to a small number of workers and shop stewards. We think that, in order to meet these difficulties, the I.L.O. experts should stay longer in the countries to which they are sent in order to come into contact with a greater number of workers.

African aspirations are for unity achieved through the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.). This is the true unity to which all the peoples of Africa aspire, namely unity for economic and social progress, unity against any new domination regardless of what form it may take, unity for peace in Africa and in the world, unity for the victory of the forces of progress. If the I.L.O. really wants to help Africa it must collaborate with the O.A.U., which is the standard-bearer of our hopes.

The International Labour Conference should avoid half measures. That is why I would urge that it be not satisfied with theoretical reports and platonic resolutions, but rather that it should act. We must condemn racism and discrimination, which are still practised by certain reactionary governments.

Before I leave this rostrum I should like to assure you of the confidence which the workers of Upper Volta have in the I.L.O. and to express to you their sincere good wishes for the success of this Conference, in which they place much hope.

Interpretation from Italian: Mr. MUDDDE ABDI (Workers’ adviser, Somalia)—When I come to speak at this rostrum, in the name of the workers of Somalia whom I represent at this Conference, I should like first to congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of this session of the Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

It is, moreover, a very pleasant duty for me to welcome to the Conference the delegations of Zambia, Malawi and Malta which, in addition to swelling the numbers of States Members of the Organisation, will, I am certain, make a real contribution to the success of the Conference.

The trade unions of my country have to face the grave difficulties inevitable in the case of new organisations which must secure their place in the political, economic and social life of their country. In the field of labour legislation, social security and social welfare problems, our trade unions have to deal with a situation which is becoming more and more difficult. I have only to indicate that, for example, the Labour Code of Somalia—and to be precise two lines in section 94 on social welfare and social assistance—solves the whole complex problem by simply referring to laws which do not exist. And this is in spite of the fact that the Government of Somalia has already ratified a good number of international labour Conventions. For this reason, we as trade unionists in Somalia cannot do more than give our full support to the position adopted by the Director-General in his Report where he states the obligation of all Members of the Organisation.
to apply and adapt their legislation governing social assistance and social welfare. We feel that our Government must give due attention to what the Director-General has said in his Report and the very valid conclusions which this Conference will adopt.

The workers of Somalia are well aware of the difficulties and obstacles which the Government has to face in pressing forward in this direction. They have already shown an understanding of these difficulties; moreover, they have made it more than obvious how determined they are to escape from the intolerable conditions in which they find themselves. Proof of this determination is to be found in the stipulations of collective agreements which regulate matters to a certain extent and provide for a certain measure of security and social welfare.

We have achieved this degree of success after struggles and sacrifices among so many others to which the workers of my country have contributed. It is obvious that where there is no legislation at all on the subject it is difficult to accomplish anything and it is extremely difficult to hold what ground we may have gained. The workers, despite the determination and the efforts of their trade union organisations, find themselves in a constant state of insecurity without any definite prospect or future.

The Government of my country is aware of the urgent need to change the situation. In fact we have noted with satisfaction the promise which has been given, upon the insistence of the trade unionists, that in the near future a labour code will be approved. We are sure that the Government will be supported in this fact we have noted with satisfaction the progressive attitude of the trade unionists and the workers, in their thirst for progress and emancipation.

We have achieved this degree of success after struggles and sacrifices among so many others to which the workers of my country have contributed. It is obvious that there is an urgent need to reorganise the trade union movement and leadership in order to provide the workers and the nation with a strong, solid, disciplined organisation.

The Government of my country has never considered it desirable to place obstacles in the path of the free and democratic development of trade union action, even the most energetic manifestations of such action. Therefore, we should like solemnly to pledge our support so that this new labour legislation may lay down a proper basis for the sure and rapid advance of the workers of Somalia toward improvement of their living conditions, their welfare, and general progress. In this way, we believe that we shall be making our full contribution to the cause which is common to all our brothers, the workers of Africa, and in particular our Somali brothers who are divided from their fatherland and all those who are still obliged to fight to win their freedom, independence and sovereignty—as is the case of the peoples of Angola, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique. We express our most determined and unflagging support for them in their difficult struggle.

Mr. TANDAU (Workers' delegate, Tanzania) —I have great pleasure, Mr. President, in associating myself with preceding speakers in warmly congratulating you on your election to the presidency of this distinguished Conference. I should like also to express the fraternal greetings of the workers in Tanzania to all those who are here to attend the Conference.

I have noted with great satisfaction that Zambia, Malawi, Malta and Yemen have now joined the ranks of the International Labour Organisation, and I want therefore to congratulate them warmly, and wish them a very fruitful time ahead.

The year 1964 saw the formation in Tanganyika of one centralised trade union movement, the National Union of Tanganyika Workers, aimed at improving the wages and conditions of work of its members more effectively. Many of the delegates know that prior to the creation of this organisation, workers in Tanzania were organised in a number of smaller, weaker trade unions, which spent members' resources on wasteful and often selfish enterprises, and had little regard for their role as national instruments for the uplifting of the standard of living of their members, and effectively helping the country to grow, socially, politically and economically. These individual unions were often unruly; they went about their business without paying heed to the advice or guidance given by the then Federation (that is, the Tanganyika Federation of Labour) and in effect contributed little or nothing towards the national economic growth.

It is not my intention to repeat what has already been said on various occasions and in various places regarding the defects and shortcomings of the previous trade union movement. Suffice it to say that many trade unionists and people concerned with the welfare of workers and national prosperity felt that there was an urgent need to reorganise the trade union movement and leadership in order to provide the workers and the nation with a strong, solid, disciplined organisation.

The National Union of Tanganyika is now nearly a year-and-a-half old, and I am proud to state before this Conference that its progress has been very remarkable. The confidence of the workers has been regained, and union membership has increased within that short period from roughly one-third to over one-half of the total wage-earning labour force of the country. In addition to being a formidable medium for the negotiation of wages and working conditions, and securing for the members a 40 per cent. wage rise between 1963 and 1964, the National Union of Tanganyika Workers has developed into a promising instrument for national economic and social growth. Union funds which in the past would have disappeared in various unaccountable ways, are now being used in development opportunities, and the creation of more capital for development. I am glad to tell delegates that the Union has already instituted canteens, dispensaries and shops for the workers; it has built new blocks of houses for office accommodation and residences and is running a dairy farm near the capital. These are undoubtedly humble achievements, but their significance
lies in the fact that they have been possible under the new union structure and organisation, and within a short period only.

The workers of Tanzania hope that during the period of the current Five-Year Development Plan, not only will there be more low-rent houses, recreational and cultural facilities, shops and other amenities, but the workers' own money, through the Workers' Development Co-operation Section of the union, will be used to start factories under the management of workers themselves. The workers will therefore be direct participants in the production of natural wealth, and will attain a status which has always been denied them. This means that the wealth of the country will be spread out more, so as to conform to one of the main principles of socialism, in addition to obviating the danger which goes with the situation where the bulk of national wealth is concentrated in the hands of only a few people.

Another aspect of this development, which may not be very familiar to all of us, is the fact that, in owning and managing factories, the workers will be brought into contact with the problems which face employers or managers of such units of production. An understanding of these problems should lead to new attitudes amongst workers, and therefore contribute towards improved industrial relations. I would like now, to touch very briefly on the relationship which exists in Tanzania between the trade union movement and the Government. Many orthodox observers from outside Tanzania have failed to see the basis of this relationship. I am of the opinion that many of them will not, for some time to come, be able to view us in proper perspective.

National leaders from Tanzania have always explained that a major characteristic of Tanzania life is unity. The people were one body in the struggle against colonialism, and pledged their allegiance to the democratic political party which, as many of you know, is the Tanganyika African National Union. Together we became an independent nation, and together we continue to fight now against poverty, ignorance and disease. This trend of affairs is, in our circumstances, the only logical one. Hence, Tanzania now continues to express its unity through the ever-growing co-operative movement, the youth movement, the women's organisation, and several other national institutions.

Among the workers it has only been natural to band together with the Government, because the latter represents them and looks after their interests in the same way. Indeed membership of the political party and of the trade union movement is inseparable. The Government intends to raise people's standards of living, and so does the union. To stand together therefore in this great task is the thing to do, especially when we remember that unity in the struggle for political independence greatly facilitated our task.

While talking about working hand in hand with the Government, I would like to say that the workers of Tanzania are behind their Government in condemning Portugal's stubborness in granting independence to Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, and in condemning her racist policies: we condemn racial segregation in South Africa and Zimbabwe (so-called Rhodesia); and we call upon the British Government to ensure that Zimbabwe be granted independence under majority rule immediately or else Tanzania workers will hold it responsible for any bloodshed which may occur in the area. We strongly condemn American military intervention in Viet-Nam, Santo Domingo, and the Congo, and deplore the pain and sufferings caused to the citizens of these countries by their acts. We feel that world peace is only possible if individual countries are left to chart their own courses without fear of reactions by the imperialists.

Tanzania is committed to the policy of non-alignment, and to the unity of Mother Africa, and we, the workers, are in full agreement, and will always support our Government. We shall fight relentlessly until the day when all Africa is free from colonialism.

African unity, while expressed politically, will also have to be expressed in the form of a united trade union movement, free from world power pressure, and devoted to the achievement of social and economic justice for all workers in Africa. The formation of the All-Africa Trade Union Federation has been warmly welcomed by the trade union movement in Tanzania, and we hereby call upon all progressive national trade union centres in Africa to join it for the prosperity of Mother Africa and unity of African workers. Further we urge the I.L.O. Governing Body to recognise the All-Africa Trade Union Federation as an African trade union organisation representing African interests, and consult it on all matters concerning African workers.

Turning now to the Report of the Director-General, first of all, I would like, on behalf of the workers in Tanzania, to congratulate the Director-General for his thoughtful and masterly Report and to commend the great effort which has been put into its production.

The question of the programme and structure of the I.L.O. is one of great importance and on which a great deal has been said. That the I.L.O. should, like a living organism, adapt itself to changing surroundings is a matter on which there can be no argument; among the many considerations, I would like to single out the question of representation on the Governing-Body, and express the view held by workers in Tanzania that the Governing Body should reflect changes in membership of the I.L.O.

We tend to think that membership of that Body should reflect increasing diversity of thought and institutions, and should cover as wide a geographical area as possible.

The Director-General's Report mentions the question of human resources and their development, and I would like, at the outset, to state that this question is of vital importance to all countries of the world, particularly to developing countries. I am glad to say that the Government of Tanzania, fully realising the critical nature of this question in relation to national development, has devoted, under the current Five-Year Development Plan, considerable means for the purpose of developing human resources.
This question is a very broad one, and all I can do here is to touch on only a few of its aspects. The expansion of educational facilities has been given high priority in Tanzania, and is aimed at producing future manpower as diverse in training as there will be diverse requirements in the total national economy. Primary education has been raised to standard and intensified so as to provide, at least for those who will proceed no further, a basic and lasting degree of literacy. Secondary school education, in which I am glad to say, is now free, is being expanded to meet growing demands, and those who will go on to universities will have the opportunity to train in both the sciences and the liberal arts in such numbers that they will relieve the country's shortage of manpower at that level. There are plans also to offset the bias towards the arts subjects, which has resulted in very acute shortage of manpower in scientific fields.

Artisans and various other craftsmen will be trained so as to meet the growing needs of industry, while present-day manual workers, whose productivity is greatly hampered by lack of adequate education, are being given the opportunity of attending adult education classes.

On this question of education and technical training, I want to mention that many workers have taken advantage of the opportunities afforded by I.L.O. technical assistance, and I wish to express the appreciation of my union in this respect. Like many other developing countries, Tanzania faces the problem of lack of adequate employment opportunities in industry and commerce and many able-bodied people are therefore idle. On the other hand, the country is blessed with an abundance of natural resources, particularly agricultural land, and the solution to the question of unemployment appears, to a considerable extent, to lie in their utilisation. Under the Five-Year Development Plan, the Government has placed great emphasis on the opening up of land for cultivation and settlement, and the union has pledged itself to support all efforts in that direction. Agriculture will continue to provide a very large part of the national revenue, and commercial agriculture should give rise to increased employment opportunities.

As I said previously the topics of the Report of the Director-General have a very broad scope, and I cannot hope to deal with them at any reasonable length here. I would like now, therefore, to conclude my speech, by expressing the wishes and desire of the workers in Tanzania for a peaceful ending of this session of the Conference, under your leadership, Mr. President. The workers of Tanzania have pledged themselves to strengthen their Union, and the co-operation between them and the Government, and we would be ready to entertain any visitors from the I.L.O. who might wish to observe the development of our organisation there.

Mr. BAVIN (Representative of the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers)—As General Secretary of the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers, representing millions of plantation and agricultural workers, the majority of whom are in the developing countries, I wish first to express my appreciation of your courtesy in allowing me to address this important Conference.

Although each succeeding year this Conference has provided a forum for important tripartite discussions on matters of great concern to the workers of the world, few items have been of greater moment to them than two of those now being discussed. I refer to the item on agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects, and to the item on the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. Both of these items are of vital concern to the plantation and agricultural workers throughout the world. We have also read with great interest and appreciation the Director-General's Report and the report on human resources development which was submitted by the Working Party on programme and structure.

The question of agrarian reform has perhaps been one of the most debated aspects of social development in recent years, and in many countries agrarian reform programmes have taken on various forms. Agrarian reform has also all too often become a catchword in political ideology, thus losing its full impact and meaning. One of the more welcome features of the extremely valuable report which the Office has produced is the recognition of the width of this problem, as well as the need for an over-all and co-ordinated approach by the United Nations agencies. In some countries there is an increasing tendency towards a greater contraction of land into single units; in others, there is a preoccupation with problems of redistribution. Any programme of agrarian reform, if it is to be successful, must be based upon social justice and the improvement and well-being of the rural population, as also upon the fullest possible utilisation of the land in the interest of all. The need for both of these factors is being increasingly recognised. There can be and is no excuse at this period of our history for the continuation of less than existence standards of life for the majority of humanity who are living in the rural areas and whose economic and social well-being remains dependent upon the progress which can be achieved there. The question of adequate utilisation of land is the more important in view of the rapid population increase, particularly in developing countries.

Population growth in Asia, Africa and Latin America over the past 20 years has been at the rate of 2.3, 2.4 and 3 per cent, respectively. When one realises that a 3 per cent. increase per year means a doubling of the population over the next 23 years, the term "population explosion" is no exaggeration. This means in conservative terms, provided this trend continues, that the population increase in these areas alone—exclusive of Communist China and Japan—can be expected to be 600 million over the next 20 years. I realise that to a world accustomed to statistics relating to space travel, figures of this nature tend to lose their meaning. What then does this increasing pressure signify in terms of food requirements, in opportunity for gainful employment and over-
all social development? In the major areas of Asia famine has long been a familiar spectre, and the shadow of want is increasingly spreading to parts of Africa and Latin America, where an almost static rate of food production coincides with constant population growth. In Asia grain production has remained almost constant at around 150 million tons since 1960, with a resultant per head fall in production from 16 to 15 ounces per day. In Latin America production of grain has remained almost static at around 42 million tons since 1958, resulting in a decline in the daily per head production from 21 to 18 ounces. With a small increase in production over the past seven years Africa has just been able to maintain a per head production of approximately 15 ounces.

But this is not the whole story. In many parts of Africa—as, indeed, in the majority of developing regions where agrarian reform is of primary importance—there has been a constant fall in wage-earning employment in recent years despite some increase in industrial production. The high degree of general under-employment and unemployment prevailing has undoubtedly increased the number of subsistence holdings. In such circumstances there would appear to be an urgent need for massive and widespread action, in the developing regions generally, aimed at full utilisation of land and labour resources, which, in my view, will call for large-scale action on the part of the I.L.O. in conjunction with other United Nations agencies.

Unfortunately, in far too many of the developing countries, the low rate of industrial development and continued dependence for export earnings upon cash crops (over the markets for which the producing countries have little or no control) make it almost impossible to finance the large-scale requirements for successful agrarian reform. In certain countries large areas of land are still controlled by absentee landlords or are in the hands of small peasant producers. While the former have generally demonstrated little interest in full land utilisation, leaving production to impoverished tenants or sharecroppers, small peasant producers, mostly living at semi-subsistence level, have practically no opportunity to increase and rationalise production and production methods. Also, many of the areas of potential future harvest are at present largely inaccessible due to the absence of communications, which must be provided. There is, furthermore, an urgent need for large-scale agrarian research and training facilities. Much of the land in certain of the developing countries requires special techniques and adequate provision of fertilisers if cultivation is to have any impact on the situation. Experts have estimated that the minimum financial outlay for the construction of an adequate number of fertiliser factories to provide enough fertiliser to meet increasing food needs alone by the year 1968 will amount to $5,000 million.

In such circumstances it is obvious that any successful action must depend upon an international approach and operation on an unprecedented scale. There is little possibility of countries which are struggling for economic viability, and whose economies continue to be dependent on factors over which they have no control, being capable of meeting this burden alone. It is for this reason that we of the free labour movement have consistently called for and supported all efforts made towards the provision of guaranteed markets for the primary products of the developing countries, and we especially welcome the setting up of the United Nations Trade and Development Board. We have also noted with great interest the construction of an initial co-operation between the I.L.O. and the United Nations trade and development venture, and express our firm hope that this will be continued and intensified. There is also, in our view, need for close co-operation between the I.L.O., the F.A.O. and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in an effort to provide international know-how and the necessary credits for the widespread action which is essential.

Unfortunately, we of the free labour movement are compelled to note with concern the recent crisis within the United Nations, which has expressed itself in an apparent increasing reluctance on the part of certain member countries to support that Organisation adequately. Perhaps it is wrong to assume a similar lack of enthusiasm on the part of certain governments in relation to action discussed by the United Nations Trade and Development Conference. We sincerely trust that the common interest, as served not only by the I.L.O. but also by all other interested agencies, including the United Nations itself, will take precedence over short-sighted national policies or political considerations of an international nature.

The free trade union movement will, in all circumstances, continue and accentuate its activities at all possible levels to ensure the social and economic development of the rural communities, particularly of the developing nations. Unfortunately, these activities have not always been fully understood, not only by employers but also by certain governments which, in their eagerness to achieve rapid economic growth, have failed to recognise the importance of the role which the free trade union movement could play as an ally in their struggle.

In certain instances the free trade unions have become an instrument of governments, while in other cases both employers and governments act without previous consultation with the workers' organisations. This is in clear contradiction to the established principles and standards of the I.L.O. We of the free trade union movement recognise the need for, and seek, close co-operation with governments in the fight against poverty, but I must emphasise that any form of coercion is a poor substitute for willing and voluntary co-operation on the part of the trade union movement. The free trade union movement offers a ready avenue for establishing the link between governments and the masses which is essential to ensure the concerted approach upon which any large-scale economic and social development depends for its success.

The trade union movement and the co-operative movement offer a twofold approach to the democratic concept with which the acceptance of responsibility is irretrievably
linked. Both are social philosophies with an ethical-spiritual dimension which offer an alternative to orthodox liberalism as well as to recent varieties of corporativism and communism. Just as the trade union movement has given and is increasingly giving new meaning and dignity to the lives of its members, so the free co-operative development is an essential factor in securing the social and economic justice for the rural population upon which the ultimate success of any programme of agrarian reform depends. It is for this reason that we welcome the discussion on co-operative development at this Conference and express the hope that the deliberations on this item will provide the basis for an appropriate international instrument which the International Labour Conference might well adopt next year.

We also trust that the present discussion on agrarian reform, in which the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers has taken an active part, will be followed by appropriate action at the national and international levels under the aegis of the I.L.O.

(The Conference adjourned at 5 p.m.)
NINETEENTH SITTING

Tuesday, 15 June 1965, 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Raza

SIXTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE \(^1\): SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda this morning is the sixth report of the Selection Committee. I call upon Mr. Menon, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the report.

Mr. MENON (Government delegate, India: Chairman of the Selection Committee)—I have the honour to present to the Conference the sixth report of the Selection Committee, the text of which has been distributed to delegates. This report relates only to changes in the composition of Committees. I put the report to the Conference for adoption.

The PRESIDENT—The report is open for discussion. As there are no objections I take it that the Conference adopts the report.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. WALLACE (Government delegate, Trinidad and Tobago)—As head of the Trinidad and Tobago Government delegation, I warmly congratulate you on your election to the important office of President of this session of the Conference. I also take this opportunity on behalf of my Government to welcome the new Members of our Organisation—Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen.

I am happy again to have the opportunity of addressing the Conference and taking part in the discussion of the Director-General's Report. My country is very fortunate, and remarkably unique in these times of economic trials and open and disguised racial tribulations, to have at least a fully democratic multiracial society, as reflected to some extent by the composition of our delegation to the Conference, working together harmoniously and well for the common good of our small nation. We believe in the sanctity of the deliberative process in our approach to human problems, particularly in international forums where developing nations have, in theory, some measure of equal status with the fully industrialised and developed countries. We have neither the wealth to afford costly experiments in social and economic development nor the strength to support arbitrary international relations and actions. Our history has bequeathed us the basis for a genuine democracy, which we have made capital of, and our geography necessitates an objective approach in our international relationships, which we pursue steadfastly. And so the Government members, and, I hope, the rest of my country's delegation as well, look forward to another objective and fruitful session of the Conference.

During my speech I shall try to restrict myself to those matters in the Director-General's comprehensive and lucid Report which are of special concern to my country and those requiring special comment in respect of which my country has a point of view to express.

My Government has observed with dismay that South African legislation imposing discriminatory restrictions and inequality of status on persons of the African race has been further reinforced by the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, 1964. We recognise the complexity of the South African problem but would like to point out that the suffering which is being experienced by people of colour in so many parts of our world, in subtle forms of immigration prejudice or open displays of inexplicable hatred, could lead to a serious estrangement between several nations in the north and many in the south. We hope that the expected judgment of the International Court of Justice in the South-West Africa cases will have the anticipated notable impact on the entire question of apartheid. We also hope that satisfactory positive measures and policies will be determined by this Conference to complement the proposals drawn up previously and that, together with the action being pursued by the United Nations Security Council, more real progress will be made in solving the South African question.

My Government welcomes the reorganisation of the International Labour Office to permit the more effective co-ordination of its activities. The three principal objectives of strengthening field operations, grouping of Headquarters staff and improvement of

\(^1\) See Appendix I, p. 487.
programme-planning and control are likely to achieve the benefits and improvements in efficiency which are envisaged. Of special interest to Trinidad and Tobago, and the Caribbean as a whole, is the strengthening of the Field Department. As pointed out in the Director-General’s Report, the main criteria which have guided the Director-General are decentralisation, unity of purpose, and the consideration of actual needs of each country. They are in themselves very important and immediate sufficient to meet the pressing pleas at the 1963 and 1964 Sessions of the Conference regarding the Caribbean nations. The Director-General himself has indicated that the structure of the new department is flexible and provides a proper basis for further decentralisation. In this connection I would like to state, as I hinted before, that there exists the need at present for further decentralisation of the Latin American branch of the Field Department. We in the Caribbean, and in Trinidad and Tobago in particular, enjoy satisfactory relations with our sister nations in Central and South America, but we have different histories, languages, cultures, and, in many respects, social and economic problems. The proposed Latin American branch will not, in the view of my Government, achieve smooth and successful results in its Caribbean section. Perhaps a smaller but parallel organisation, with the same objective of composite endeavours covering all major areas of I.L.O. activities for the entire Caribbean or even the English-speaking countries in the Caribbean, would be better able to determine the needs of and service the area. The Labour Administration Seminar to be sponsored by the I.L.O. for English-speaking Caribbean labour officers in 1966 demonstrates the need for this special treatment of the Caribbean which I advocate. The permanency of the suggested services requires the selection and training of nationals for their successful operation. The need to appoint suitable persons from the regions concerned in I.L.O. activities has been recognised and acknowledged but, bearing in mind the disparity in educational development between the industrialised and developing countries, a protected method of recruitment, avoiding unfair competition and affording additional training where necessary, should be decided upon. It is not desirable to observe slavishly the principle of proportionate staffing in regional operations. Accordingly, this rigid provision should be waived.

My Government deeply appreciates the tremendous work which has already been done by the International Labour Organisation on the question of human resources development. We are deeply interested in the present programmes which have been devised by the Director-General and also in the comprehensive analysis made and consideration given by the Working Party of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. The Working Party, although so recently established, has nevertheless sought to grapple swiftly with the problems of underdevelopment, underemployment, insufficient development of skills, high population growth and low productivity, among others. The programme of the Director-General is commendable and the further action charted by the Working Party provides the basis for future progress which, at this stage, appears to hold much promise for developing countries. We in Trinidad and Tobago, with assistance from the International Labour Organisation and other specialised agencies, and through our own extensive domestic programmes regarding technical, vocational and secondary education, as described in our second Five-Year Development Programme (1964-68), have been making tremendous strides in promoting the widest measures for full employment and the expansion of employment opportunities. In this connection it was only last year that a rural mission was carried out in my country jointly by the United Nations and the F.A.O. under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. There was also a U.N.E.S.C.O. mission in education planning, and very shortly a productivity centre is to be established with the help of the I.L.O. We are, therefore, striving very hard and with all the necessary assistance from all the available sources to eradicate unemployment and underemployment. But it is well known that much needs to be done regarding economic advancement in all developing countries. It seems, therefore, that the massive practical research at the national, regional and international levels to determine what theories will have the maximum impact on the solution of the problems of underdevelopment and unemployment, as suggested by the Director-General, needs not only to be approved but also to be undertaken with dispatch. The other avenues of action suggested by the Working Party, in particular the suggested approach to the international bodies—U.N.E.S.C.O., the F.A.O., the W.H.O., the United Nations and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—are worthy of immediate consideration and implementation.

Regarding the Director-General’s programme for the development of social institutions, I would like to place on record the appreciation of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago for the interest shown by the I.L.O. in training of personnel in industrial relations. We hope to be establishing shortly in Trinidad the workers’ education section of our Labour-Management College with the expected availability of a suitable expert from the I.L.O.; and in 1966 an I.L.O. Labour Administration Seminar for English-speaking Caribbean labour officers, which I referred to earlier, is expected to be held in Trinidad. We are very grateful for the assistance rendered by the I.L.O. in these projects.

Among the programme areas described by the Director-General in connection with the development of social institutions is the development of labour legislation. In Part I of his Report the Director-General has stated, _inter alia_, that “Governments must also aim at establishing the necessary machinery for the examination and solution of differences which might arise between workers and employers, taking into account the interests of the unemployed, underemployed, underemployment, insufficient development of skills, high population growth and low productivity, among others. The
needs, has recently attempted to achieve this end by the enactment of an Industrial Stabilisation Act, 1965. The Act provides for the compulsory recognition of trade unions and industrial associations; the preservation of collective bargaining; the prohibition of victimisation on account of trade union activity; the provision in collective agreements of suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes, including conciliation and arbitration; the reference, if considered necessary, of unresolved disputes to an industrial court independent of administrative, executive or political control, whose membership consists of a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature as president, a barrister or solicitor of at least ten years' standing, and experts in economics, labour relations and accountancy; the establishment of a fully independent economic and research unit under the direction of the Court for the dissemination of information to any interested person or organisation; the regulation of prices of certain essential commodities and the maintenance of prices at a level which will account the interest of the nation in certain cases, in which connection the Court and parties in collective negotiations are expected to guide themselves by the following considerations: (a) the necessity to maintain a high level of domestic capital accumulation with a view to increasing the rate of economic growth and to providing greater employment opportunities; (b) the necessity to maintain and expand the level of employment; (c) the necessity to ensure for workers a fair share of the benefits derived from increases in productivity in enterprises; (d) the necessity to prevent gains in the wages of workers from being affected adversely by unnecessary and unjustified price increases; (e) the necessity to preserve and promote the competitive position of products of Trinidad and Tobago in the domestic market as well as in overseas markets; (f) the necessity for the establishment and maintenance of reasonable differentials in rewards between different categories of skills; (g) the need to maintain for Trinidad and Tobago a favourable balance of trade and balance of payments; and (h) the need to ensure the continued ability of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to finance development programmes in the public sector. The Act was well received by our country as a whole and has brought about a more serious and welcome approach to our labour relations, and we look forward to greater stability in the field of industrial relations.

There is one last point on which I would like to touch regarding the resolution concerning programmes of technical assistance and other activities of the I.L.O. in Africa and other developing regions. With the growing number of States achieving independence, it is becoming more and more apparent that the standards previously set by the I.L.O. are difficult to maintain or introduce because of the economic problems being experienced by developing countries. While the industrialised communities are finding solutions to problems of technological change and automation, thereby ensuring increased productivity and economic growth, developing countries have not been able to solve their basic problems of unemployment and underemployment. The disparity in development is further aggravated by growing trade barriers and declining markets and prices. While the new Constitution is an indication that active consideration is being given at the present time to the economic problems of developing countries, other immediate remedies seem necessary. For instance, if highly developed and industrialised countries would transfer their gains in progressive economic growth to developing countries by paying higher prices for the primary products of those countries or reducing protective tariffs against them, an important start would be made towards solving the problems so much discussed in international forums everywhere but so little acted upon anywhere. It would be a sacrifice, but unless some positive attention is paid to the declared and recognised truth that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere", the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation are less likely to be fully achieved.

I have tried to examine those aspects of the Director-General's Report which are of particular concern to my country. I now wish to make it clear that nothing which I have said must be construed as criticism of the work of the Director-General, the Office or the Organisation. In fact, my Government greatly appreciates the work which is being done by the International Labour Organisation and recognises it as a valuable and indispensable organ in the promotion of human dignity and social justice and is proud to be a Member of this august body.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ZAKARYA (Government delegate, Afghanistan)—May I first of all welcome the delegations of the countries which have recently joined this Organisation and congratulate them most sincerely in the name of the Royal Government of Afghanistan. It is with real pleasure that my delegation sees Malawi, Malta, Yemen and Zambia represented here. The accession of these countries to independence is a triumph not only for their peoples but also a victory for the other Members of our Organisation. We are most happy to see the number of Members increase so that the Organisation approaches the universality at which it aims. We are certain that the new Members will teach us much by explaining to us their experience in the social field.

I should also like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of this session of the Conference. During the last session the Government delegate of Afghanistan spoke on the impending political and social reforms and of a new Constitution which was being prepared. This Constitution was to be based on the principles of democracy stemming from the very spirit of our people and from their conviction of the respect which is due to the principles of equality, dignity and freedom of man and social justice.

At this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference I am glad to be able to say that the new Constitution has been adopted. It reflects the basic ideas of the Afghans in the light of the requirements of our time and of the general law of human society. The Consti-
tion provides for justice and equality for all and establishes political, economic and social democracy. It ensures the freedom and welfare of the Afghan people and aims at the eventual evolution of a prosperous and progressive society careful to respect the dignity of man. It is based on democratic principles only; it is in conformity with the principles and the spirit of the United Nations Charter and the Constitution of the I.L.O.; and it respects the rights of man as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The new Constitution of Afghanistan bases our future economic system on solid foundations and creates an atmosphere which enables the individual to participate more fully in the national development effort.

I will now go on to the Director-General's Report. This document is devoted to the programme and structure of the I.L.O. and stresses the need for human resources utilisation, the development of social institutions and the improvement of conditions of life and work.

Although most of the Asian, African, Latin American and Near East countries have drawn up economic and social development plans, employment still raises serious problems for them. The fact that a large number of persons can find employment for only a few days a year or not at all leads to a certain degree of social instability—a matter which indeed has also affected developed countries in the past few years. The employment problem is rendered more delicate as a result of the growth in population following the progress of modern science which has to a large extent succeeded in mastering epidemics.

The fall in the death rate while the birth rate remains constant has caused a large increase in population, and an exodus towards the towns on the part of the workless rural population. As a representative of a developing country, I should like to ask the I.L.O. urgently to expand its operational activities programme. Afghanistan has appreciated the importance of achieving and maintaining full employment, which is one of the essential factors of economic stability. In our case economic development is planned through two five-year economic promotion programmes.

The first began in 1956 and ended in September 1961; the second began in September 1961 and will end in 1966. The major preoccupation of the authors of the first five-year plan in Afghanistan was to lay the basis for future development, particularly by improving the roads, building hydroelectric power stations, often combined with irrigation dams. The construction and improvement of several airports permitted air traffic to be intensified.

The main objects of the second five-year plan include expansion of agriculture and the development of arable land in order to produce not only food products but also the raw materials required for industry and the development of an export trade. Furthermore, the second five-year plan provides for the development of industries, construction of roads and telephone lines, progress in education, etc.

From the social point of view, the construction of low-cost housing for the workers, and of markets for the purchase of food and other consumer goods, is soon to be undertaken. The markets and housing estates will be near the workplaces. Furthermore, welfare and recreational centres are being established to encourage a better outlook among the workers, and to help them with their education and general cultural advance.

The standardisation of sickness and invalidity insurance schemes and the establishment of funds for retirement pensions are being continued and soon more ample developments will be given to this aspect of the protection of labour at the national level. At the same time, it will be possible to intensify our action in the field of industrial safety and health.

I have tried to summarise the efforts we are making to improve the employment situation, and the development of social institutions and conditions of life and work in our country. In undertaking such efforts we place our hopes to a large extent on the activities of the international agencies from which we expect valuable assistance.

I should like to conclude by expressing the hope that the work of this session of the Conference will be successful, and that our Organisation will contribute increasingly to the progress of mankind and to the establishment of a better world in which there will be peace and justice and happiness for all.

*Interpretation from Spanish:* Mr. TERRA ILARRAZ *(Employers' delegate, Uruguay)*—In the name of the employers of Uruguay I should like to associate myself with the congratulations expressed to you, Mr. President, on your well-deserved election to the presidency of this assembly.

We should also like to indicate our support for the new orientation of the I.L.O. envisaged by the Director-General in his Report. We welcome particularly the creation of the Field Department which will have responsibility for regional conferences and the co-ordination of regional activities.

The principles of the I.L.O. must be applied; the new system, which provides for a knowledge of regional difficulties, and of the best way for technical experts to solve them, will result in greater efficiency.

The headquarters of CINTERFOR (the Inter-American Vocational Training Research and Documentation Centre) will be in Montevideo, and we hope that it will contribute to development plans by training those responsible for promoting rural, industrial and handicrafts development, as well as technicians in the cooperative system.

Montevideo is also the seat of L.A.F.T.A. (the Latin American Free Trade Association). Any free trade association must aspire to full employment and improvement of the living conditions of the peoples which it represents. This is laid down in the statute of the L.A.F.T.A., and unquestionably the I.L.O. will be able to aid this institution very greatly.

We should like to congratulate the Director-General on one of the theses put forward in his Report which is valuable and fundamental, namely that of the democratisation of development plans.
Through education, starting with primary school, we have to train rural workers in the spirit of the co-operative system, i.e. a system in which one can, without losing one's free will, co-operate with one's neighbour in an organised way, working towards a higher level of social development.

We should like to quote from the writings of the famous Genevess, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "It is not a question of teaching sciences to the child, but rather of giving him a taste for them, and of providing him with the methods through which he can come to know them." Education must start from childhood in school, with instruction provided by trained teachers, and then go on to secondary studies and university. Use should be made of modern audio-visual methods such as the cinema, radio, and television, so that a wide fund of knowledge may be acquired. Such knowledge may be of a technical nature, relating to modern methods of agriculture, or the use of fertilisers; this is an area in respect of which the F.A.O. is providing assistance. The I.L.O. must also contribute to the spread of knowledge.

Through consumers' and producers co-operatives, and with suitable credits, we can rapidly achieve agrarian reform. We have an example in the success which has been achieved in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Israel, where the land is given to those who farm it, if they are not already the owners, at a reasonable cost. But we would urge the United Nations Trade and Development Board to work for a fair price for agricultural products, not forgetting the fact that more than 60 per cent. of the workers engaged in agriculture have a standard of living which is inferior to that of the industrial workers.

Raising incomes means improving the social conditions of rural workers; it means more employment and higher production through the application of modern technology. But, in order to achieve satisfactory results, constant attention must be paid to improving the commercial value of products because, where food products are concerned, the future of humanity depends upon them.

In conclusion, we should like to express our best wishes for the success of this Conference in its highly important work.

Interpretation from Japanese: Mr. KO-DAIRA (Minister of Labour, Japan)—Mr. President, may I at the outset express my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

It is a great pleasure to me to have the opportunity of participating in the general discussion at this Conference on behalf of the Government, as Minister of Labour of Japan. Firstly, I wish to inform you that the ratification of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), was approved by the National Diet on May 17, together with the Bills amending the domestic laws concerned. This has been a long-standing issue in my country. I must also state that this ratification of the Convention was deposited with Mr. Morse, Director-General of the I.L.O., yesterday.

Almost seven years have passed since the Committee on Freedom of Association took up the matter of the ratification of Convention No. 87 and labour-management relations in the public sector in Japan. This delay has been due to the fact that it became a major political issue since it directly concerns the public welfare of the people.

While this long-standing political issue was settled peacefully with the support of the people, I believe that at the same time this achievement owes much to the I.L.O. Governing Body, the Committee on Freedom of Association and the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission, which have handled the matter with fairness and in an appropriate manner. The Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission, in particular, examined the Japanese case in a very thorough and energetic manner, and at the final stage of its visit to Japan it took up the case directly with the Government. And I am confident that through this achievement mutual confidence between the I.L.O. and my country will deepen further and that our co-operation with the I.L.O. will be strengthened.

Now I shall turn to the central theme of the Director-General's Report. Two years ago the fundamental problem of the I.L.O., namely the problem of how to adapt the activities of this Organisation to the changing world situation, was taken up by the Director-General in his Report to the Conference. Since then, positive discussions have been carried on at the past two sessions of the General Conference. My colleagues have also had opportunities to participate in these discussions. As a result, we see from the Report of the Director-General to this session that it is now proposed to concentrate the major programme areas of the I.L.O. on three points, including the development of human resources.

These three major programme areas are important for both developed countries and developing countries. My country also takes a keen interest in these programme areas. I may point out that, with the recent rapid economic progress in my country, the employment situation and working conditions have been remarkably improved. However, as it is likely that Japan will face a real manpower shortage in the near future, new developments in labour policy which are adapted to the changes in social and economic structures are much needed. The aim of the labour policy of the Japanese Government is to provide such opportunities and conditions for workers as will enable them to bring their abilities into full play for the economic development of the country and thereby achieve a better life for themselves. With this aim, my Government is now taking positive measures towards harmonising economic and social policies, the
results of which are gradually proving successful. It is my firm conviction that labour policies should be pursued on the basis of respect for human beings. When labour problems are being dealt with in my country a greater emphasis is placed upon the value of workers as responsible human beings than upon the value of workers as productive power.

In this respect the fact that the problem of human resources development is being considered as one of the major programme areas of the I.L.O., following the decisions arrived at in the Nineteenth Session of the Conference, merits our special attention. This fact has been of great significance to my country, and I believe that this is equally true of developed countries suffering from a shortage of labour, as well as of developing countries which are endeavouring to cope with the problem of human resources, the solution of which is fundamental to their economic and social development.

I readily hope that the priorities of the I.L.O. in this field will be fruitful. However, it must be pointed out that, apart from the question of the organisational structure of the I.L.O., the priorities established as regards staffing and budgetary appropriations. The activities which the I.L.O. is called upon to undertake will be numerous. In order to cope with these requests within the framework of its limited financial and human resources, care should be taken to concentrate the available resources of the I.L.O. on the major programmes of the Organisation in a realistic and resolute spirit, such as was shown in the selection of the three main programme areas of the I.L.O.

A new orientation of the I.L.O. seems to be emerging from the serious discussions which have been taking place on the programme and structure of the Organisation; the consensus on the views of member States as reached in these discussions, will enable the I.L.O. to adapt itself to changing world situations.

The Japanese Government has always shown great understanding towards this Organisation and co-operated with its constructive efforts. As an indication of this, I may refer to the fact that in 1960 when the International Institute for Labour Studies was established, the Japanese Government voluntarily made a contribution, and, similarly, in the case of the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training in Turin, to be opened this autumn, the Government also decided to make an appropriate financial contribution. I would like, at the same time, to reaffirm that the Japanese Government will continue to extend greater co-operation and support in furtherance of the constructive work of the I.L.O.

Finally I wish to conclude my statement by saying again that it is a great pleasure for me to be able to participate in the discussions on the further expansion of international co-operation in the field of labour, particularly at this time when there is an increasing need for international co-operation in attaining peace in the world political situation, which is far from being stable at this moment.

Mr. GUNTER (Minister of Labour, United Kingdom)—Mr. President, may I, in company with all the previous speakers, congratulate you very warmly upon your election as President of this session of the Conference. And, of course, it also gives me very great pleasure indeed, on behalf of my country, to welcome three member countries of our Commonwealth—Malawi, Malta and Zambia—who have recently attained independence and joined the International Labour Organisation.

I am glad to have this opportunity to contribute to the debate on the programme, and indeed on the structure, of the I.L.O. This is a matter of crucial importance to the Organisation and the member States. The I.L.O. must face the problems and meet the needs of a rapidly changing world. The Director-General has done us all a great service in stimulating by his present and earlier Reports the rethinking of the Organisation's role, its purpose and its priorities. This Report sets out in an imaginative way a major part of the objectives of the I.L.O.'s work in the broad areas of the development of human resources, labour relations, and conditions of life and work.

The I.L.O. has already done much in these fields. Over the past decade the Organisation has increased substantially its direct practical help to developing countries, but I am sure we would all agree that there is much more that remains to be done. My Government has recognised the importance of this. We have increased substantially our contribution to the United Nations Special Fund and to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, which finance the bulk of the I.L.O.'s field work.

In 1965 my country is contributing to these two funds $11.75 million, which represents an increase of 17.5 per cent. over our contributions for 1964, despite the fact that we have to scrutinise with the greatest care our overseas expenditure. We are also supporting field activities through the I.L.O.'s regular budget. We are fully behind the I.L.O. in its efforts to enable the developing countries to improve the lot of their peoples.

But the resources available to the I.L.O. cannot be unlimited. This makes it doubly important to ensure that our resources are put to the best use. This requires, first, better organisation and methods of work; and second, an unfinishing reappraisal of activities which in the circumstances of today are less essential. I hope it will not be taken amiss if I say that the I.L.O., like most large organisations, finds it more difficult to cut down less essential activities than to recognise new needs. Both processes are clearly required. The improved arrangements for programme planning, coordination and appraisal, outlined in the Director-General's Report, clear our way to secure improved efficiency and greater responsiveness to changing priorities. I welcome this wholeheartedly. I also welcome the fact that the Governing Body is reviewing the Organisation's activities to help determine where those priorities should lie.

My own feeling is that the I.L.O. must beware of stretching the boundaries of its activities too widely. Many problems relating
to economic growth, international trade and incomes policy are at present engaging the attention of national governments and indeed of other international agencies. The I.L.O. has a contribution to make to the labour and social aspects of these problems. Involvement beyond this point would not, in my opinion, be justified. Moreover, it would make demands on the resources of the Organisation which are needed for the practical work which it is uniquely qualified to do.

Concentration of the available resources on this practical work should, in my view, be the first priority. For this reason, less time and effort should perhaps be given to discussion of broad matters of principle by the Conference, by regional conferences and by Industrial Committees, and more resources given to meetings of experts devoted to specific practical problems, perhaps on a regional basis. Such meetings of experts could assist the Office to give more practical advice in relation to actual problems which they are facing at the present time. Through the dissemination of reports, and the analysis of the methods and experience of different countries, they could help to bridge the gap which exists between the now well-developed code of general standards set by the Conference and the difficult problems faced by developing countries—and the experts sent by the I.L.O. to assist them—in trying to put these general standards into practical application.

I do not make these points in any spirit of negative criticism. Change is inevitable. Adjustment to it is a necessary and indeed a difficult process.

This same problem—the need to change and the need to modernise—faces us in my own country. I should like to tell you in a few words a little about what we are doing in the United Kingdom to face the problems that arise with change. It is not without relevance to our broader discussion of the I.L.O.'s problem.

In the United Kingdom we believe that, if we are to improve the standard of living of our people and at the same time meet our responsibilities towards the developing countries, we must not only accept economic change as inevitable, we must promote it and we must work actively. We have thus set up a number of new departments, including departments with responsibilities for economic planning and technology. A new Ministry of Overseas Development has been set up to co-ordinate our activities in the field of aid, including financial as well as technical co-operation.

In my own department, the Ministry of Labour, we are concerned with the fundamental tasks of promoting the effective deployment and use of our manpower. This involves a whole complex of problems in the field of manpower research and manpower planning, industrial training, labour mobility and, of course, industrial relations.

In the United Kingdom we are faced with an over-all labour shortage in the next decade. This was highlighted last year in the first report of my department's Manpower Research Unit. This was a survey of total manpower resources at national level and their future distribution between broad groups of industries. It has been followed by a second report, which is a more detailed study of occupational trends in the metal-manufacturing and metal-using industries. Further studies are now being undertaken of the manpower requirements of different industries and of requirements at the different levels of skill. We need this kind of research and fact-finding as the basis of our manpower planning.

The work of the Manpower Research Unit has underlined the importance for the United Kingdom of making the best use of its limited manpower resources. In his Report the Director-General has rightly stressed the need for immediate action to improve the quality of the labour force. In my country this need is being met in part by direct government action through increased provision for short-term vocational training. The number of government training centres has been doubled over the past two years. Four more centres will be opened by the end of this year, and two more are planned for 1967.

To secure an improvement in the quality of training on a wider scale, we are looking to the implementation of the Industrial Training Act. This Act provides for the establishment of training boards for the various industries, charged with the responsibility of seeing that training is adequate in quantity and quality and that the cost is shared equitably by employers in the industry. Five industrial training boards have now been established. With others soon to be established, these will cover about 30 per cent. of all workers in civil employment. I expect to set up several more boards during the course of this year.

Economic and technological change will create new jobs for which training will be required, but it will also mean that old jobs will disappear. The fear of insecurity lies heavily on the people of my country. It means that their traditional place of work, maybe their hopes and the place into which they were born, will have to change. Of course none of us in our hearts really likes change which results in our own personal inconvenience. The United Kingdom Government has therefore introduced legislation to provide compensation based on earnings, age and length of service for those whose jobs disappear through no fault of their own. This Redundancy Payments Bill, which is now before Parliament, to me embodies a very important social principle. It recognises that a man has rights in his job, and that his rights gain in value with the passing of time.

This legislation is an important part of our plans to smooth the course of industrial change, by making change more acceptable to those most directly affected by it. We have also made geographical mobility easier by substantial improvements in the help given to men who have to take work away from home. Our employment services, which have a big part to play in the movement of workers between jobs, are being overhauled. Measures like these will increase the mobility of labour, which is essential for change and growth.

However, it is not only employers who have to face up to change. Institutions, if they are to retain their usefulness, must undergo conscious adaptation at the present time. The
Director-General refers in his Report to the "new" responsibilities of organisations representing broad interest groups. The United Kingdom Government has this year set up a Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations to consider, against the background of a modern industrial society, the role of trade unions and employers' associations in promoting the interests of their members and in accelerating the social and economic advancement of the nation. I believe that this Royal Commission reviewing the scene will make a tremendously important contribution to re-establishing the proper role of employers' and workers' organisations in a modern society.

These are some of the ways in which the Government of my country has been seeking to adapt its programme to the imperative demands of economic change and development. The I.L.O. also, as I have sought to show earlier, is subject to the same compulsions. I welcome the active measures which are being taken within the Organisation to think out afresh its role and activities in terms of the needs of today. On both the national and international plane it is only by constant shaping and reshaping that we can hope to meet the needs of a changing world and to fulfil the aspirations of those whom we seek to serve.

Mr. BECU (Representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions)—I am grateful to the President and to the Officers of the Conference for permitting me to convey to them the views of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions on the most important aspects of the activities and programmes of the International Labour Organisation.

I congratulate the Director-General on his constructive Report, which in the circumstances has rightly been confined to general questions of programme and structure which have proved to be of a non-controversial character. I also commend the Governing Body's Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the Organisation for its comprehensive report which has likewise been submitted to the Conference.

Before commenting more specifically on these two reports, permit me to make some general remarks about the co-operation between the international free and democratic trade union movement and the I.L.O. The free and democratic trade union movement looks back on a long-standing and unswerving tradition of support for the I.L.O. is no coincidence to which free and democratic trade unions look back in support of the I.L.O. is no coincidence since both the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.L.O., although different in structure, are guided by the same fundamental principle that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere." Both organisations are world-wide in character and have the common objective of advancing on a world-wide basis economic democracy together with social justice as foundations for universal and lasting peace. In fact, the great progress which the I.L.O., especially through the International Labour Code, has achieved in contributing to the improvement of social conditions in its member States has in the final analysis primarily been due to the uninter support and co-operation which it was given by the free and democratic trade union movement, both within the International Labour Conferences when labour standards were formulated and at national levels where free and democratic trade unions were making particular efforts to get these standards ratified and adequately applied.

The I.C.F.T.U., aware of the new tasks which the I.L.O. faces in view of changing world patterns—particularly in view of its ever-increasing membership—has been supporting the view that the I.L.O. needs to adjust and adapt its activities in order to keep abreast of the growing need to accelerate social and economic progress in all parts of the world. The I.C.F.T.U. has welcomed the decision of the I.L.O. to expand—in addition to the standard-setting activities—its activities in the field of technical co-operation, and we have demanded in that connection that new emphasis be laid on educational activities.

We welcome in this connection the decision of the I.L.O.—after it had already taken a valuable initiative in establishing the International Institute for Labour Studies—to establish the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training in Turin. It can be sure of the support of the international free trade union movement for these two institutions.

We think, however, that the activities of the I.L.O. in the field of technical co-operation, which are of extreme importance to developing countries, should be linked much more closely to I.L.O. principles and standards. In other words, the fundamental principles of the I.L.O., its standards, should be used as a guiding light for its activities in the field of technical co-operation. With the introduction of technical co-operation, its activities and objectives have not changed. Standard-setting and technical co-operation are and must be mutually reinforcing. The standard-setting activities, as confirmed by the Director-General, must remain the backbone of the Organisation. Technical research and technical co-operation must be carried out as a function of the standard-setting activities. The I.L.O. membership is world-wide in character, and its standards and principles must be formulated for world-wide application.
This, of course, does not mean that the methods of an effective application of I.L.O. standards have to be the same in all member countries. The method of application of world-wide standards will clearly vary from country to country to the extent that governments, under the pressure of workers' organisations, are willing to enforce them, but also to the extent that the I.L.O. itself is in a position to streamline its activities in the field of technical cooperation and research and technical research to this end. In addition, the I.L.O. may tomorrow for the enforcement of Conventions and Recommendations be badly in need of improvement. The urgent appeals of the free and democratic trade unions, and in particular of the I.C.F.T.U., to make that machinery more effective, have obviously not been sufficient. An effective improvement can only be achieved with the constructive support of governments of member States and, last but not least, of the International Labour Office itself.

We have noted with great satisfaction the successful result of the work of the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission when this Commission was, for the first time, put into motion in order to deal with the case of Japan. We were deeply gratified when, shortly after the Commission had presented its recommendations, Convention No. 87 was ratified by Japan. The continuous and insistent fight of the Japanese trade unions, strongly supported by the international community of free and democratic trade unions, has thus borne fruit. On the other hand, there are a great number of member States which, despite the increasing concern of world-wide public opinion, continue to violate the fundamental principles of the I.L.O. Human and trade union rights are amongst the first to be suppressed in countries ruled by totalitarian regimes, whether of the fascist or communist type.

Only two years ago the I.L.O. was facing a serious crisis because some of its fundamental principles were consistently violated in a country which practises racial discrimination of the worst type against the large majority of its people. We believe that the whole work of the Organisation would be endangered if certain governments continued to violate consistently the fundamental principles of the Organisation. We therefore appeal to all those who believe in the I.L.O. Human and trade union rights are amongst the first to be suppressed in countries ruled by totalitarian regimes, whether of the fascist or communist type.

Having mentioned the co-operation between the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.L.O., which has been so fruitful in the past, I would like to dwell for a few moments on the nature of the relationship between these two organisations. The I.C.F.T.U. is a non-governmental organisation based on free workers' organisations in all parts of the world with voluntary membership. Our activities are solely financed by workers' money. Ours is a mass organisation which represents, defends and fights for the interests of the working population. The I.L.O. is an intergovernmental organisation of governments, and based on a tripartite structure according to which workers are represented in the governing and advisory organs of the I.L.O. by one-quarter or one-third in voting strength. The I.L.O. and the I.C.F.T.U. on the basis of their structures are thus not in conflict, since both have clear-cut functions to perform which are different in nature. As the I.C.F.T.U. could not assume any of the functions which the I.L.O. is carrying out, the I.L.O. in turn cannot assume the functions of the I.C.F.T.U. without violating one of its fundamental principles, that of trade union autonomy and independence from employers' and governmental control. We have welcomed, and I would like to endorse this once again, the statement made by the Director-General in his Report to the 48th Session of the International Labour Conference, according to which "the I.L.O., not being a trade union organisation, cannot itself create trade union structures, nor engage in union action. It cannot intervene in the internal life of trade unions and it should not become involved in the ideological controversies between unions."

In the context of the reorganisation of the International Labour Organisation we have noted with great satisfaction the trend towards decentralisation of its work. The introduction of the new structure for the field services, for example, constitutes a promising step in this direction. At the same time, however, we would like to see an expansion of the workers' relations service of the Office to the field services. This would ensure close co-operation in this field between the I.L.O.'s activities and the respective workers' organisations.

However, while we express ourselves strongly in favour of a decentralisation of the activities of the I.L.O., we would object to the establishment of regional standards by the I.L.O. Regional standards would mean a serious danger for the universal character of the International Labour Code.

We reiterate our strong support for the tripartite structure of the I.L.O., which provides for full autonomy of each group. We therefore contend that any proposal which might interfere with the principle of group autonomy should first be discussed and decided by the groups concerned.

I have already made some comments from this rostrum on the I.L.O.'s Workers' Education Programme. The I.C.F.T.U. position is well known in this respect. We fully support the conclusions of the Meeting of Experts on Workers' Education which was held in December 1964, and we express the hope that the future activities of the I.L.O. in this field will be guided by the conclusions of the Experts.

We express our full agreement with the proposals of the major programme areas as laid down in the Director-General's Report. As to the scope of these programmes, we fully agree with the Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the Organisation when it concluded in paragraph 32 of its report "that all member States of the Organisation could derive benefit from the technical contribution which the I.L.O. could make to the solution of the various problems facing them, according to the importance and urgency of their requirements and to the degree of development of their country."

The I.C.F.T.U. is confident that the I.L.O. will strike a proper balance in establishing pro-
gramme priorities so as to attain the objectives of the major programme areas in all its member States.

In considering the items on the agenda of this Conference we recognise a certain balance. The problems discussed are of interest to workers in developing and developed countries. We have taken an active part in the work on each of the agenda items. Without denying the great importance of all these items, I will refer here only to two of them, those dealing with co-operative development and agrarian reform, both of them being essential instruments for economic and social progress.

Trade union development and co-operative development should go hand in hand in developing countries so as to ensure an equitable distribution of the burden and the benefits resulting from economic development to all sections of the population. Both trade unions and co-operatives can make an important contribution to the development efforts of their governments provided that they can function on a free and independent basis.

In many developing countries agrarian reform is a prerequisite both of economic development and of social betterment, and we welcome the contribution which, on the basis of the valuable report submitted to it, this Conference will certainly make to the social aspects of agrarian reform.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate the fullest possible co-operation of the I.C.F.T.U. in assisting the I.L.O. in its efforts to implement its fundamental aims and principles in all its member States.

Interpretation from French: Mr. PHAN-Trong-Nhiem (Government delegate, Viet-Nam)

—Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to join those speakers who have congratulated you on your election as President of this session of the Conference. On behalf of my Government and delegation, I wish you every success in this high office.

I should also like to express the fraternal greetings of Viet-Nam to the delegations of Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen who are attending this Conference for the first time.

We have read with interest the Director-General's Report, which deserves serious examination on the part of all those who have faith in the ideal of social justice and progress for the working masses.

For the past two years we have devoted ourselves to the question of the adaptation of the I.L.O. to the changing times, in the light of the political and social transformations that are taking place.

We are particularly glad to note that the Director-General is devoting his attention above all in each of the three major programme areas to the real needs of the developing countries, to which absolute priority should be given in the years to come. The I.L.O. must gear its activities towards assisting and supporting these countries in their efforts to do away with all the consequences of the delay in development from which they still suffer and from the poverty which prevails everywhere. The I.L.O. must and should play an important role in bringing together the "north" and the "south"; and in bringing about more effective co-operation with the industrialised countries so as to narrow the gap that separates them from the less developed countries.

We believe there should be an intensification of the regional activities of the I.L.O. The system of regional technical commissions and conferences, regional and interregional seminars, and missions of experts which can look into local problems, should definitely be encouraged. It is also desirable that the regional offices of the I.L.O. be increased in number and strengthened so that the developing countries may benefit more effectively from their experience.

As regards the drafting of Conventions, greater flexibility is needed to take into account the vast diversity in local conditions. Of course, it is difficult to set standards that can be accepted and applied by all States. However, bearing in mind the very different social levels in the member States, and in order to enable each to derive the greatest amount of benefit from the regional activities of the I.L.O., should we not increase the number of Recommendations rather than have a greater number of rigid Conventions? The latter could be confined to fundamental problems of direct interest to the majority of Members.

But even under these conditions it is necessary to adapt them, when the time comes, to the new demands of a fluctuating world. We therefore support the Director-General when he suggests pruning the International Labour Code in order to give greater vigour to the new shoots. The creation of a tripartite revision committee with terms of reference covering a systematic but partial revision of outmoded Conventions will no doubt open the way to progress in an atmosphere of social justice.

Some previous speakers have stressed that, in view of these prospects of progress, peace is an essential, and indeed indispensable, condition for the promotion of social justice—which is, as I said, the ideal of our Organisation. On this point, I am in agreement.

However, for the past quarter of a century in Viet-Nam we have not had this peace which is so ardently desired. Following the terrible years of the Second World War and our struggle for independence, for the past 11 years we have been suffering from an insidious form of war, a war of subversion, which obstructs progress and destroys all the achievements that had hitherto benefited our workers.

Those who try to become champions of the so-called liberation of the southern part of our country seek night and day to overthrow the social and humanitarian achievements of the Republic of Viet-Nam, such as schools, kindergartens, hospitals, leprosariums, cathedrals, pagodas. They do not hesitate to massacre the innocent and the defenceless.

An attempt was even made here during the past few weeks to inflame the minds of the people by abusing the memory of our heroic struggle of the previous days which friendly countries had given us, but they have been careful to avoid mentioning the atrocities which the Viet-Cong have been committing for more than a decade. Village leaders have been assassinated, hamlets have been burned to the ground, and 15-year-old boys have been kidnapped, enrolled by force in their ranks and thrown back into battle. Above all, from our point of view, numerous
planted workers and trade union officials have been kidnapped and even beheaded for refusing to obey their orders.

I should like to quote the words of the Head of a non-aligned State who recently declared that "many countries choose to see only American planes in the air but not the subversion on the ground. The fact is that the legally constituted Government of South Viet-Nam requested American help because there happen to be people in Viet-Nam who do not wish communism to be established in this country." In fact, as a result of clever propaganda, world public opinion may be deluded. Our actions are blamed without seeking to find the real cause for them.

If today the destruction of strategic supply bases has been extended to the territory of North Viet-Nam, that is merely legitimate defence on our part. We cannot sit back any longer until the enemy comes and attacks us in our homes. We have flagrant proof of direct intervention by the regime in the north, which is supplying the Viet-Cong with massive reinforcements of political and military personnel, arms and ammunition. The special report of 2 June 1962 of the International Control Commission which was addressed to the Co-Presidents of the Geneva Conference of 1954, officially recognised this fact, which is incontrovertible evidence of the subordination of the Viet-Cong to communism in North Viet-Nam.

Those who, from near and far, wish to see us succumb under the yoke of communism, never cease to cry out to the world that the bombardments should stop and that the Americans should go, but they never speak of putting an end to the atrocities of the Viet-Cong in our towns and villages, they never ask the North to put an end to its aid and reinforcements to the Viet-Cong action, so as to leave Viet-Nam free to live in peace. On the contrary, it is they and their partners who are violating the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and who are daily bringing more assistance to the enemies of our people.

They wish to make the world believe that the legally constituted Government in South Viet-Nam does not represent our people. They even speak of the so-called Viet-Cong as the liberators of our country. They wish to imply, as if they have done elsewhere, that only the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel. Their argument is that the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel. Their argument is that the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel. Their argument is that the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel. Their argument is that the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel. Their argument is that the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel. Their argument is that the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel. Their argument is that the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel. Their argument is that the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel. Their argument is that the so-called Liberation Front of the South is the valid representative of the 14 million Vietnamese living below the 17th parallel.

I should like to pay tribute.

Now I come to Part II of the Report. My Government approves the general policies of the I.L.O. programmes and welcomes enthusiastically the priority given to the three major programme areas: utilisation of human resources, the development of social institutions, and living and working conditions.

Particularly as regards social institutions, Viet-Nam can be proud of the regime of trade union freedom which has taken solid root both among the urban working class and the rural population. Labour-management relations have started off on the right foot. The body of inspectors and labour supervisors is being gradually set up. Personnel undergo methodical training and a series of advanced training courses is in progress, with the assistance of an I.L.O. expert. The Ministry of Labour is assisting the trade unions to organise workers' education courses.

The system of collective agreements, first instituted for 55,000 rubber plantation workers, already covers other sectors of the economy such as the banks, the petroleum industry, and soon the electricity industry, as well as tea and coffee plantations.

On the other hand, despite the hostilities, we respect the right to strike, a right which certain countries deny their workers even in peacetime.

In December 1964 we welcomed a tripartite mission of I.L.O. experts in labour-management relations, to whose competence and ability I should like to pay tribute.

In the rural sector, the measures which the Report proposes, namely planning and organisation of manpower, agrarian reform and the development of a co-operative network, appear to us to be very realistic and answer the needs of Viet-Nam. Considerable efforts have already been made by my Government thanks to the financial assistance of friendly countries.

A bold agrarian reform scheme has been started, which is to put an end both to excessively large and excessively small landholdings. An area of 435,541 hectares of rice paddies have been expropriated and redistributed among 115,594 landless farming families. Agricultural credit and co-operatives, which are indispensable to agrarian reform, have played an effective part. Loans totalling some 4.5 million piastres had been advanced by the end of 1964, and a network of 333 co-operatives covers 130,154 members throughout the country.

At the same time rural settlement involving the resettlement of 280,835 people in 215 agricultural development centres and the opening up of 125,090 hectares of new land with an initial budget of 2,381 million piastres has been undertaken.

Nevertheless, I must admit that this whole undertaking has been largely sabotaged for more than a year by guerrilla action and systematic destruction by the Viet-Cong. The latter constantly set fire to the co-operative installations and the rural development centres, kidnapping the land-survey teams and the officials of the malaria-eradication service, murdering the farmers who have been so bold as to oppose their exactions.

Before closing I should like to support a suggestion made by a previous speaker who proposed that the Director-General's Report should in future be discussed in committee.
rather than in plenary sitting. The number of delegations attending the Conference continues to grow each year because of the continuous accession of territories to independence. In these circumstances, the statements made in plenary sitting are apt—and this is especially the case this year—to acquire more and more a political nature. Some delegates prefer to engage here in propaganda and political manoeuvres, thereby slowing down greatly the examination of technical questions to which we should devote the greater part of our attention. Be that as it may, my delegation preserves the hope that the reforms of structure and programme suggested by the Director-General will enable the I.L.O. to do useful work for the improvement of the status of workers throughout the world.

Interpretation from French : Mrs. DRAGOI (Representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions)—Our participation in this discussion which started in 1963 and will continue next year makes it possible for all of us to contribute to the moulding of the future activities of the I.L.O. In our opinion the programme should have been completed by proposals which, by adapting the structure of the International Labour Organisation and the International Labour Office to present-day realities, would make it possible to carry out the programme more effectively. To separate one thing from the other, as is being done at present, might lead to a tendency to leave things as they are.

The Working Party of the Governing Body will certainly give attention to all the proposals which have been made from this rostrum during the past two years, including those which concern the most burning, urgent and controversial questions.

The International Labour Organisation can hardly shut its eyes to the need for introducing proportional representation of the trade union organisations into the Workers' group of the Governing Body, nor can it fail to try to solve the problems of the most representative organisation at the Conference, making possible democratic discussion of resolutions by the Conference, and decentralising the powers of regional conferences. We feel that in this action the I.L.O. must look for support, within countries as well as at the international level, to those forces which can contribute without hidden motives to the implementation of the social policy enunciated, particularly in the field of developing social institutions and improving the living and working conditions of the workers.

In a number of countries the workers are already fighting for those rights which have been included by the I.L.O. in its new programme, particularly as regards the right to organise in the workplace. I should also like to call your attention to economic plans and programmes and the use of manpower. We consider that planning, whether of part of the national economy or of one particular sector or branch, cannot meet the needs of social progress as long as the working class does not participate as such in the political power. In our opinion it is extremely difficult, indeed almost impossible, to have proper demo-

cratic planning of one sector or another while leaving decisions on investment, the level of employment and foreign trade in the hands of big private corporations and international companies. Moreover, we continue to believe that full employment must be one of the main preoccupations of the I.L.O., and here again we consider that this important problem cannot be solved unless the workers and the trade unions participate effectively in the decisions.

That being said, neither the workers nor the trade unions, much less the World Federation of Trade Unions, can close their eyes to the present developments in society, the complexity of the struggle for democracy and hence for the transformation of society along socialist lines. It is extremely indicative of the power of progressive ideas that what was unmentionable only a few years ago in the international institutions has now become a field of profound study and analysis.

In many industrialised countries the workers and trade unions have to cope daily with the consequences of governmental plans and programmes concerted with the plans and programmes of the big private, capitalist corporations and companies. They have to face various so-called programmes of stabilisation, the object of which is to make possible wide margins of profit in order to guarantee the high profits which would increase the financiers.

Broad and profound discussions on this subject have taken place in recent years at the congresses, conferences and meetings of the trade union organisations. The Sixth World Trade Union Congress which will open in Warsaw on 8 October will also give great attention to the experience, successes and failures and the struggles of the workers and trade unions in this field.

During the past few years we have observed the qualitative growth in the struggles of the workers and the trade unions in the industrially developed capitalist countries and in the developing countries. The workers and the trade unions have fought with ever-growing strength against capitalist profits and to defend the collective interests of the nation. They demand the nationalisation of the key sectors of the economy, a democratic management of the nationalised concerns to ensure that they fulfill their mission of serving the nation.

In the present international situation, which is characterised by the growth and strengthening of trusts, cartels, corporations and private international companies in Western Europe and the Western hemisphere, by monopolistic contradictions and by the ruthless struggle which the monopolies are waging under the guise of efficiency and competition, the public sector of the economy has assumed an importance never before known. Never before have its development and its national function been so integrated into the action and struggle of the workers as they are today. The influence of this struggle goes beyond national frontiers and takes its part in the action for the defence of democracy and the representative institutions elected by the people.

We feel that the Report would have been more complete if it had referred to the need for research, studies and information in this field. We are well aware of the fact that this
is a delicate and difficult sector in which to verify facts in view of the secrecy which surrounds all the operations and hidden balance-sheets of these corporations, trusts and companies.

How effective can be any control exercised by the workers and the trade unions without their effective participation in the management of the modern industrial society ? What form could the participation of workers and trade unions take in public control, in the process of democratic control of the modern industrial society ?

The Director-General, quite rightly and in its proper context, stresses the fact that the I.L.O. must carry on that struggle and action for the legal and contractual protection of the status of the worker, particularly within the enterprise. To a certain extent at least this meets the concern which we expressed last year from this rostrum. We understand the status of the worker to mean a complex of measures and international standards covering all the rights of the workers and the trade unions in the workplace and the protection of shop stewards—the persons elected by the workers. We must move from the mere recognition of the general right to organise which belongs to all citizens to the full realisation of trade union rights, the permanent and democratic consolidation of the relationship between the trade unions and the workers in the undertaking, in the workplaces, in the fields, on the surface and underground in mines.

The trade union must emerge beside the worker from the very moment of his engagement—even before, when placement action is taken. It is at that stage that the conditions of work inside and outside the undertaking are determined, as well as their future development.

We see here a very important role for the I.L.O. to play, and the proposals contained in the Report are the beginning, we feel, of a broader action in this basic field of emancipation of the workers.

We are living in a very interesting period in the life of trade unions at world-wide level. The broadening of trade union participation and the democratic struggle for the limitation of the power of monopolies are proof of the socialist methods of participation of workers in the management of the economy and in the control of measures adopted at the workplaces for the organisation of production.

New fields of activity are being added daily to those already making up the background and the unity of action of the working masses, and the workers in the plants and workplaces are labouring and fighting side by side, more and more aware of their mission. We are prepared and happy to undertake any direct dialogue, provided such dialogue takes place in an atmosphere of mutual respect, in a setting which might well be that of the I.L.O. itself.

The brief picture I have sketched out shows the importance of fraternal relations and the exchange of experiences between trade unions of different countries, developed and undeveloped, particularly the relations between trade unions and undertakings belonging to the same trust, the same cartel, in various countries.

The interest and value of these relationships is redoubled when we take up the question of aid and assistance which the trade unions of the developed countries must give to the trade unions and workers of the developing countries.

Finally, the I.L.O. knows very well how much importance the W.F.T.U., and trade unions in general, attach to the question of vocational training. We appreciate what has already been done, but we wonder if the Director-General could not submit to the Conference an overall statement which would cover the present and the projected initiatives of the Organisation and the Office, as well as proposals for coordination with the United Nations Technical Assistance Board and Special Fund. The operation of the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training at Turin, and the needs arising out of the growth of the developing countries, are intimately connected with the problem of vocational training and, we feel, increase the responsibilities of the Conference and the International Labour Office.

The International Labour Organisation cannot shut its eyes to external events, to the sufferings of the population of Viet-Nam deprived of the right to self-determination.

This year was marked by the very imposing popular celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the victory of the peoples of the United Nations over the barbarity of Nazis and Fascists, the victory of the working class over the most reactionary dictatorship of capitalism. But we must also be aware of the tireless struggle the peoples must continue to wage to free humanity for ever from war, from thermonuclear destruction, armed aggression, racialism, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

May this twentieth anniversary, of the birth of the United Nations as well as that of the World Federation of Trade Unions, mark the start of a new era which will see the fruitation of the great work begun by the anti-Fascist resistance, by the trade unions of the world, by those who, regardless of the colour of their skin, are falling and still fall, to win international peace and freedom.

That is why we condemn the American aggression in South-East Asia and in the Caribbean.

Lord COLLISON (Workers' delegate, United Kingdom)—May I follow the example of the many delegates who have spoken before me, and offer my congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of this great Conference.

It also gives me particular pleasure, as the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, to express a sincere welcome to the delegations of the four countries which have assumed full membership of the I.L.O. since we last met. Malawi, Malta, Yemen and Zambia have followed the good example set by so many of the new nations in the last few years in losing no time in affirming their full support of the I.L.O. Their doing so is in effect a vote of confidence in the I.L.O. We welcome them, and we shall work with them in the furtherance of the objectives of the I.L.O. as formulated in the Declaration of Philadelphia.

The Report of the Director-General this year is well up to the standard we have come to
expect. I would like to record my personal appreciation, in particular, for Part II of the Report, which does not appear so far to have received the attention it deserves. The annual report to the United Nations is always an interesting record of what the I.L.O. is doing; but this year the Director-General has, it seems to me, prepared an unusually full and useful Report which answers many of the questions which people ask about the I.L.O. Those of us who participate in the work of the Organisation at close range, especially those of us who have the honour to serve on the Governing Body, sometimes have difficulty in seeing the I.L.O. in true perspective. Some of us are too close to it. This Report of the Director-General is extremely useful in clearing our vision, and I hope that it will be widely circulated and read.

One of the useful reminders contained in Part II of the Report is that social legislation in almost every country of the world is continually changing under the influence of international labour Conventions and Recommendations. Ratifications are multiplying, and, as each new nation achieves a welcome independence, normally it confirms existing obligations resulting from the acceptance of Conventions by former parent countries. Yet, welcome as this is, I would like to voice a word of warning. I think that we could too easily become complacent and assume that the ratification of an instrument automatically leads to its proper application. I am afraid we still have a long way to go in this respect, and it is vitally necessary not only to see that governments are pressed to accept and ratify the instruments produced by the I.L.O., but we also have to be vigilant in seeing that these instruments are strictly observed.

For that reason I warmly welcome the steps taken by the Director-General to bring to the attention of trade unions all over the world their rights, and indeed their obligations, in this connection. I would like to suggest to the Director-General, if I may, that he might follow up the action taken so far by publishing a small booklet on Conventions, which could be widely distributed and which every trade union official could keep in his office desk, together with the other indispensable tools of his trade, the union rule book, the union diary, and the shop stewards' handbook.

With respect to new Conventions, I must confess I have been disturbed by a growing tendency at this Conference always to regard a Convention as being preferable to a Recommendation and a Recommendation as being preferable to a Resolution. I understand quite clearly why some of my fellow delegates take this view. A Convention looks, on the face of it, more substantial; it is imperative, not advisory; it seems to guarantee more surely the protection and the advancement of the worker, as indeed, where Conventions are realistically possible and are applied, they do.

Therefore, by all means let us have a Convention, for instance, on the entry of young people into mines. It is a specific subject, applicable to all countries and in every continent in all stages of development, and it can be expressed and enforced in law. But there are other matters which we can usefully discuss here—indeed which we ought to discuss here—which are too broad in their scope to lend themselves to the simplicity and the precision required for a Convention. If we were to insist upon Conventions in such cases, there would be little chance that governments could ratify them. So let us strive to find the right tool for the particular job; you cannot harvest a field of corn with a surgeon's knife.

I hope that all my fellow delegates will by now have had an opportunity of reading the first report of the Working Party, held by the Governing Body in the task of examining the results of our long and useful debates in 1963 and 1964 and of translating them into policies. I was among those who argued all along that this was the best method of procedure, that when the general debate was concluded a small body of people should then make an intensive study of the views expressed and formulate a programme for our future work. This first report, in my opinion, amply justifies that view. The Working Party—excuse me, I am a member of it, but I think it is true—has done a good job under the leadership of Mr. Haythorne, and I trust and believe—in fact, I know—that it will be equally effective when it comes to examine the two remaining programme areas on its agenda: social institutions and working conditions.

Furthermore, the idea of inviting governments, employers' associations and trade unions to submit their comments also seems to have borne fruit. In the Annex to the report of the Working Party there is a summary of the replies of 43 governments, 22 employers' organisations and 18 workers' organisations. I am just a little disappointed that there were not more, and perhaps on future occasions we ought to simplify the task of replying by formulating a questionnaire on the familiar lines of the questionnaires used in connection with the preparation of items on the agenda of the Conference. I firmly believe that you cannot have too much consultation, and I suggest we make this a regular practice.

Now this is just in passing, but it will be seen from paragraph 120 [10] of the Annex to the report that the British T.U.C. was among those which called for close association of employers' and workers' organisations with economic policy. I feel sure that, had more trade union centres been able to reply to the Director-General's letter within the time available, we would have seen that this is a widespread if not a universal trend. To translate this demand into fact is not an easy task, as will be indeed evident to all who have followed the course of economic policy in my own country in recent years. I do not intend to dwell on our domestic affairs, but what I think is significant is that my Government is making strenuous efforts to involve employers and trade unions in the making of policy and in the taking of important economic decisions. Such co-operation between governments, employers and workers is applying tripartism on a national basis and, of course, in a field of the utmost urgency at last recognition is being given to the fact that all sectors of the community have their part to play in developing the national product, that there is a joint interest in the total well-
being of the community, and that everyone must accept his responsibilities whilst in no way sacrificing his just rights.

I believe that the fact that people are now able to think this way is encouraging, for by so doing the way is opened to economic and social progress against a background of social justice in societies where freedom and a sense of responsibility to the community can march hand in hand towards a glorious goal.

Since I believe that the I.L.O. has no more important task than the protection and extension of trade union rights, with great respect I am going to express disagreement with the comment of the Director-General in his Report where he says that the role of the I.L.O. in connection with freedom of labour is that of a guide, not of a judge. I would agree that this is maybe the proper role of the Director-General, but I hope that the I.L.O., as a tripartite organisation, will never adopt a neutral advisory position, and I hope that it will never be afraid to challenge and, where necessary, to rebuke any government which persistently violates the workers' freedom. In this connection, I noted with regret the information conveyed to us in the course of the present debate by the Workers' delegate of Malaysia. I support without hesitation his hope that wise counsel will prevail and that Malaysia will maintain her unblemished record — and it is a good record — of liberal trade union policy, despite her external difficulties at the present time. In this connection I was very pleased to note that Mr. Manickavasagam, having said that he understood that these measures had caused anxiety to certain trade union leaders, said "I wish to state that these measures do not in any way infringe the legitimate rights and freedoms of trade unions". I hope that this will be the case.

We have now subjected the I.L.O. to a most searching examination over the past two years. I think that fundamentally we found no fault with our programme and structure, but I think, however, that in the course of our studies we have reached a far better appreciation of the needs and aspirations of the workers.

We have assisted the Director-General in his task of reorganising the I.L.O. and concentrating our resources where they can lead to the most useful results.

If I may say so, in this connection, I fully agree with what my Minister said on this rostrum just a little while ago. It is clear that our task is far from complete, but I believe that we are on the right lines. The Working Party has a lot to do ahead of it, but it is evident from the reception so far accorded to our first report—it is evident to me—that the Conference appreciates the efforts which the Working Party is making, and that the Conference is confident that future reports will bring the whole process to a satisfactory conclusion.

Each delegate will have his own opinion of how much we have achieved as a result of this long debate. For myself, I am well satisfied, and indeed pleased, that the Workers' group of the Conference has stoutly defended the basic principles to which we adhere: tripartism, group autonomy, freedom of association and associated rights, and, in the field, the fullest possible contribution to economic development that the I.L.O. can make, so as to close the gap between the rich and the poor countries.

Let us now give our wholehearted support to the Director-General and to the Governing Body in their efforts to turn our words into facts. This is International Co-operation Year. So let us do whatever we can to contribute to the success of this Year in the spirit of, and as a tribute to, Pandit Nehru, to whom we are all indebted for proposing that 1965 should be so designated.

Mr. BELIGAMMANA (Government delegate, Ceylon) — Allow me in the first instance to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of this Conference.

I also wish to associate myself and my delegation with the remarks of praise given to the Director-General on the Report which is under discussion at this Conference.

I am glad to have this opportunity of addressing this Conference for more than one reason. My country has recently emerged from the threat of totalitarianism, after some period of tension and uncertainty, as a country which is prepared to uphold the ideals of peace and social justice for which the I.L.O. has always stood. The verdict of the people of my country, at the recent parliamentary elections, has proved that we will have no truck with policies which seek to deny the people their fundamental rights and to reduce a nullity the principles of freedom and justice so dear to the United Nations.

My people showed that they cherish the right to live in a free country, in a free society, as free people, by rejecting a party which paid mere lip service to the working classes and to the ideals of freedom and social justice to which the I.L.O. is pledged.

The Government which my countrymen have voted to power is pledged to promoting the economic development of the country on a sound basis of social justice, and we therefore look with confidence to the I.L.O. for every assistance and co-operation.

Let me say the very outset say that we have no doubt received through the I.L.O. and through other international agencies much aid from various foreign countries and we are certainly appreciative of all they have done and are still willing to do. I do, however, welcome the statement in Part II of the Report which says: "All member States of the I.L.O. accept the principle that greater stability in world prices of primary products and the promotion of a high and steady volume of international trade is essential for securing the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world."

I would therefore urge that further international action be pursued by the I.L.O. to obtain steady and better prices for our primary products, such as tea, rubber, coconuts and areca-nuts so that we could be sure that thereby we would be able ourselves to finance to a greater extent and more speedily our own plans for economic development and thereby raise the standard of living of our people.

I now wish to turn my attention to some of
the other points made in the Director-General's Report and to offer a few comments on them in so far as they concern my country and the policy of my Government. To begin with, my Government is quite appreciative of the active role that could be filled in the material effort for economic and social development by the growth of workers' and employers' organisations which are genuinely representative and independent. One of the first things my Minister did on assumption of office was to hold consultations with representatives of employers in the private sector as well as in the government-sponsored corporations on how best this economic and social development could be promoted.

I think the representatives of workers' organisations would themselves admit that the trade unions in my country are not yet organised on a solid basis. It is commonly accepted that the two besetting handicaps to the growth of a solid trade union movement in my country have been the multiplicity of trade unions and the dominant part played therein by "outsiders". The multiplicity of trade unions could be gauged from the fourfold increase in their number from 1956 to the present day, when there are over a thousand registered trade unions. Under the law any seven workers could apply for registration as a trade union, but prior to 1956 only trade unions of a certain representative character gained recognition from employers in the field of collective bargaining.

Prior to 1956 no trade union in the public sector was given such recognition unless it had a membership of at least 40 per cent. of those eligible to join it. This principle was generally adopted by employers in the private sector as well. But after 1956 the then Government, in order to build up for itself trade unions that would support its own political views and policies, abolished this requirement and let in the flood of trade unions. The Government was required to give recognition to any registered trade union irrespective of its representative character, and employers in the private sector too found it difficult to adhere to the earlier convention. The trade union movement, as a result, tended to be broken up into splinter groups competing with their parent unions and with other splinter groups. But, I am glad to say, some of the older and more responsible trade unions were not slow to realise what was happening and demanded, even under the previous Government, the reimposition of the 40 per cent. membership rule. The previous Government turned a deaf ear to those demands because they were not acceptable to it from the political angle; but I am glad to say that my Government, being really interested in the growth of a genuine trade union movement, is giving active consideration to restoring the 40 per cent. membership rule so as to assist in the growth of representative trade unions.

My Government is interested not only in the growth of the representative trade unions but also in the growth of their independence. For long the criticism has been that trade unions have been dominated by politicians and not by leaders chosen from the ranks of workers, and that as a result the interests of the workers have in times of crisis had to give place to the political objectives of their political leaders. But from the present context of the participation of trade unions in plans for economic and social development, the trade unions of workers must also emerge as independent and solid organisations equipped to play an active and useful part. For the first time in the history of organised labour in Ceylon my Government has announced that it will soon introduce a scheme to ensure worker participation in management and profits. At the same time we believe that workers should be ready to shoulder the wider responsibilities that will be cast on them, since trade unions will no longer be concerned merely with wages and conditions of employment as in the past, but will be increasingly called upon to offer suggestions on production methods, elimination of waste, etc.

Before trade unions can assist in these measures, my Government considers that they should be rid of political control. My Government considers that trade unions should be able to conduct their own affairs without depending on political parties in making decisions. On the positive side my Government will pursue very actively programmes of workers' education so that trade unions may be equipped not only to participate in the planning of social and economic development programmes but in their implementation as well. It is here that we would lean heavily on the I.L.O. for its cooperation.

We are thankful to the I.L.O. for its assistance in the past but I consider that this assistance should be intensified in the future. In this connection I wish to place on record that the recent Asian Seminar on Labour-Management Relations, organised by Mr. de Givry of the I.L.O. in collaboration with my Government and held in Peradeniya, Ceylon, in April 1965 proved a great success.

There are many urgent problems facing my country today in the field of labour and employment, and my Government expects the International Labour Organisation to assist it in its attempts to find solutions for them. In the field of human resources facing the problems of the trade unions of workers in my country are both urgent and grave. Unemployment in both the urban and rural sectors has reached unprecedented proportions. My Government is endeavouring to solve this problem in many ways by providing additional employment opportunities by an expansion of our economy. The other problem in the field of human resources facing my Government is the under-employment of our villagers which leads to migration into urban areas.

We have solved this problem also to a certain extent by ensuring guaranteed prices for our domestic agricultural crops, mainly paddy, and by adopting various measures such as the opening up of vast areas of uncultivated land under cultivation. My Government also recognises the right of workers in both urban and rural areas to better living conditions and proposes to embark on an intensified programme of low-cost house construction.

I would like to mention that to achieve these objectives we need more foreign exchange and it is in this context that we expect fair prices for
for our tea, rubber, coconut and areca-nuts from developed countries.

Therefore, we have no doubt that the I.L.O., along with developed member countries, will assist us in our attempt to raise the standard of living of our people.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Employers' delegate, Canada)—As the representative of Canadian employers, I appreciate this opportunity to participate in the discussion on the Director-General's Report to the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. Canadian employers recognise the importance of the role the International Labour Organisation has played in industrial society. We have in the past accepted the responsibility of making what we hope has been an effective and worthwhile contribution. I assure delegates it is our intention to continue our efforts in this regard in the future.

Many changes have occurred in our world since the I.L.O. was formed 46 years ago, and may I be forgiven my pride in mentioning the fact that Canada was among the founding nations in 1919. We now see greater emphasis placed on investment in human resources in the over-all formulation of development programmes. New concepts, philosophies, institutions and ideologies have emerged. Technological changes are confronting many of us today with difficult social and economic problems that have yet to be thoroughly identified or completely analysed.

In the light of these changes, then, we agree entirely with the I.L.O.'s decision to re-examine and reappraise its part in the scheme of our society to determine what must be done to ensure that it continues to occupy the role of a responsible agency.

For the past two years, and again at this present session, the Director-General in his Report has focused the attention of the Conference on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. for future years. New and fresh ideas have emerged as a result. There has been a consensus of approval from the Conference on many of the proposals that have been made, although there is some divergence of views on the relative importance and priority that certain aspects of future programming should have.

While the tripartite Working Party's first report represents only the beginning of a much larger job, it nevertheless defines some specific guidelines in very important areas. The Canadian Employers' delegation commend the members of the Working Party for their excellent report. In particular we commend them for their decision to focus attention first on the proposed major programmes relating to human resources. As stated in paragraph 18 of their first report: "National development does not depend only on the existence of natural resources and on an ample supply of capital and equipment. If people do not have the skills needed to exploit these resources fully, if they are not productively employed, if they do not participate actively, freely and in a responsible manner in the various tasks of development, it will be very difficult to achieve significant economic and social progress. This is particularly true of the developing countries in which human resources are abundant but where the skill potential of such resources is inadequately developed and the opportunities for productive employment are insufficient. In short, it is increasingly recognised in the theory and practice of development that the development and utilisation of human resources are decisive factors in economic expansion and, in consequence, in social progress."

We would do well as we approach the final stages of three years of debate on the work and structure of the I.L.O. to keep those words in mind. Clearly they indicate where the majority of time and resources of this Organisation should be devoted if the standards of living in the developing countries are to be raised to a tolerable level.

It is true that in recent years a growing proportion of the I.L.O.'s time and resources has been spent in the area of technical assistance. If this Conference does, as I hope it will, make it unmistakably clear to the Governing Body and to the Office that even greater efforts should be made in this direction, it is essential that the amount and kind of technical assistance meet the needs of the particular nations being aided. Research, including analyses of results, and the exchange of information are prerequisites if a programme of this kind is to be sound of structure and purpose.

Priority of this kind once again raises questions about the I.L.O.'s traditional standard-setting task. The Director-General declares in Part I of his Report that international instruments are the backbone of the Organisation. I suggest that they are not. However relevant they may have been in the past, conditions today have changed to such an extent that this aspect of the I.L.O.'s work requires the most careful scrutiny.

The great majority of delegates of the newer nations that have come into being during the past 10 or 15 years have told us that they are, by and large, nations with relatively undeveloped economies. They are essentially non-industrial, with a social and economic life quite different from that prevailing in the more highly industrialised countries. With this in mind, consideration should be given to the revision or elimination of many conventions. These should be broadly based and concerned with statements of principle on matters to which all member States can give expression appropriate to their circumstances. Future instruments should avoid substantive details, the implementation of which requires a level of economic development which a large number of member States have yet to attain. In the same vein, consideration should also be given to the revision or elimination of
existing standards that are no longer meaningful or applicable.

The Director-General has outlined the organisation and changes which have been made in the Office to afford greater flexibility in I.L.O. programming. There has been considerable examination and debate on the relevance of certain features of the I.L.O. structure itself.

In our opinion there is no need for drastic change in the present relationship between the Conference, the Governing Body and the Office. Canadian employers believe that ways and means can be found within the existing framework to make these bodies more effective and more efficient. In particular, we believe that changes in the role of the Governing Body, as suggested by certain delegates, would be most unwise. We agree with the Director-General when he said that only a strong and effective Governing Body can show the Conference ways of overcoming disputes which otherwise might persistently divide it.

Paramount, of course, in the structure of the I.L.O., is its tripartite character. Tripartism is the attribute that gives the I.L.O. its unique status and power. It is imperative that this tripartite feature be preserved and not allowed to be weakened or undermined by those who do not accept that this is the very essence and foundation of the I.L.O.

The tripartite structure is an acknowledgment of the existence of mutual interests and its successful operation is positive proof that the aims of employers and workers are reconcilable. Tripartism loses all force and purpose if employers and workers are not absolutely free and unhampered in the selection of their representatives and in the degree of their participation in the affairs of the I.L.O. Sound industrial relations can only develop in a harmonious manner between responsible organisations which are independent of one another, and of their government. If we are to preserve this tripartism, it is essential that workers and employers constantly examine the role of governments in their affairs.

It is the custom of this Conference to seat Government representatives between Workers and Employers. We must be cautious that this resolution despite the fact that it stresses the need for this responsible task to be performed. The proposals made by national and international trade union organisations relating to such changes are unjustifiably ignored. These proposals, reflecting the wishes of millions of trade union members, are the clearest expression of the general situation of the workers in member States. By taking due account of such demands and proposals the I.L.O. can more successfully mobilise member countries in the task of improving the workers’ living conditions. It is essential to reconsider these proposals and include them in the programme of the I.L.O.

Among the many problems before the Conference, unemployment, underemployment, falling wage levels, reduction in wages when hours of work are cut, the absence of social security and of holidays with pay, and discrimination in employment and training are adversely affecting the living and working conditions of the workers. That is why the workers in many capitalist and colonial countries are on strike. The inclusion of these problems in the I.L.O. programme with priority of consideration is therefore a matter of vital concern to the workers.

The Bulgarian trade unions continue to support the proposals they already made at the 48th Session regarding the liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the elimination of their after-effects in the economic and social field. Nowadays, colonialism can no longer be tolerated. At this session many delegates have already spoken on this subject. I should like particularly to stress the remarks of the representative of the All-African Trade Union Federation, Mr. Tettegah.

As I have already pointed out, at the last session proposals were made regarding improvement of the structure and working methods of the Organisation. Many of these problems were not reflected in the Report to this session, although a lot of facts were quoted which confirm the inadequacy of existing structures and methods of work of the I.L.O. in the light of the existing state of affairs.

Here are a few of these facts. Elections of the representatives of the Workers’ group in the Governing Body are carried out according on the adaptation of the programme, structure and methods of the I.L.O. in accordance with the changes that have taken place in the economic and social fields throughout the world.

A number of Workers’ and other delegates, including those of Bulgaria, have made a number of constructive proposals so that the Organisation can become an effective international instrument for improving the conditions of the workers. These proposals should have been included in the I.L.O.’s programme.

At the 48th Session the Conference adopted a resolution which instructed the Director-General to examine all the proposals that were made and to submit to this session a report on changes in the programme and structure of the Organisation. A substantial proportion of these proposals is not reflected in the special I.L.O. document or in the Report of the Director-General to this session. It is clear that the Director-General is not carrying out this resolution despite the fact that it stresses the need for this responsible task to be performed. The proposals made by national and international trade union organisations relating to such changes are unjustifiably ignored. These proposals, reflecting the wishes of millions of trade union members, are the clearest expression of the general situation of the workers in member States. By taking due account of such demands and proposals the I.L.O. can more successfully mobilise member countries in the task of improving the workers’ living conditions. It is essential to reconsider these proposals and include them in the programme of the I.L.O.
to the majority system, and yet this system is anti-democratic because it does not give an opportunity of participation to the representatives of either national trade union associations, whatever their trend, or autonomous trade unions. This happens because those candidates who receive 50 per cent. of the votes plus one other vote take all the places in the group, so that there is no room for the others who even represent a larger membership. Thus the 70 million-strong Soviet trade unions are not represented in the Workers' group of the Governing Body. Nor is there any representation for a number of other trade union federations which are members of the W.F.T.U., and the same goes for a number of autonomous trade unions.

As a result of the violation of the Constitution of the I.L.O., the General Conference has for many years contained so-called Workers' delegates from many capitalist countries who have never been elected or who do not represent the major federation. The Workers' group of the Governing Body and the Committee on Freedom of Association, as well as the Workers' officers at the General Conference have never yet included any representative of the W.F.T.U. The Workers' sections of those bodies are composed primarily of representatives of national federations affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.F.C.T.U., which reflect the views of only a small part of the world trade union movement. This is obviously a completely undemocratic situation. Elections to the Workers' group of the Governing Body should follow a democratic system providing for equitable geographical representation of trade unions of all tendencies as well as autonomous trade unions.

In order to avoid the situation whereby the wrong Workers' delegates from many capitalist countries attend this Conference, there should be on-the-spot investigation by the I.L.O. with the trade union federations concerned with a view to submission to the Governing Body of proposals for a just settlement of the question of the representation of the workers at the Conference. This has already been suggested in specific cases where the credentials of delegates have been contested at this session. The General Conference should draft and adapt the programme of the I.L.O., fix the agenda for its annual sessions and elect the Director-General, in order to ensure that the Conference becomes the supreme body of the I.L.O. All organs should adopt the principle of fair geographical distribution on the basis of the sovereign equality of all member States. In this connection, we support the proposals in the resolution submitted by the Government delegations of Poland and the Ukraine. We think this resolution should be examined and adopted at this Conference.

A number of delegates speaking from this high rostrum have rightly stressed that unless peace is preserved throughout the world the I.L.O. will not be able to carry out its task, as laid down by the Constitution, namely the improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers. This is crystal-clear and indisputable, even though a number of delegates have for more or less obvious reasons avoided the subject.

The Bulgarian people views with alarm the state of tension in the world, and we are taking steps to make our contribution towards preserving peace. The desire to consolidate peace has gripped the minds and hearts of millions throughout the world. This can be seen from the many demonstrations throughout society, whatever the nationality or religious or political convictions of the participants. A few weeks ago the traditional springtime peace march ended in Trafalgar Square, London. In Western Germany there were once again similar protests by the population against nuclear armaments, and feelings of solidarity was expressed by British M.P.s, French trade union leaders and groups from Sweden, Belgium, Denmark and elsewhere.

Certain countries are spending enormous sums on armaments. One of these countries has spent more than $800,000 million since the Second World War. In that same country persons in positions of responsibility stated recently that if need be its armed forces would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons. There is widespread concern about this, especially among the Asian peoples, since it was only two decades ago, for the sole purpose of demonstrating strength and without any military necessity, that atom bombs were dropped on the peaceful citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Now, with the work of the Conference proceeding in a state of international tension, the question of the contribution of the I.L.O. to the cause of peace is becoming ever more urgent. The I.L.O. should express its support for convening an international conference on the prohibition of the use of atomic weapons as well as an international disarmament conference under United Nations auspices. The Conference should also adopt the Ukrainian Government delegation's resolution regarding study by the I.L.O. of the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

The International Labour Conference must condemn the aggressive actions designed to suppress national liberation movements, and insist that the United Nations and the Security Council take effective measures to put an end to these actions so that they may never recur. Such measures would undoubtedly be supported by world public opinion, including the masses in those countries which have originated these aggressive actions. The I.L.O. must condemn the aggressive action of the United States in Viet-Nam and in the Dominican Republic. If it does not do so, this alarming situation may spread throughout the world.

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

Tuesday, 15 June 1965, 3 p.m.

President : Mr. Raza

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL : DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from French : Mr. OLTEANU (Employers' delegate, Rumania)—Mr. President, may I join the distinguished delegates who have congratulated you on the occasion of your election to the presidency. At the same time I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating also the delegations of those States which have recently joined our Organisation.

The documents before the Conference relate to major problems of concern to the greater part of mankind. The Director-General's Report follows upon the detailed discussions held at previous sessions of the Conference and suggests to us certain concrete areas within which we should develop the programme of activities of the Organisation. The importance placed in the training of supervisory staff, in agrarian reform, in co-operation and in other matters shows our great and increasing interest in the developing countries.

As is clear from the present debate the process of economic and social development in which we are participating raises a number of complex issues at both the national and international levels. It is not easy to pass from a state of underdevelopment to that of contemporary progress with all its future prospects of well-being for those who produce all material goods. Not only must better use be made of the manpower and natural resources of each country but appropriate forms must be also found for organisation of production, the distribution of income, and also the organisation of incentives for the broad masses who, after all, determine the rate of economic and social development.

In this process the elimination of unemployment and underemployment, the shift of a large number of agricultural workers into other branches of the economy, and especially into industry, the organisation of general education, the training of all grades of supervisory staff, the establishment of institutions relating to the superstructure, social services, etc., represent only a few of the problems raised by development.

Our own experience enables us to appreciate that in this tortuous course towards development not only are the resources and sustained efforts of the whole people needed but also ability, patience, and a sense of balance in management with a view to overcoming all the inherent difficulties.

In Rumania, social and economic development has been very rapid. In this connection I should like to cite a few figures : investment in the economy increased during the period 1950-63 at an average annual rate of 15.9 per cent. During the first four years of the six-year plan, which ends in 1965, this rate was approximately 21 per cent.

Both younger and older personnel have contributed fully to this development, rapidly assimilating new techniques on the basis of their general education and vocational training. Thus the oil industry alone receives 700 new engineers and chemists and 6,000 skilled workers each year.

In the Brazi refinery, of which I am the manager, the replacement of old installations and the thirteen-fold increase in manufacturing capacity as compared with pre-war years have required a large number of additional personnel to be trained. Each year our refinery receives engineers and chemists from three institutes, supervisors from technical training schools giving three-year courses, as well as skilled manpower trained in vocational schools. In our plant we have training and retraining courses in view of the constant changes in work techniques.

At the level of the national economy we have stabilised the system of vocational training in the various occupations, levels and branches of activity, with training schools, technical schools for supervisors, and technical institutes for higher education. The introduction of an eight-year compulsory educational system has played an important part in the training of supervisory personnel for it means that industry receives personnel who already have a thorough educational basis thanks to the system of technical and vocational schools.

The increase in the industrial labour force by 1.3 million during the past six years has led to appropriate changes in the employment structure. In 1965 the proportion of agricultural workers to the total of employed persons is 57 per cent., as compared with 74 per cent. in 1950. Thanks to the training of personnel and
the introduction of modern technology, productivity has increased during the past six years by about 63 per cent., at an average annual rate of 8.5 per cent.

All this has led to a corresponding improvement in the well-being of the workers. For example, in 1965 the average real wage was 35 per cent. above the figure for 1959.

At the moment the national economic plan for the period 1966-70 is being discussed by the Rumanian workers. Among the provisions of this plan I should like to mention expansion of total industrial production during the next five years by approximately 65 per cent. and of the national income by about 40 per cent, as compared with 1965, which shows that Rumania is in full course of development.

Our educational establishments will provide approximately 550,000 supervisors, skilled workers and graduates from intermediate and advanced courses who will be used in different branches of the national economy. Particular importance will be given to the training of personnel for research work and for the organisation and scientific management of undertakings. It has not been at all easy to lay the foundations and carry out the main stages of this development process.

I thought it well to give certain data concerning the situation in my country because I know that very similar difficulties exist as regards economic, social and cultural development in many countries at varying stages of development. The I.L.O., like all other international organisations, has the duty of supporting by its activities the efforts made by many countries with a view to their development.

We are particularly interested in that part of the Director-General's Report which relates to the need for judicious planning of human resources and integration with economic development plans in many countries at varying stages of development. The I.L.O., like all other international organisations, has the duty of supporting by its activities the efforts made by many countries with a view to their development.

The promotion of economic, technical and scientific relations between all States without any artificial restriction could undoubtedly contribute to economic development and full employment, particularly in the developing countries. In this connection there must first of all be a relaxation of tension together with greater international co-operation. So long as enormous material resources are used for military purposes and so long as theatres of war exist it will be impossible to create the necessary atmosphere for the concentration of the available resources of the whole world with a view to development. The cessation of aggressive activities—I am referring to the situation in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic—observance of the independence and sovereignty of States, the liquidation of colonialism and general disarmament are indispensable conditions for facilitating the economic, social and cultural progress of all countries and all peoples...
tained at the end of five years' independence are encouraging and fully justify the determinations of the workers to mobilize for the proper execution of our development plans so as to promote the rapid growth and consolidation of our national economy, as well as for the strengthening of our national sovereignty, without which an impulse cannot be given to a policy genuinely serving the interests of the masses.

To enable the workers to play their part better, bearing in mind the need for proper appreciation of the complete solidarity of their interests with those of the other working forces, which still seek to use political acquisitions for foreign domination, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and their horrid exploitation, the National Union of Workers of Mali is actively undertaking workers' education and the training of trade union officers. Two years ago it set up a permanent school for trade union officers with six-week courses. By a government decision all workers taking part in these courses receive their full wages. The first course, also for six weeks, for the training of instructors for our trade union night schools throughout the Republic is now taking place. In this connection I should like to thank the I.L.O. for its six-day seminar last February, which usefully guided us in the organisation of our own instructors' seminar.

The National Union of Workers is a member of the All-African Trade Union Federation (A.A.T.U.F.), a unitary revolutionary movement which aims at strengthening the solidarity of the African workers and improving their education and their organisation so as to mobilise them in effective support of the struggle of the African countries to meet the profound aspirations of the masses and to achieve African unity. The A.A.T.U.F. is working objectively for the development of the African countries. This means that, in the search for solutions to the problems arising both in regard to the organisation of the economy and in regard to workers' action, the methods of the developed countries cannot simply be applied like a veneer. The A.A.T.U.F. is seeking to develop a political conscience among the African workers which will teach them the meaning of their role and their responsibilities in the light of the essential requirements for the construction of Africa, which has paid a heavy tribute to implaceable foreign domination in the form of pillage of its material resources and the boundless exploitation of its people. The A.A.T.U.F. aims at creating conditions for the improvement of the level of life of workers and peasants of all classes, and to this end it is fighting against all forms of foreign domination, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and their horrid forces, which still seek to use political acquisition of the African States for the satisfaction of their own selfish interests.

In Africa, in Asia, and in Latin America the people who have just broken the shackles of slavery as they have become independent need, to meet their aspirations, to safeguard their countries against any kind of servitude, so that they can freely determine the ways and means which correspond best to their own interests. They must oppose all forms of colonialism and of neo-colonialism. African workers cannot, without betraying their mission as a progressive force, fail to take part in the imperative struggle of their peoples for the creation of conditions of prosperity without which they would have no chance of economic and social development.

We know that revolutionary trade unionism in Africa is condemned in certain circles because these circles would like to see the pillage of the wealth of Africa continued so that their dividends might be increased.

The experience of my organisation, which I have briefly described, permits me to say what I think about what is stated in the Director-General's Report with regard to the role of trade union organisations in economic and social development.

In the developing countries the workers are certainly the most advanced social class, the one best appreciating the meaning and scope of economic and social development plans. They can also ensure that the various educational systems are established on a wide basis and make them nationally effective, whereas otherwise they would be left at the experimental stage. It is important, therefore, to have the workers make a conscious contribution to the achievement of the following national aims: (1) the formulation of a clear policy of economic and social development genuinely in the service of the masses; (2) the acquisition, as one of the bases of this policy, of the support of the people and the workers; (3) ensuring that this policy relies at all times on the active participation of the workers.

The behaviour of the workers and the action of their trade union movements are closely linked to general conditions for economic organisation. The direct, active and wide-scale participation of workers in the development and establishment of national economic plans has a decisive effect on production. The distribution of incomes is a problem of today which arises in the developed as well as in the developing countries. The grabbing of national income by a minority, to the detriment of the workers, is certainly a factor which decreases the willingness of workers to contribute to the growth of such income.

In their traditional struggle to improve their standard of life the workers also oppose being given the role of a mere machine, as too often occurs in national life. If the workers are ground down by financial and feudal forces, bound hand and foot by governmental regulations, their organisations cannot play their proper constructive part.

The question of women workers can only be duly solved if the importance of the double function of women—that of worker and of mother—is understood. Although equality between men and women is regularly proclaimed in advanced societies, people are inclined to forget it where labour is concerned, when, faced with the idea of profit, they view a man merely as a machine and confine their interest in him to his productive capability, while a woman becomes the victim of her social function and is subject to various kinds of discrimination, the least of which is her employment at the lowest possible cost.

In the developing countries, which must move their national economies rapidly forward to prosperity and which therefore need a powerful and permanent mobilisation of all
their forces, the women have as important a role to play as the men. It therefore becomes important to take whatever action may be necessary having regard to the family obligations of women, with a view to enabling them to be employed on satisfactory terms.

Education should be compulsory for girls just as for boys, and they should have vocational training. If one is interested only in the training of men then one diverts the productive forces of the nation by two and multiplies the difficulties by four, as a Mali politician recently said.

In addition to legislation to safeguard the employment of women, their occupational interests and their health, provision should also be made for kindergartens and nurseries.

The labour legislation of Mali, as is well known in the International Labour Office, guarantees to its women conditions of work which prevent any discrimination based on their family responsibilities. Kindergartens are increasing; mother and child protection centres increased from one in 1959 to 49 in 1964. The managing committees of our state enterprises, composed of workers, are now studying at the undertaking level the organisation of crèches, paid for out of the social funds of the undertakings. The reform of the educational system makes education compulsory for girls as well as for boys.

Co-operative organisation is certainly an important means of economic and social development. The co-operatives develop the sense of practical democracy, strengthening the idea of social co-operation by teaching all to work for each and each for all. They also develop the sense of common welfare and of individual responsibility within collective responsibility. They are a school of solidarity. The co-operative is an important factor of social stability and a highly important factor of higher standards of life, because it eliminates the parasitical middlemen who worsen the living conditions of the working people.

If the co-operative is a decisive factor in economic and social progress, it must be encouraged and defended and given a major place in the national economy. This protection is indispensable because the co-operative takes money out of the reach of usurers, profiteers, and undertakings which take shameful advantage of the workers.

Among the dangers which threaten the co-operatives are practices which devalue the sense of co-operation and divert co-operatives from their true objects with a view to making them an instrument for the profit of the few. In order to justify any special facilities granted to the co-operatives, their composition, administration and activities must be strictly supervised. Similar institutions in highly industrialised countries can give valuable aid to the co-operative movements of the developing countries through exchange of equipment, experience, etc., but this aid must have regard to the programme of development which to a large extent determines the activities of the co-operatives.

Co-operation in Mali is in full development. In the cities the inhabitants organise consumer co-operatives stimulated by state undertakings, particularly the import and export company that deals with manufactured products, and the agricultural produce office that deals with cereals. Workers' co-operatives are also organised in the building sector, and a study concerning the metal trades is being undertaken.

In the rural areas village groups are being organised which undertake the collection and marketing of agricultural products. These co-operatives, which are supported by the Government and derive their revenue from the sales of Mali, have provided the peasants with the best conditions for obtaining their requirements of standard agricultural equipment and for making the best use of their produce. Through their mutual rural development societies they obtain almost all the manufactured products which hitherto could only be had in the towns, including pharmaceutical products, which are now provided by a special state undertaking.

I shall now go on to consider questions of education: vocational training, supervisor training, co-operative education and trade union education. In the developing countries these are fundamental questions which will enable the development plans to be satisfactorily carried out. The transformation of the barter economies inherited by the developing countries from colonial domination into viable national economies which can strengthen the political independence of the countries is a hard task which cannot be accomplished merely by drafting a development plan. Men must be prepared for their new role in production: training of operatives, training of supervisors, education of co-operators, and training of officers for trade union work. Vocational training has two equally important aspects. First of all, young persons have to be trained at apprenticeship centres and technical establishments at various levels, and secondly further training has to be provided for those already employed, either by courses at schools or in combination with their employment.

The I.L.O., we think, must lay special stress on this second aspect. Several methods must be considered: to organise advanced training courses in some schools and also provide training at workplaces in connection with the person's employment. Ways and means, of course, will depend on the situation in the particular State. This problem is of great concern to the National Union of Workers of our country, which is about to organise a workers' university.

The grant of travelling and other fellowships is a precious contribution but can only be enjoyed by a small number of persons. The fellowship must be related to the real conditions in which the trainee will have to practise what he has learned.

My organisation supports the development of regional organisations of the I.L.O. in the light not only of linguistic considerations but also of economic zones. Thus the continuance of the action of the I.L.O., not only in industrialisation and vocational training but also in social work, will be easier.

In Africa we think that co-operation should be established between regional organs of the I.L.O. and the specialised organs of the Organisation of African Unity.
In closing, I should like to recall that, having regard to the principles stated in the Declaration of Philadelphia, the I.L.O. must adjust itself to the present needs of the working classes, particularly in the developing countries, whose emergence on the international scene is a fundamental factor. Faced with the burning problems of the present world, it would be inconceivable for the I.L.O. not to take any position on issues of war and peace, of disarmament, of colonialism and neo-colonialism, of apartheid, of relations between the industrial countries and the developing countries, of fruitful co-operation between all States, without discrimination, for rapid economic and social progress.

Therefore voices should be raised here against all manifestations of fascism throughout the world, against the brutal and stupid expression of racialism, which refuses to millions of men the right to decent human conditions because of their race, against the aggression and interference in the affairs of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. To ignore these burning questions, which are also essential causes of the tension which threatens peace and coexistence between the peoples, is also to ignore the living conditions of millions of workers, to neglect the development and emancipation of millions of men and women who are weighed down by colonialism, racialism and war.

The I.L.O. has reacted vigorously against the policy of apartheid of South Africa, which is considered incompatible with human dignity. This action by the I.L.O. was welcomed by the whole working class, African and international, and raised the highest hopes amongst the millions of workers prevented by regrettable circumstances from being represented here.

The I.L.O. must react with the same force against the behaviour of Portugal in Africa. In Bissâo Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, there is intolerable servitude and forced labour is rife. A journalist, Basil Davidson, has described the situation in words which need no comment but which challenge the conscience of the I.L.O. He writes that Angola has become a political and economic slum, in which the natives are starved, tortured and imprisoned and supervised by platoons of armed guards. He goes on to say that thousands of men and women are hired each month to work in private undertakings; there is a mass of five million human beings throughout the world proves that social justice and peace are as yet far from being reached. And let us not forget that the masses to whom we refer, whose welfare is so sorely neglected, who are unable to use their right to freedom, are the very ones for whom the I.L.O. was created.

There is no question but that the universality of the objectives of the Organisation requires an institutional instrument which will be universal, if you really want to achieve these goals.

On the other hand, however, the I.L.O. is a tripartite organisation. It is the only universal institution which is not purely governmental and where the interested parties can play a decisive role. The I.F.C.T.U.—and along with it all the truly representative workers' organisations—has been, and always will be, closely attached to this idea of tripartism which is a truly revolutionary conquest in international law. Tripartism, in our eyes, enshrines the whole principle of the freedom of association of workers, which is one of their basic human rights.

Throughout the years the composition of the I.L.O. has changed considerably, and it would appear that priority has been given to the universality of its nature rather than the tripartite aspect of its nature. The I.F.C.T.U. feels that a new practical concept of tripartism has become necessary in order to meet more efficiently the realities of the present day. In making this statement we refer to the basic concept of freedom, as enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and in the Declaration of Principles and the Programme of the I.F.C.T.U. This new concept has not yet come into existence; it has yet to be worked out. It would be useful and desirable for the I.L.O. to sound out opinions in this connection in order to orientate the development along the paths to handle all the questions arising out of the Report of the Director-General to this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. If therefore, as the spokesman of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, I take up only a few points, and very briefly and hastily at that, please do not think that the problems to which I have not referred are of no interest to my organisation. We reserve the right to come back to them more fully on other occasions.

The first problem which we think deserves our attention is that of the basic concept of the I.L.O., which some seem to be questioning, implying a conflict between two essential conditions for the very existence of the I.L.O.: that is the concept of universality and the concept of tripartism.

Let us not forget that the I.L.O. as an institution is not an end in itself but rather a means to attain certain transcendent human ends such as social justice and peace and everything connected with these objectives in the modern world. The universality of the goals of the I.L.O. is written not only in its Constitution but also endorsed in the Declaration of Philadelphia. The whole point of the legislative work of the I.L.O. is to apply in practice these basic objectives. The social situation of hundreds of millions of human beings throughout the world proves that social justice and peace are as yet far from being reached. And let us not forget that the masses to whom we refer, whose welfare is so sorely neglected, who are unable to use their right to freedom, are the very ones for whom the I.L.O. was created.

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which would not give rise to any infidelity to the basic principles. For the I.F.C.T.U. the acceptance of a new study of the concept of tripartism implies at the same time the re-affirmation of the principles of freedom of association and consequently calls for a strengthening of all the existing instruments which guarantee the defence of that freedom. Moreover, the I.F.C.T.U., if possible with the other free trade union organisations, is determined to continue and to intensify the struggle to achieve true freedom of association for all workers in all countries. If necessary we will have the courage to fight alone as we have done often in the past. Finally, we consider that the texts of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949, might well constitute basic documents for the reflection and consultation we have suggested, working towards an adequate definition of the criteria of tripartism.

In view of the limited time at my disposal I shall touch only briefly on the three main chapters of the Director-General’s Report, that is, human resources and economic development, the development of social institutions, and living and working conditions. For us, economic development is meaningless if it is not carried out in the context of the needs of men, the achievement of more justice and freedom and consequently a more complete and more stable peace. In too many countries neither economic development nor education has been oriented towards the common good of the whole population, but rather towards the maintenance of the privileges of a certain few. The mobilisation and active concern with the common good will keep up a constant analysis of needs and procedures leading to the welfare and progress of all and ensuring for all participation in all action.

The I.F.C.T.U. considers that this constant and active concern with the common good will do away with measures of mobilisation of human resources for forced labour, either overt or covert. I think that it is essential to state once again the primacy of social and human requirements in any policy of development, without of course overlooking the economic or financial implications. I am all the more convinced of this in that I have the impression that the Director-General’s Report does not lay sufficient stress on this point.

In the pursuit of the task which has been outlined in the three chapters in the Director-General’s Report which I referred to just now, the I.L.O. at no time and in no way can afford to ignore the needs of all the member States and of their populations. That means, in plain language, that the I.L.O. must keep its eyes and ears open to progress in the developing countries as well as in the highly industrialised countries.

A proper and true balance must be maintained in the programmes which can be worked out more rationally, no doubt, if the I.L.O. keeps up a constant analysis of needs and resources. That is why the I.F.C.T.U. gives its full support to all the efforts made towards developing research in all fields within the competence of the I.L.O. We support the opinion expressed by the Working Party of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., on the initiative of the Workers’ members, according to which “In pursuance of specific I.L.O. objectives, it should continue to define principles of universal application and develop policies which are suited to the situation in countries at various stages of development”.

To come back to the programme concerning the development of social situations, we feel that research in this field should be continued, but that such research must necessarily take into account the prevailing situation as regards universality, regional adaptation and tripartite participation.

The I.L.O. should see to it that such research is carried out by teams made up of specialists from widely differing fields who would give all the necessary attention to sociological and psychological aspects.

With respect, in particular, to the evolution and development of the trade union movement in the world, consideration should be given to the fundamental and universal aspect arising out of the existence of social tension whenever capital and labour come face to face and whenever conflicting human and economic requirements have to be reconciled. The principles which the I.L.O. has already laid down in the field of freedom of association must be respected universally even if their application does take on different forms according to the economic and social conditions of each country concerned.

However, in view of the different philosophies which inspire the trade union movement of the world, and in view of the different political, economic, social and cultural systems, the I.L.O. must be careful not to substitute itself for the functions proper to the trade union movement. If the evolution of the movement is to reveal converging lines, these will have to be worked out in an atmosphere of freedom and democracy, and there should be no element of constraint emanating from the I.L.O.

To the I.L.O. it is not enough to be faithful to the principles which it has enunciated in the past, it can still, in the future, work out even further the elements which will strengthen social institutions while assisting the trade unions.

It should, inter alia, ensure the application of these principles in connection with workers’ education.

The I.F.C.T.U., on various occasions, has defined its position on this subject. It approves of the work of the I.L.O. in this field, but it would not tolerate the I.L.O.’s assuming the responsibilities of the trade unions.

Only fair and frank co-operation is possible, without interference of any kind.

However, the I.L.O. can and should contribute to the recognition of the trade union movement by governments, as well as by employers and heads of undertakings.

It must continue its research in the field of labour relations, taking into account the different conditions which exist in the various States Members and basing itself on its own fundamental principles.

This aspect of the development of social
institutions must take into account the need to provide for social progress, which is evidence of the existence of social justice, through democratic planning with which trade unionism is associated from the project stage to the application stage, but without suppressing the individual and collective liberty of men and organisations within the framework of a planned economy.

So that it might be in a better position to carry out this work, the I.F.C.T.U. recommended that the principles relating to the freedom of association should be incorporated in the I.L.O.'s Constitution. This idea prevailed through the adoption of a resolution by the International Labour Conference at its 48th Session. It urges the I.L.O. to accelerate the technical study of this question so that appropriate measures may be taken quickly. This is very important. The relative paralysis of the Credentials Committee is proof of the urgency of this question. The inability of a Workers' delegate, duly elected and unquestionably a representative, to ensure his rights under the present system has once again been shown in the case of the Dominican Republic.

In concluding, I should like to make a few remarks regarding the structure of the Organisation. In the opinion of my organisation the General Conference might be held every two years in order to offer wider possibilities to the regional conferences. I should like to stress the need for advancing the regionalisation of the work of the I.L.O., which we have been urging since 1948. Unless the I.L.O. undertakes this regionalisation, it will lose sight of the realities and needs of all its member States, but the practical means of doing this will have to be studied thoroughly so that the legislative action of the Organisation will not be paralysed.

We have had an opportunity of showing the realism of this proposal, which is fully in line with the ideal of the universality of the Organisation.

This regionalisation should also be expressed in the Industrial Committees and in the meetings of experts; and it should have the proper administrative machinery.

It would be advisable to revise and adapt the structure of the Governing Body. The provision giving certain seats to the ten governments coming from the most highly industrialised countries could be replaced or perhaps complemented by provisions which would be applicable to all three groups and would also ensure a more equitable geographical and even occupational distribution. Titular seats could thus be distributed amongst the three groups.

In so far as concerns the power of the Governing Body, we might consider a delegation of the powers of the Conference to manage the affairs of the Organisation and to ensure the application of decisions taken by the Conference and to make any suggestions necessary to the Conference which might be in the interests of the Organisation, in particular with regard to programmes.

In so far as Industrial Committees are concerned, we must again examine their extension, bearing in mind the modified composition of the I.L.O. and also the importance to many countries of the problems of agriculture and of non-manual workers.

In addition to the Committee on Plantations, we feel that there should be a permanent committee dealing with problems peculiar to agriculture. In their standard-setting activities, all these committees should follow the I.L.O. standards to facilitate their application to the industrial sector.

We are very glad of our consultative status and our satisfactory relations with the I.L.O. but we feel that something should be done to eliminate certain discrimination which will make a broadening of further consultation possible. We feel that only those organisations with a truly universal field of action and a general interest in I.L.O. matters should have this right of consultative and advisory status. We are very happy that consultative status has also been given to our regional organisations. We feel the time has come to bestow consultative and advisory status on the international trade secretariats. In this connection the Governing Body should, in consultation with the organisations concerned, co-ordinate the various consultative capacities which have been granted and try to find ways to improve them and to achieve the maximum of efficiency.
improper action incompatible with the authority of the I.L.O. and respect for its principles.

We share the opinion the Director-General expresses in his Report when he says that efforts for social and economic development must be based on a dialogue between the State and different organised social groups, a dialogue inspired by mutual understanding, by mutual respect for each other's autonomy and freedom of action, and by a determination to reach agreement” since these are “some of the most fundamental objectives of the Organisation... on which the I.L.O. cannot compromise.

I would now like to refer to the competence of the Governing Body. Some persons think that the functions of the Governing Body should be reduced, that its powers should be transferred to the Conference. I disagree strongly with this. It is obvious that the Conference, meeting annually—and some people think it should meet only once every two years—could not appropriately and effectively perform the administrative, financial and other duties which are incumbent on the Governing Body under the Constitution and the various Standing Orders. The Conference hardly has the time to consider the various items on its agenda, the resolutions and other matters placed before it which become more and more complex as a result of the social problems of our time. Only a Governing Body with full powers and the ability to act rapidly can give the Conference the help it requires in order to solve the critical problems which arise.

The Inter-American Advisory Committee set up by the Governing Body, the members of which were appointed for the first time last year, is to meet in September in Buenos Aires. The start of its work by this Committee will constitute a new stage in the intensification of the regional work of the I.L.O., within the universal nature of its objectives, on behalf of the American countries.

The Governing Body wants the Committee to help in preparing the agenda of the regional conference and we hope that when the Committee meets it will ask the Governing Body to consider including in the agenda of the next Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O. to be held in Canada in 1966 an item on the contribution of free enterprise in social development. The employers of Venezuela would offer the I.L.O. all their experience in this particular field for the preparation of the report on this matter.

We believe in modern free enterprise, creating wealth, employment and welfare, in freedom and fully aware of its enormous responsibility in social progress.

In Venezuela—and I would refer to my own country without disparaging the work done by entrepreneurs in other countries—the employers clearly show their sense of social responsibility by contributing to the establishment and operation of non-profit social institutions in less-favoured urban and rural areas.

A growing number of executives of private undertakings give their services and time free of charge on work of a civic character, through which they devote their capacity, their experience and their efficiency as private managers to the promotion and operation of social institutions and to running them on private-enterprise lines. In so doing they make use of their personal resources and of those of the undertakings for which they work.

This action by Venezuelan employers not only brings these useful instruments for social progress into existence, but is serving as a model which enables other Central and South American countries which wish to act in the same way to face their own huge social problems.

Promoted by the Venezuelan Federation of Chambers and Associations of Commerce and Production and the Chambers of Commerce of Caracas and other private-enterprise organisations, we established early last year a civil association called the Voluntary Dividend for the Community. Its capital is made up of spontaneous contributions by undertakings, based on a percentage of their profits and quite separate from the profit-sharing required under law and collective agreements.

At the 48th Session of the Conference I had an opportunity to explain to delegates the doctrinal principles of this new institution, which is now spreading very much both in Venezuela and abroad. We believe it creates an atmosphere propitious for an understanding of social problems. The progress made may be estimated when I tell you that 58,500,000 bolivars (or $13 million) were spent in 1964 on social assistance to the most necessitous communities. Furthermore, this is not the only contribution which Venezuelan private enterprise makes with the same objects. The amount of its contribution on social purposes altogether has been several times as great. There are 130,000 industrial and commercial undertakings in Venezuela, which, in their turn, finance other large-scale collective social programmes either directly or in co-operation with the various private social institutions.

In concluding, I should like to refer to two items on the agenda of this 49th Session of the Conference: one related to the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries, and the other referring to agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects. On both these subjects the Employers' delegation of Venezuela has made its position quite clear in the committees which are dealing with these questions. Nevertheless, I think it might be wise to sum up our points of view on these very important topics.

In Venezuela agrarian reform has been implemented by a special Act, which was approved by the most varied sectors of public opinion in 1960.

Agrarian reform, we feel, cannot be a simple change in land tenure and ownership. Of course, this is a factor of importance, but reform involves a whole group of complex measures, the primordial objective of which is to incorporate the rural sector in the whole process of production, improving the income of the peasants and their standard of living; educating and training them will make it possible for them to make the best possible use of the land for their own benefit, for that of their family and for the community to which they belong. All this process can and must be
carried out without conflict, without friction or violence, under the law, which also protects the employer in agriculture who maintains his land— to the extent which is granted to him—in production as a social function.

Today in Venezuela—without interrupting the adjudication and awarding of lands—agrarian reform is directed towards helping the small landowners through infrastructure and through the various works required by agricultural unions, that is, production and consumption credits, education, technical assistance, agricultural extension, housing, and promoting the co-operative movement in communities. Various measures have been taken to solve the most serious problems which affect any agrarian economy in underdeveloped countries, i.e., those relating to remunerative prices for agricultural products and proper marketing.

There remains, however, a great deal to be done in order to achieve the best results from agrarian reform which can be a link in the whole chain of the general economic process, although it is subject, more than any other field, to the cyclic effects of economic growth because of the characteristics peculiar to it.

The co-operative movement is a very suitable method of contributing to the development of the economy of many countries, but we must not think of it as the only way, or that it should take the place of any other system.

The mission of co-operatives is to complement the other means of economic growth. They should be given preference in sectors of the economy which have been given insufficient attention, regardless of the reason.

Co-operatives need a stimulus and help for their operation, but it would be running counter to our interest for them to be put in a position of privilege as compared with other organisations.

The administration of co-operatives must be in the hands of bodies created for this—people who are directly connected with them and not outsiders such as delegates of the State. The survival of co-operatives and their progress depend on the degree of efficiency and the degree of propriety in their administration.

We consider, finally, that well-run co-operatives can make a valuable contribution to over-all development, that is human, economic, social and cultural development.

Mr. SPARISI (Government delegate, Cyprus)—Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of Cyprus I wish to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of this Conference and to assure you that the way in which you have conducted its business does credit to your country and more than justifies the faith that the Conference has shown in you.

The Conference has before it in particular two different, but equally important reports. The substance of the special report on apartheid is admirably condensed in the following extract: " . . . the process of evolution in the direction of separate development of different population groups is a process in which the gravest social problems arise and persist to a degree which has become the subject of world-wide criticism."

This conclusion is confirmed by experience. We deplore, therefore, the attempts of the Government of South Africa to enforce the practice of separate development of its different population groups, because we know by experience that such practice, regardless of any fancy epithet that may be given to it, is conducive to the disruption and destruction of the groups concerned, and to the disturbance of peace in the world.

The special report of the Director-General has done much to drive home this fundamental truth. In doing so it has rendered immense service to humanity in its determination to eliminate the practice of apartheid. My Government welcomes this type of I.L.O. activity, and hopes that it will be extended to cover member States which flout the basic principles of this Organisation and promote or engage in discriminatory practices, either internally against their own people, or externally against foreign people who become prey to their greed.

The place of our underprivileged fellow men in the society of which they are a part, is not, I believe, relatively to the developed countries, for a more responsible role in this Organisation. I hasten, therefore, to register my Government's gratification at the tendency to associate developing countries even more closely with the policy-making and executive organs of the I.L.O. We are firmly convinced that the new blood from the Afro-Asian and other developing countries can bring to the I.L.O. organs new vitality, new perspectives, and greater universality of purpose and scope.

My Government hopes that the new proposals concerning the activities and structure of the I.L.O. now being contemplated will answer the questions posed by the necessity for further democratisation and increasing efficiency of this Organisation.

Part I of the Director-General's Report brings to the foreground one of the most frustrating problems in the field of human resources development, namely the problem of unco-ordinated action.

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It has been our experience that education often takes little, if any, cognisance of economic realities. As a result, while industry cries for trained, skilled hands, our schools turn out scholars, for whom there is little demand, to swell our unemployment registers. This is to the detriment and frustration of national plans for economic development.

To solve this problem in Cyprus we have set up national tripartite bodies to advise the Government on ways and means to formulate and implement vocational training policies which are geared to the actual needs of industry, and to try to reorientate over-all educational policies. The change in emphasis and objectives in educational policies cannot be painless.

Disdent voices in Cyprus deplore the increasing tendency to deviate from the traditional Greek classical character of our schools in favour of a more practical education.

Our answer to the weeping Jeremiahs is simple. Whether we like it or not ours is a job economy. We cannot recite Plato on an empty stomach. We march with industrial progress, or we lag behind, to the economic as well as cultural disadvantage of our country vis-à-vis other developed and developing countries.

My Government believes that the I.L.O.
can do much to break down the deep-rooted prejudices and time-worn traditions which hold thwarting command both over the individual and over society, and lie in the way of the development of human resources and economic development.

The onslaught against prejudice, ignorance and resistance to change should be massive, combined and co-ordinated if it is to be effective. Because of its very nature the challenge is extended to this Organisation. It is our view that the I.L.O., in cooperation with all United Nations agencies concerned, and after consultation with national governments of member countries, should work out an over-all and long-range programme for human resources development. The programme should be practical, realistic and comprehensible to those national governments which will be called upon to apply it. In its final form it should balance social, economic and cultural factors in such a way that education and training may meet the needs and aspirations of the people concerned.

One particular aspect of human resources development of interest to Cyprus is the establishment of national productivity centres. Our own productivity centre comprises specialised departments in management development, finance, industrial engineering, sales promotion, and management accounting. There is also a workshop for the upgrading of technical skills. The plan of operations of the centre provides for seminars, courses and in-plant surveys. It has been our experience that courses, seminars and in-plant surveys, though useful management tools, do not go far enough. Cyprus industry has been consistently and persistently requesting a productivity centre into a consultancy firm. My Government has withstood pressure to transform the productivity centre into a consultancy firm. However, we cannot altogether ignore requests for consultancy services, especially because such services are not to be obtained locally. In view of the total absence of private local specialised firms or individuals in consultancy, and having regard to the importance of successful productivity centres for national economics, my Government believes that productivity centres should undertake selectively, at least in the initial stages, to offer consultancy services to local industry.

My final observations concern the development of social institutions. The Government of Cyprus believes that free and independent social institutions are the cornerstone of true democracy; that they constitute the only countervailing power against authoritarian domination; and that they provide the best possible safeguard against all forms of exploitation within a society of co-operating but nevertheless competitive political, economic and social groups.

We have translated and materialised this belief in the establishment of tripartite bodies in all spheres of industry, and in the achievement of a true industrial democracy.

As a result, Cyprus, a hotbed of industrial unrest under trade union restrictions only a few years back, can now boast of near-perfect industrial peace under conditions of full trade union liberties; and economic and social policy is tackled from the viewpoint of over-all benefits to accrue to the people as a whole, and from the viewpoint of the balanced, integrated, and harmonious development of all racial, economic and social groups in the island. To judge from our own experience the development of social institutions is an imperative and profitable I.L.O. investment.

Mr. President, faithful to your suggestion to me a few days back, I have reserved my reply up to this moment—a reply to a very regrettable incident which occurred in this hall on 10 June at the expense of my country, and in the absence of the Cyprus delegation. At the end of the afternoon sitting, the Government adviser from Turkey insisted on taking the floor and, speaking to an emptying hall, proceeded to vilify the good name of Cyprus and to make personal attacks against my Head of State, Archbishop Makarios.

I have since been informed that as a matter of policy my Government have made similar accusations in the Security Council, the Council of Europe, the World Health Organisation, and now the I.L.O. The accusations were refuted and proved untrue by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus. The purpose of such attacks was to distort the picture in Cyprus by the technique of the big and oft-repeated myth, to present Greece and Turk in Cyprus as unable to coexist, and to further Turkey's aims for partitioning the island.

I shall not emulate the Government adviser of Turkey by engaging in counter-accusations, for no man of good will can fail to see that conflicts create both credit and debit balances for all contestants, and that the Turkish record in Cyprus to be presented to the world I assure you it could scarcely fall short of its historic past.

However, this issue is political, and I leave it to the United Nations where it belongs. There has been a United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus to assist the Government to pacify the island, and the United Nations mediator has been working on a solution which would enable the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots to live together in freedom, fraternity and equality.

Those of us who love Cyprus can help the cause of peace by our temperance, our patience, and our goodwill, and not by barrages of accusations and counter-accusations.

And now, Mr. President, to enable the Conference to proceed with its work, I request you to close the matter by expunging from the records the statement made by the Government adviser of Turkey on the grounds that it is derogatory to the Head of the Republic of Cyprus, unfaithful to the truth, and irrelevant to the work of this Conference.

Trustful of your integrity and fair-mindedness, I am certain that you will extend to the President of the Republic of Cyprus the same courtesy you have extended to other Heads of States, States which are more populous than Cyprus but certainly no more dedicated than Cyprus to the principles of this Organisation.

The President—I give the floor to Mr. Alagum, Government adviser of Turkey, on a point of order.
The presence of our delegation in its tripartite composition this year at the 49th Session of the Conference is a proof of our unceasing efforts to resist interference by the great powers of adaptation seeking their way, Viet-Nam is always willing to try the system which will give it the proper structure to resist invasion regardless of whence it comes, and which will bring the internal peace it needs in order to apply constructive standards which can lead to social justice. Our weakness might be criticised, but can one be strong when every effort is being made to divide us, when East, West, North and South come together in armed conflict to try to gain supremacy?

Since our accession to organised independence in 1954, Viet-Nam has constantly been a victim of attacks by armed bands who, labelling themselves "liberators", terrorise the isolated rice field workers in order to exact tribute, applying to them the Mao-Tse-Tung tactics of the guerrilla movement: "live off the land."

Viet-Nam is still subject to the inclemencies of nature: a flood last September, which had the aspect of a deluge, reduced the centre of Viet-Nam to a sea of mud and made it necessary to emigrate to more habitable regions. Our thanks go to those friendly countries which do not cease to help us by means of the "Food for Peace" Programme, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, and others who are helping us to defend ourselves.

Where the geographical situation does not offer hiding places suitable for armed bandits, where the open country does not lend itself to emigration to more habitable regions. Our thanks go to those friendly countries which do not cease to help us by means of the "Food for Peace" Programme, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, and others who are helping us to defend ourselves.

I should like to express my gratitude to the Afro-Asian group which has always had deep sympathy for Viet-Nam in the loss of life we are suffering. Our country is at war. Our countryside, our plantations, our rice fields, our sea coast and our territorial waters are the theatre of treacherous and bloody operations where the youth of my country are the first victims.

Is it not criminal, and this in the name of a mystique of which only the instigators understand the sense, that the workers on the land should be forced to engage in tasks which run counter to human dignity? Is it not barbarous to drug them with ideologies and afterwards expose them, defenceless, to the crossfire of modern weapons?

Our country is reduced to its southern part by this line of demarcation which the Northern signatory to the treaty seems to ignore. Emerging from a period of dependence, my country does not wish to waste its time on "attempts" at social achievements: it wishes to incorporate I.L.O. principles in its life and to continue to do so.

The PRESIDENT—On the point made by Mr. Sparis, Government delegate of Cyprus, concerning the deletion of remarks which he considers derogatory to the Head of the Republic of Cyprus, he will appreciate that I was not in the Chair at the time. However, I will discuss the point with Mr. Gurinovich, the Vice-President who was in the Chair at the time, and give a reply on this point after consultation with him. As far as my own policy is concerned, it will be known that I do not allow any derogatory remarks to be made about any Head of State.

Mr. NGUYEN-Van-Lan—I cannot be a judge of the political situation of my country. Like any nation buffeted about by stabilising tendencies seeking their way, Viet-Nam is always willing to try the system which will give it the proper structure to resist invasion regardless of whence it comes, and which will bring the internal peace it needs in order to apply constructive standards which can lead to social justice. Our weakness might be criticised, but can one be strong when every effort is being made to divide us, when East, West, North and South come together in armed conflict to try to gain supremacy?

Since our accession to organised independence in 1954, Viet-Nam has constantly been a victim of attacks by armed bands who, labelling themselves "liberators", terrorise the isolated rice field workers in order to exact tribute, applying to them the Mao-Tse-Tung tactics of the guerrilla movement: "live off the land."

Viet-Nam is still subject to the inclemencies of nature: a flood last September, which had the aspect of a deluge, reduced the centre of Viet-Nam to a sea of mud and made it necessary for the inhabitants of three large provinces to emigrate to more habitable regions. Our thanks go to those friendly countries which do not cease to help us by means of the "Food for Peace" Programme, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, and others who are helping us to defend ourselves.

Where the geographical situation does not offer hiding places suitable for armed bandits, where the open country does not lend itself to emigration of women, children and nuns, where, in short, the humanitarian programme of the United Nations can be applied, there are always oases of peace, for life must go on and the Vietnamese have great powers of adaptation.

I should like to express my gratitude to the Afro-Asian group which has always had deep sympathy for Viet-Nam in the loss of life we are suffering. Our country is at war. Our countryside, our plantations, our rice fields, our sea coast and our territorial waters are the theatre of treacherous and bloody
choose the proper object for their protective thoughts.

South Viet-Nam is almost the only place where the International Control Commission, which grew out of the Geneva Agreement, operates and is always welcome.

I should like to call the attention of the employers of the free world and of all the employers of good will to the fact that we have free enterprise in our country and that, while some nationalisation is necessary in order to carry through our five-year plans, this never constitutes an obstacle to investment by friendly governments and businessmen. Our economy is healthy and sound thanks to investments and gifts from such bodies as the U.S.O.M., credit insurance, and credit from the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and Taipèh. We have set up an export development centre which will soon have agencies in the main centres of the Far East and Africa. Peace, which will return soon, we hope, will find our balance of trade in a sounder condition than before and will enable us to engage in technical co-operation with our new friends in Africa in the spirit of human solidarity which inspired the Preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O.

This is in broad terms the concrete reality which I have the duty and honour of putting before you. In conclusion, I should like to propose that the Conference consider, in addition to a programme of aid to countries in course of development, a special programme— and just as urgent a programme—of aid to countries in course of pacification. In Grand Guignol theatre where the policeman and the robber are always opposed it is sometimes amusing to see the policeman receive a drubbing, but it is always right on reflection—and just as urgent a programme—of aid to the U.S.O.M., credit insurance, and credit from the main centres of the Far East and Africa.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. ALONSO (Workers' delegate, Argentina)—After two years of absence from the Conference the voice of the workers of Argentina can now once more be heard through its genuine representative organisation, the C.G.T., or the General Confederation of Labour. I can therefore give you our views on the agenda of this session and restate the principles which guide the action of the C.G.T.

The Government delegate of Argentina, now Minister of Labour, made a speech a few days ago from this rostrum which followed a pattern he favours. Unable to justify his negative attitude or to explain the attacks made on the trade union movement and its institutions, and seeking to evade the accounts he will have to render to the workers, the people and the Congress, he counter-attacked. Therefore I shall have to leave my central theme for a moment and explain the facts and their causes in a few words.

We were absent from the 48th Session of the Conference because an examining magistrate, subsequent to the executive and at the Government's request, asked for proceedings to be taken and preventive imprisonment ordered in respect of all the presidents and general secre-

taries of the organisations belonging to the C.G.T., about 200 persons in all, as well as a great many shop stewards. Proceedings were taken against altogether about 5,000 of our comrades who were struggling against social injustice and the policy of starvation and unemployment.

What has been called the battle plan of our Confederation, of which the Congress and Government itself knew through our own statements and which was regarded by Members of Parliament, Ministers and the President of the Republic himself as a set of normal claims appropriate to labour relations, perfectly constitutional and pertaining to the right of petition—indeed it led to the introduction of Bills in Congress itself—was subsequently decreed and misrepresented by the Government when it understood that this was not a simple statement of objectives but that the workers were determined to prevent the country being paralyzed by official inertia and save it from gradual disintegration because of negative official policy.

With official machinery breaking down at all levels, the Ministry of Labour and the Government, unable to put a stop to the declining standard of living—there had been an elevenfold rise in the cost of living since 1956—with indebtedness and flight of capital rife at all levels, unemployment at an alarming level—500,000 unemployed and 500,000 underemployed, making a million comrades without a proper livelihood—with the currency losing its value (it is hardly quoted on the international exchanges and you have to pay 250 pesos for a dollar) all this obliged the C.G.T. to take organised trade union action so as to induce the Government to change its policy, to adjust to the pace of today's world and to abandon the methods of the tortoise, as our people have been saying.

Productivity and the gross national income have increased, yet the workers' share and their purchasing power is decreasing. Apparent wage adjustments through collective agreements or legislation, itself the fruit of the workers' efforts, did not bring about any improvement in the homes of the nation but were converted into social regression and economic loss. Although our wages can buy less than ten or even five years ago, we produce more per head, and yet the country is more indebted and short of capital than it was in those previous periods. When we do not resign ourselves to this state of affairs, because our country has a potential and our people work hard, the whole official machinery of the Ministry of Labour is used to interfere with trade union life and seek to break up the C.G.T.—unsuccessfully, of course.

In order to come here at all we had to get permission from a magistrate, Dr. Insaurralde, who gave us 30 days' leave, because we workers' leaders are being sued for conspiracy, subversion, etc. You see, in the eyes of our rulers, rights and guarantees exist and are valid only if they do not clash with their party policy or disturb the Government's peaceful slumber or affect the well-being of the 300 families who live on the work and the efforts of the Argentine people. And the Minister of Labour himself is the best representative of his policy, for his
Ministry is merely a political committee of the governing party.

I did not want to speak in the plenary on the relations between the State and labour. We intended to complain to the Committee on Freedom of Association about the infringements we have suffered and explain to the world why we were absent last year, but the Minister has forced me to speak out here.

The Argentine Parliament has just asked for explanations from Dr. Solá, the Argentine Government delegate here, and anyway the workers of the C.G.T., three million in all, are quite prepared to put up and be heard. The political adventure, this attack on the trade unions, this suicidal policy by the Government team. Therefore I do not need to make a full and detailed accusation in this plenary but shall do that when asked to do so by the Committee on Freedom of Association.

I shall now speak on the Director-General’s Report, which contains points which I cannot refer to for lack of time; however I will do so in the text. I think the agenda contains two particularly interesting points for us—item VI and item VII. The others are also important in terms of human values and we are indeed glad to see attention given and action taken with regard to important labour problems. However, the two I mentioned first of all are the ones which mean for our country such things as transformation, development, growth, advancement, justice, structural change and future.

In November 1964 the C.G.T. called together the agricultural organisations, experts, authors of books on agrarian subjects and national and international organisations for what we called an “agrarian seminar”. Its conclusions were printed and have been widely distributed in the agrarian countries. Then, in May of the present year, in Santa Fe, we convened the First Argentine Congress for Agrarian Reform which was attended by political leaders, legislators, federations of settlers, farmers, co-operatives, engineers, technicians in agriculture and authors of books on this important subject. The I.L.O., the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Organisation of American States were represented by observers.

Thus, we did not come to this Conference to improvise.

I would say, first of all, that our country has an area of 175,142,497 hectares, of which only 2,769 estates hold 38,204,000 hectares. If we take as latifundios only those estates of over 5,000 hectares, and if we leave out the cases where one owner has several estates (and which worsens the situation), you reach a figure of one-half per cent. of the owners holding 28.8 per cent. of the area of the country.

As a simple graphical instance, in the provinces, except Buenos Aires, the large landowners hold an area five times as extensive as Luxembourg. In Chubut the big estates are three times as big as Switzerland. The big estates are bigger than Italy and about as big as France. These figures have been taken from official statistics and are reliable. If anything, they would be in favour of the big estate owners, but they show that our country is still in the colonial era. Every time we start a peaceful agrarian reform, the reaction of the oligarchy is to finance revolts and revolutions and ally themselves with all the evil forces to recover their privileges, despite the modernisation and relative development which industry has achieved in the last twenty years.

In 1947 we had 471,389 farms and following Act No. 13246 of 1948 the figure increased to 564,891. A wide system of credits for crop rotation and stock-raising covering up to 30 per cent. of the value of farms had shaken the monopolistic structure of the big estates and increased the area of production of crops and the volume of stock rearing.

In 1956 the Agrarian Reform came into force and by 1960 had reduced the number of farms to 471,756. This was reflected in agricultural production and, even in a country like ours which consumes and exports meat, we had to reduce our exports and ration meat on the home market.

In addition to the 100,000 farmers affected by this reduction of activities, another 200,000 families have been evicted recently, and instead of being able to work for the rest of their lives on their land they have been expelled from the land where they spent their efforts, their sweat and their tears, having to go to emergency towns in search of homes and employment.

The Agrarian Reform Congress at Santa Fe adopted a report which called for the suspension of the evictions and expulsions. Parliament will soon have to deal with this problem which is further evidence of the greed of the large landowners in a country which has only 25 million inhabitants.

In 1947 the big estates covered 62,475,000 hectares, that is 36.02 per cent. of the area of land, and the tenants only had 38,560,000 hectares or 22.23 per cent. of the land. By 1960 the reduction in activities had brought us to the following situation: the big owners had increased their estates and had 103,218,000 hectares or 58.93 per cent. of the land whereas the small settlers only had 22,679,000 hectares or 12.95 per cent.

There is another aspect to this important subject. The cultivated area increased in 1947, owing to the social policy, from 173 million hectares to 200 million. However, by 1960 the big estate owners had brought it down to 175 million.

What is the use of the efforts and sacrifice of rural people, and what has the Government gained from concentrating land in the hands of the profiteers?

I will not give you further details in order not to tire the Conference, but in the Committee on Agrarian Reform we shall give details, since the Argentine Government delegate, instead of giving information, spends his time attacking the Argentine trade union movement, perhaps to hide the true situation.

Our delegation seeks social justice in the rural areas and the rule of law so that the land and property may be administered in accordance with its social function with due regard to human labour.

To sum up, agrarian reform would be an institution of a juridical character with its own characteristics different from that of rural property in the old sense. It should seek to protect farmers' families, promote rational cultivation, and put an end to the situation
where land is treated as merchandise. This will enable tenants to become owners, for we do not regard reform simply as a technical matter for increased output or redistribution but as a social advance.

Now to come to the question of the role of the co-operative movement in economic progress. As far as we are concerned we feel the heart of the co-operative movement is agriculture and the trade union movement. The co-operatives are filling a great social need and faithfully carrying out the mission entrusted to them. But they must combat pseudo-co-operatives and frequent lack of sympathy on the part of the authorities. Despite lack of protection against financial trusts there are, however, co-operatives engaged successfully in promoting the welfare of society. My Confederation will support all efforts made at the Conference to expand the role of co-operatives.

The I.L.O. must continue within its field of competence to promote free determination of peoples and mutual respect among Members, in order to ensure that assistance to those in need is not combined with humiliating conditions. In this way the enormous sums now devoted to armaments may be released for the benefit of justice and peace.

Interpretation from French: Mr. TUCAKOVIC (Employers' delegate, Yugoslavia)—As Employers' delegate of Yugoslavia, I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of this session of the Conference, and to wish you every success in your work.

Among the important economic and social problems raised in the Report of the Director-General, there are a number of questions which I would like to highlight because of their growing importance.

In the developing countries, and, to a growing extent, in the industrialised countries, there has been an increasing awareness in recent years of the need to bring about a change in international economic relations, to eliminate existing obstacles and discriminatory practices and to introduce changes in economic and financial policy so as to make it an effective instrument for speeding up economic development in the world.

This growing awareness of the need for change in international economic relations has obviously led to research into ways and means of achieving it. I think such research should be one of the primary tasks of the International Labour Organisation. We in Yugoslavia are convinced that it is today necessary to achieve the development of the broadest possible international economic co-operation, which would exclude all discriminatory practices and would result in new and fairer international relations. We believe, however, that the establishment of such relations in the world economy means finding, first of all, a radical solution for the problems facing the developing countries, and that, to this end, there should be appropriate and sincere international action in the field of trade, finance and technical co-operation. It is only through this type of action that the development process can be directed along lines which will be beneficial to the world economy as a whole and which will, at the same time, contribute to improved international relations and to the general progress of the world. Universal economic co-operation is a key element and a basic premise for active and peaceful coexistence, which is the fundamental aim of Yugoslav foreign policy. It follows in practice that one must commit oneself fully to the creation of the conditions necessary for the elimination of all barriers to exports from the developing countries.

I also think that the role of the I.L.O. in connection with the influence of science on contemporary economic and social development should not be neglected. Whenever this question is discussed, it is usually limited to an analysis of the development of technology or of methods of production in the light of technical progress. The influence of scientific progress on the organisation of production, the planning of economic processes, the application of scientific methods to the management of enterprises and the economy as a whole, the promotion of human relations in undertakings, the protection of labour and the use of leisure time are all aspects which are overlooked. The maximum effort should be made to ensure that these important questions are not neglected and that the importance of the international aspects is not lost sight of.

In Yugoslav undertakings the organisation of work and its analysis are the subject of increasing research and of the application of scientific methods. Industrial psychology and sociology furnish the necessary elements for improving human relations with a view to increased productivity. Co-management is spreading; it is taking on vital new forms and stimulating the development of research and a scientific approach to work. The Yugoslav worker is aware of the importance of scientific methods, and he is becoming more and more committed to the defence and support of ideas aimed at ensuring the application of new scientific achievements to the production process in the broadest possible sense. This accounts for a resolution relating to science and research, which has recently been adopted in Yugoslavia.

All that I have said confirms the fact that co-management has reached, in Yugoslavia, a high level of development, and often it is the management organs—i.e. the workers—which encourage the directors to explore new means of ensuring better organisation of work and higher productivity in the interests of the undertaking and the community as a whole. The introduction of a fair system of distribution of profits, which does away with all elements of exploitation by linking the personal income of each worker with the achievements of the undertaking as a whole and, of course, with the results of his own work and his personal participation, has been particularly effective in increasing the interest of the workers in research work, in the undertaking, and in the organisation of Yugoslav undertakings. Such a system, however, necessitates constant advanced training and the acquisition of new skills and techniques in matters of organisation and management.

The I.L.O. should pay more attention to the exchange of experience among all its Members
in a field as vast as that of the application of science in all its forms. The question of income and of methods governing policies in this field, social security measures, direct participation in decisions relating to production and relations in this connection—all these occupational and technical questions could be the subject of useful exchanges of experience between the member States.

The best way of promoting action of this kind would, in our view, be through increasing the activity of the Industrial Committees and democratising their structure. Greater flexibility should be introduced in respect of the possibility of participating in their work, and these Committees should be made as effective as possible. In addition the I.L.O. should pay greater attention to the establishment of closer contacts between the scientific institutions already existing in a number of member States, as well as to increased aid to the developing countries, and to encouraging the exchange of experiences. In Yugoslavia there are almost 1,400 institutions of this kind ready to cooperate with similar institutions elsewhere in respect of a whole series of technical questions. It seems to us that it is not necessary to stress that the creation of as large a number as possible of intellectuals in the developing countries is of vital importance for the progress of these countries, and every effort should be made to stimulate the role of the I.L.O. in this field. The creation of suitable regional organisations, the foundation of new institutions and the use of existing institutions in the field of education, the analysis of new achievements in relation to economic development, and the exchange of experiences are all matters requiring attention.

The improvement of the entire information system of the I.L.O. is a necessary condition for an effective exchange of information between member States. The I.L.O. should become a clearing-house where information would converge and from which would stem valuable information to enable increased productivity and progress to be achieved throughout the world.

We are also interested in the question of human resources development. Assistance and co-operation in this field should be directed towards the establishment of national institutions workingcompetently and systematically to solve the problems that arise in this connection, and the I.L.O. could join in these efforts by promoting the exchange of experience.

Before concluding I would like once again to draw your attention to a problem often heard during earlier sessions, and which figures also in the Yugoslav delegation’s document concerning the discussion on the formulation of positions and principles on the future work of the I.L.O. within the framework of its programme of activity. This document was distributed among delegations last year. The tripartite structure of the I.L.O. can only be founded on objective consideration of the functions of occupational organisations and their representative nature. The maximum effort is needed in order that the new social events may be reflected in the tripartite structure, and so that adequate representation of the countries of all regions and the various social systems be secured.

It is clear that there must be full representation within the Employers’ group for managers of the nationalised enterprises in the Western countries, for the representatives of the developing countries and for representatives of state-owned undertakings in the socialist countries, as well as the Yugoslav undertakings where there is workers’ management. Only then will there be equality, which is the basis of the structure of the I.L.O.

We consider that the extension and adaptation of the activities of the I.L.O. in this direction would be an important contribution to a better understanding among all its Members, and would result in a strengthening of their mutual understanding, consolidation of peace throughout the world and the progress of mankind, all of which is certainly our joint intention.

(The Conference adjourned at 5 p.m.)
RATIFICATION OF A CONVENTION BY JAPAN

Interpretation from French: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Andriantsitohaina)—I have pleasure in informing the Conference that the Director-General of the International Labour Office has registered, on 14 June 1965, the ratification by Japan of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948.

CHANGE IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

The PRESIDENT (Mr. Andriantsitohaina)—The Clerk of the Conference will now announce the results of the meeting of the Workers' Electoral College.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—

I should like to inform members of the Conference that the Workers' Electoral College at this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference met yesterday, 15 June 1965, and, in accordance with article 54, paragraph 5, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, confirmed the appointment by the Workers' group of the Governing Body of Mr. Abid Ali (India) to fill the vacancy created by the death of Mr. Ambekar (India) as a regular Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

Interpretation from French: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Andriantsitohaina)—The first item on our agenda today is to consider the reports of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

The Committee's first report, which has been circulated to delegates, contains the Committee's recommendations for action by the Conference in respect of the items on the Committee's agenda, except the proposed expenditure and income budget for the year 1966. It also contains a summary of the discussion that took place in the Committee on the expenditure budget for 1966 and records in the last two paragraphs the Committee's adoption of the expenditure budget.

The Committee's second report, which has also been circulated to delegates, contains a summary of the Committee's discussion of the income budget for 1966 and records in paragraph 61 the Committee's adoption of the scale of assessments for 1966 as recommended by the Allocations Committee of the Governing Body. Paragraph 63 of this report contains the text of the resolution submitted by the Finance Committee to the Conference concerning the adoption of the expenditure and income budget for 1966.

I sincerely hope that the Conference will be able to adopt the expenditure and income budget for 1966 together with all the other recommendations of the Finance Committee.

Interpretation from French: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Andriantsitohaina)—The general discussion on these two reports is now open.

Mr. BERGENSTRÖM (Employers' delegate, Sweden)—It is a pleasure for me to inform this Conference that the great majority of the Employers will vote in favour of the proposed I.L.O. budget for 1966. As you have seen in the official budget document, the proposed 1966 expenditure of the I.L.O. was agreed unanimously by the Governing Body at its spring session. This decision of the Governing Body was reached after lengthy debate during which the Director-General's original budget proposals were profoundly amended. The process of hammering out the budget in the Governing Body so that it would be acceptable to all, involved, of course, many compromises on different items. Like all compromises, the present budget contains elements that are either fully acceptable or less appreciated by the groups. From the Employers' viewpoint the most positive feature of the proposed
budget is the increased credit for technical assistance to developing countries. Indeed, it is our view that the main emphasis in the planning of I.L.O. activities should be laid in the future on the specific problems of our youngest member States. In so far as this standpoint is reflected in the proposed budget before you, the budget has our wholehearted support.

On the other hand, the Employers feel rather reluctant with regard to the proposed programme of meetings, many of which are costly and do not—at least, not directly—contribute to the betterment of the highly problematic situation of the developing countries. As you will see from the first report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, this view is not held exclusively by the Employers; it is shared as well by a number of Government delegates from both developing and industrialised countries. Speaking on the financial burden represented by the meetings, I think it is important to draw your attention to the suggestion made by some members of the Finance Committee according to which the Conference itself should be convened only every second year. Considerable resources could thus be saved in favour of increased activities for the benefit of the developing countries.

Such a device would make it necessary, of course, for the I.L.O. to establish its budget on a two-year basis. In our view such a procedure would not entail any major disadvantage; on the contrary, there is a marked need for better long-term planning of the activities of our Organisation. The expenditure budget of the I.L.O. has grown very fast in recent years. It amounted to less than $10 million in 1960; in 1964 the expenditure had risen to roughly $17.3 million and the proposed budget for 1966 provides for an outlay of more than $21 million. This rate of expansion can hardly be accepted for the future. We must see to it that our budget does not grow in a disproportionate way as compared with the increase in the gross national product of those countries which contribute most to the I.L.O. Long-term planning would make it easier to keep exaggerated budget expansion under control.

The Employers would also hope that the successive implementation of the recommendations of the external consultants who have examined the administrative structure of the Office would make it possible to reduce the demands for staff increases. The McKinsey exercise should not be expected, perhaps, to lead to staff reductions but should make it possible for the Office to cope with an increased workload without augmenting the personnel establishment.

Finally, I should like to say a few words about our budget techniques. The present budget is made up on a type of expenditure basis. Staff costs, general office expenses, travel on official business, etc. constitute important items in our budget. For some years past the Employers' members of the Governing Body have asked for a new budget presentation that would bring out more clearly the relationship between the overhead costs and the actual programmes of our Organisation. We have long favoured a budget founded on the activities instead of the present type of expenditure budget, arguing that such a new budget presentation would make it possible to assess the real costs of different I.L.O. activities—technical assistance, research, meetings, etc.—and to establish priorities between different fields of work, increasing credits in areas of high importance and reducing or eliminating deadwood.

The Employers are gratified that our claim for an improved budget presentation has to an ever increasing extent met with the acquiescence of numerous governments. It would also seem as if the Workers' spokesman had accepted our view on this point, and you will see from the first report of the Finance Committee that the Director-General himself has promised that, in the future, financial data will be associated with each programme proposed for implementation. Taking account of the reactions to our proposals in different quarters, we hope that the proposed budget for 1967 which the Director-General will present to the members of the Governing Body early in 1966 will be based on programmes and not on types of expenditure. With these observations on the part of the Employers, I take pleasure in recommending the Conference to adopt unanimously the proposed I.L.O. budget for 1966.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. LOPES SUSSEKIND (Government delegate, Brazil)—The reports of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives which we are now discussing contain a recommendation which I feel I should call to the attention of the Conference. I am referring to paragraph 58 of the second report where it is recommended that the Allocations Committee should meet in November 1965 to consider the studies and background work that would be required with a view to achieving early and substantial progress towards improving the I.L.O. scale of contributions and particularly towards bringing it into closer conformity with the United Nations scale.

As the delegates who followed the discussions on this matter in the Finance Committee will be aware, this text was the result of a compromise which, while it does not fully satisfy the Government of Brazil or various other representatives who, during the discussions in the Committee, put forward points of view similar to ours, nevertheless was accepted because we thought it does guarantee the carrying out of proper studies on the problem of conformity between the I.L.O. and United Nations scales. The I.L.O. scale does not in fact reflect the capacity to pay of all States Members of the Organisation. Various governments—in particular, governments of the developing countries—find themselves with an excessively high percentage of contributions. No less than 36 countries contribute at percentage rates which are higher in the I.L.O. than in the United Nations.

Bearing in mind the principle adopted by the Governing Body that the I.L.O. scale must be brought as close as possible to the United Nations scale, my Government feels that a serious effort must be made without delay to
reallocate the amounts to be contributed by the States Members of the I.L.O., so that our income budget may be more realistic and equitable.

We hope that the studies and background work to be undertaken in November will contribute decisively to an improvement of the situation in the near future. If it lessens to some extent the legitimate concern felt by some member States with respect to the financial burdens they have to bear, these studies will greatly contribute to strengthening the International Labour Organisation.

Mainly for these considerations, the Government delegation of Brazil will have to abstain in the vote on the resolution concerning the budget for the financial year 1966 and the allocation of expenses among member States. During the discussions in the Committee we put on record that our Government is very much concerned at the rapid rate of increase of budgetary estimates. We feel furthermore, that it is not acceptable that the scale proposed for 1966 should not contain any considerable change in the distribution of the financial burden among the member States.

Last year the Brazilian Government delegation referred in the Finance Committee of Government Representatives to the need to have greater conformity between the I.L.O. scale of contributions and the United Nations scale. At the same time, we approved the scale proposed for 1965 in the hope that the scale for 1966 would correct, to a certain extent, this state of affairs. However, the scale which has been submitted to us now maintains a situation which we feel is neither just nor equitable; my delegation opposed the adoption of this scale in the Committee, and for the same reason will now abstain from voting on the resolution which includes this same scale.

I can assure you that during the 20 years since the end of the Second World War there has not been a single complaint against my Government concerning the application of any Convention ratified by us. My country has loyally fulfilled all the obligations deriving from the Constitution of the Organisation and all the decisions of the Organisation which have to be obeyed by all Members. My country has been paying every year over $250,000 as the contribution of the People's Republic of Poland to the budget of this Organisation.

The People's Republic of Poland had not only to make up for the backward economic and social conditions inherited from the classes that ruled over Poland before the war. It was also compelled to overcome the enormous destruction perpetrated by the Nazi occupation in Poland. The destruction was equivalent to 38 per cent. of the national patrimony, and, out of every 100 citizens, we lost 22 during the war. For such a country, over $250,000 is a very considerable contribution to the budget of the Organisation. Every year we receive letters from the Director-General in which he expresses his gratitude to the Polish Government for regularly paying our contribution at the proper time, in spite of currency difficulties in our country.

After speaking about our obligations, I would turn to the rights enjoyed by our Government in this Organisation. I wish to inform the Conference that during the score of years since the adoption of the Declaration of Philadelphia no representative of Poland has ever been elected Chairman of the Governing Body, President of this Conference, or chairman of any of the regular Conference committees, such as the Credentials Committee, the Resolutions Committee, the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, etc.

Such discrimination is not directed against my country alone. It is practised against the whole group of socialist countries of Eastern Europe. At the present Conference there are 48 elective posts; only two of these have been attributed to representatives of the socialist countries. Of these 48 elective posts, five are held by the USSR, six by Latin America, eight by Asia, together with Australia and New Zealand, four by the Arab countries,

been a Member of the International Labour Organisation since 1919. It was a participant in the creation of the I.L.O., and has taken part in the work of the International Labour Organisation without interruption for 46 years.

My country has so far ratified 53 Conventions, and it now holds eleventh place as far as ratifications are concerned among the 114 States Members of this Organisation. My country has ratified the most important Conventions from the point of view of social conditions, including the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105), the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), and others.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. CHAJOI (Government delegate, Poland)—I have come to this rostrum in order to express the point of view of the Polish Government concerning the draft budget for 1966. As you know, the general discussion of the budget gives an opportunity not only of discussing the various items and questions connected with the budget, but also of speaking about the substance of the work of the Organisation, since the budget reflects the whole of the inner life of the Organisation and its entire activity. In this broad context of discussion, I would like to express the opinion of my Government, the People's Republic of Poland, concerning the substance of our Organisation's activity.

In accordance with the principle inherent in international law that all States are equal, all member countries of an international organisation, independent of their size, political system, or level of economic development, are entitled within that organisation to equal opportunities of participating in its work and in guiding its policy. This covers preparation of the programme of the organisation itself and participation in its various projects. These equal rights must be accompanied by equal duties of all member States of international organisations. I would like to refer first to the obligations which my country has to discharge as a result of its membership of the I.L.O. Poland has
eight by the African countries and 15 by Western European countries. I repeat, two for Eastern Europe and 15 for Western Europe. Not a single Workers' or Employers' representative from the socialist countries has been elected to any of these posts—and this has been happening for the last 20 years since the end of the war.

I would very much like the figures which I have just read out to be reproduced in the Conference record, so that these figures so frequently speak from this rostrum about democracy, about the principles of co-operation, about goodwill, may have these figures before them to show what the real situation is. During these past 20 years the office of President of the Conference has been held three times by representatives of North America, three times by Latin America, seven times by Asia, Australia or New Zealand, once by an Arab country, once by an African country, and nine times by Western European countries.

The corresponding figures for the Governing Body are even more eloquent. Not once has the representative of any Arab, African or Eastern European country been Chairman of the Governing Body.

What do these figures mean? This Organisation was set up by highly developed European countries, and for many years those highly developed countries governed the Organisation, where they represented not only themselves but others also. This practice still, unfortunately, persists, for the States which directed this Organisation then and represented not only themselves but also others continue to demand that they should direct this Organisation and represent others as well as themselves, in spite of the changes that have occurred in the Organisation since the adoption of the Declaration of Philadelphia. There is a large group of 11 socialist countries here, and also a large number of countries from Africa, Asia and other areas, which have but recently been liberated from the colonial system.

These radical changes that have taken place on the international scene have made it urgently necessary to ensure equitable representation of all existing social systems and geographical areas in all the organs of the I.L.O. The principles of equality, universality and tripartite representation in this Organisation will remain but empty words until such time as these demands that I have just mentioned have been satisfied.

Our Organisation must become a genuine forum for the exchange of economic and social experience. It must become a place where this experience is analysed so that it can be used by different countries in working out plans of social and economic development. It is not by chance that the constitutions of the various organisations lay down this principle. For instance, the Charter of U.N.E.S.C.O. stresses this principle and states that all the organs of U.N.E.S.C.O. should ensure equitable representation of different cultures. It is also embodied in the Constitution of the International Court of Justice, where it is said that the different civilisations and legal systems in the world should be represented. I could quote many more such examples from the life of various organisations. Unfortunately, in our Organisation these fundamental principles are not taken into account. On the contrary, they are being violated at every step.

That is why the time has finally come, in the opinion of my Government, to create equal opportunities and equal conditions for all Members in determining the programme and the social policy of this Organisation. Unfortunately, the representatives of the Polish Government are forced to note that the representatives of the Polish trade unions and the Polish employers have no opportunity of participating in drafting the programme of our Organisation and are deprived of any influence within it. Our possibilities as Government representatives are really modest and by no means equal to those of others.

Since the principle of democracy within the Organisation has to be reflected in all spheres of its activity, in the inner relations of the Organisation, in its methods of work, in its procedure, in its regulations and in all the mutual relations of its bodies, it is time to do away with this monopolistic situation enjoyed by certain countries in this Organisation. We should not intensify the feeling of certain peoples that they are being humiliated and neglected.

At the March session of the Governing Body my Government supported the draft budget for 1966, but I have to say that what happened at the beginning of this Conference, when once more there was a demonstration of discrimination against certain countries by reason of their social and economic structure, has forced my Government—and I have to say it with regret—to change its attitude towards the draft budget. That is why my Government cannot, to its great regret, support the draft budget for 1966.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. Goroshkin (Government delegate, U.S.S.R.)—For many years the Soviet representatives in the International Labour Organisation, both at the General Conference and in the Governing Body, have consistently stated that the annual increase in the budget should be confined to the essential minimum ensuring the normal work and development of the Organisation. Among the delegations of the various countries there is a growing opinion that the rate of growth of the I.L.O. budget and those of other international organisations should not exceed the rate of growth of the national income of member States. That point of view is fully justified and realistic.

The draft budget for 1966, which is before us today, provides for an increase of 9 per cent. as compared with the budget for 1965. In spite of a certain slowing down in the rate of growth as compared with previous years, we consider even this to be a high rate.

After several years of excessive increases in the expenditure of the Organisation, we were justified in expecting that its budget would be stabilised. It appears to us that the increases in expenditure for 1966 are not justified in the items referring to the staff of the I.L.O. and the expenses connected therewith.

In the Finance Committee the Soviet representative has already pointed out that for each dollar of additional credit for operational activities—and
that is one of the most important items of expenditure—there are three additional dollars for administrative expenses. Such a tendency cannot fail to cause anxiety. It shows that there is a danger of excessive bureaucratic development in the Organisation.

On the proposal of the Director-General, and with the approval of the Governing Body, the methods of work of the Office were examined by a specialised firm, which cost quite a lot of money. We assumed that this analysis would make it possible to rationalise the work of the Office and to decrease its expenditure but, unfortunately that is not the case. The conclusions of this analysis formed part of the basis for the reorganisation that is now being concluded in the I.L.O. However, the fundamental defect of this reorganisation in the opinion of our delegation is that it has resulted in no tangible improvement—such as showing how greater efficiency could be obtained from the large number of the Office, or how resources could be shifted to more important factors. The appearance of new trends and areas connected with this reorganisation has as a rule created new units and posts, with the result that as a whole the reorganisation, instead of rationalising the machinery and making it more flexible, has made it even more cumbersome and expensive. That is something which we cannot accept.

In determining its attitude on budgetary questions, the Soviet delegation must take into account other important factors. Delegates have heard the representative of the People's Republic of Poland, Mr. Chajn, speak in a very detailed and convincing manner; he stated some very telling facts, and I fully support what he said. There can be no doubt that it is a duty of Members to participate in financing the activities of the I.L.O.; I do not dispute that fact, but the Members should also enjoy definite rights, and this is an important factor to which attention has repeatedly been drawn. It has already been mentioned at this session as well. Delegates have been reminded of the need for a rapid change in the structure of the Organisation, a democratisation of the methods of work. Yet what we see is the very opposite.

Owing to the absence of true democracy and to the arbitrary action of certain delegations, there are no representatives of socialist countries serving as officers on any of the committees of this Conference. The situation is especially bad in the case of the representatives of the socialist undertakings. Without any legal or other grounds, the representatives of private employers in the Western countries are attempting to monopolise the situation and to outlaw the heads of the socialist undertakings, by systematically neglecting their right to hold elective posts. It is no secret to anyone that the so-called meetings of the bureau of the Employers' group are in fact nothing but meetings of the whole of the Employers' group from which the socialists members are arbitrarily excluded. Representatives of employers from private undertakings in the I.L.O. resolutely close their eyes to the fact that the socialist system covers more than one-third of the world's population and even more in terms of production. It is utterly wrong to live in the past whilst welcoming in words the adaptation of the I.L.O. to the conditions of a changing world.

The situation is not much different in the Workers' group, where the representatives of a single trend in the trade union movement take advantage of their artificial voting majority in the I.L.O., which in no way corresponds to the numerical strength of the different trends in the world trade union movement.

The I.L.O., being a tripartite organisation, must also by its very vocation be universal. We say it must be because the principle of universality is being violated in this Organisation. Consistent pursuance of this principle of universality demands that we should honour not only in word but in deed the rights of the coexisting capitalist and socialist systems. The discriminatory situation which persists in this Organisation and which has even worsened at this Conference has a profound effect on our approach to the budget, because the budget underlies the whole activity of the Organisation.

In the light of everything that I have said above, the Soviet delegation does not consider it possible to support the budget of the I.L.O. for 1966 and when the budget is voted upon we shall abstain from voting.

Mr. PERSONS (Government adviser, United States)—The deliberations of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives this year were long and difficult and I wish to pay particular tribute to our Chairman, Mr. Tesemma, Government delegate of Ethiopia, for his skilful, calm and patient leadership that contributed so much to the successful conclusion of our Committee's work.

We have heard a number of speakers from Eastern Europe announce their intention to abstain on the vote concerning the 1966 I.L.O. budget. This has been the pattern over a great number of years. It is unfortunate that at budget approval time these countries, which during the rest of the year profess support for the important programmes of this Organisation, cannot ever seem quite able to support the financial measures necessary to carry out those activities.

For my part I am happy to inform this session of the Conference that the United States Government supports, and will vote for, the adoption of the I.L.O. budget, which will enable the Organisation to carry on its work in 1966.

The budget, of course, is the result of careful scrutiny and debate in the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body. It is a compromise that does not fully meet the desires of the Workers, the Employers and of all the Governments.

My Government would have preferred certain changes, and has expressed its concern over the recent growth-rate of the budget; but these views, and those of others, have been considered. The budget, which has received unanimous support of the Governing Body, is before us for adoption. It, and the work of this Organisation that it will finance, deserve our support. My Government intends to give it that support. It is a pity that once again this support is being withheld by the group of countries to which I referred earlier.
There has also been reference to the review of the scale of contributions, which was the subject of very long deliberation in the Financial and Administrative Committee and in the Allocations Committee of the Governing Body. A compromise text was approved in the Financial and Administrative Committee which dealt with this matter. The text provides that the Allocations Committee of the Governing Body will, in November of this year, begin to look into this matter by considering what studies and background work would be required for early and substantial progress towards improving the I.L.O. scale and particularly towards bringing it into closer conformity with the United Nations scale.

The views of my Government with respect to this text are included in paragraph 51 of the second report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, and I will therefore, at this point, not repeat them. I do, however, want to make a statement concerning the contributions of my Government to the work of this Organisation, so that they may be considered in perspective. The Director-General informed the Governing Body at its 161st (March 1965) Session that the total resources available to the I.L.O. in 1964 were estimated provisionally at approximately $28,700,000. About $17 million of this amount represented the net expenditure budget, towards which the United States contributed 25 per cent., or about $4,200,000. The balance, or about $11,700,000, was received from the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund for programme and administrative costs in carrying out technical assistance and development projects. The United States contributed 40 per cent. of this amount, or about $4,700,000.

It is obvious from this that the United States contribution to the total financial resources of this Organisation is considerably above 25 per cent., and this is a situation that we are glad to carry forward.

I mention these facts to put the United States position in this matter in perspective and to indicate some of the factors that will have to be considered in the review of the I.L.O. scale.

Interpretation from French: Mr. MORI (Workers' delegate, Switzerland)—I should like to recommend the delegates of this Conference to vote in favour of the resolution upon which we have to take a decision. It was recalled just now that the whole of the Governing Body was in favour of this budget. I am thus very much surprised that, at this Conference, under various pretexts, several representatives of member States have put forward objections, and have declared that they would abstain, giving us a new lecture on political democracy—a lecture that tends to be repeated from session to session of the International Labour Conference.

As every one of us knows, the problem of representation of the various member States in the bodies of this Organisation is the subject of a resolution, and I think that that resolution will provide an opportunity to discuss the matter of elections of the representatives on the Governing Body, whether for the Government group, the Employers' group or the Workers' group. However, once more trouble is being sown here, and very questionable arguments are being put forward under the pretext of unequal treatment or excessive rate of growth of expenditure. Certain Government representatives said that they would abstain during the vote and would encourage some delegates at the Conference to do likewise.

May I be allowed to say that in this Organisation equality of treatment does exist, fully and entirely. All the member States are represented at the Conference, in the same manner and in accordance with the constitutional provisions. There are no exceptions to this. Freedom of expression exists fully and entirely, and when a previous speaker alluded to those who take the rostrum at the Conference he could well have asked a photographer to take his picture. I think that he and his colleagues of similar political outlook are on this rostrum more frequently than anybody else. I do not think that they have any possible complaint on that ground.

It is true that in the Bureau of the Workers' group in the International Labour Conference and even in the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, only one tendency is represented—or rather two. There is even a person there who does not belong to either of these two tendencies. I myself am in favour of elections in accordance with the proportional representation system used in my own country, but allow me to state categorically here that, as far as the International Labour Organisation is concerned, which is founded on two principles, universality and tripartism—that tripartism to which I am particularly attached—and as far as the Workers' group is concerned, I am in favour of the majority system in our elections. I ask you, where would election according to a proportional system lead to in the case of the Workers' group? There would be one from this tendency and another from that tendency, and it would be impossible for Workers' representatives of the Governing Body to defend a unanimous standpoint, in other words to represent and defend efficiently at the Governing Body the interests of all the workers of the world.

You will not get us to accept that, however many statements you may make or whatever methods you resort to in order to achieve your ends. We want to keep tripartism on a solid foundation. We want the representation of the workers on the directing bodies of the International Labour Office to be more effective, and this would be in the interests of workers all over the world. We may have another opportunity of speaking on this matter when the resolution submitted to the Conference eventually comes up for discussion.

In conclusion, I would not like to fail to draw your attention to the extraordinary anomaly whereby certain representatives of member States in which elections are indeed based on a majority—not to say absolutist—system, come before this International Labour Conference and give us lessons on right and democracy.

For all these reasons, I should like to recommend to you most warmly that you should vote in support of the resolution; in other words, that you should approve the budget which is absolutely essential to enable the International
Labour Office to carry out its economic and social tasks. Increasing technical assistance to the developing countries cannot be achieved merely through speeches. We have to have money to do it, and it is the duty of this Conference to provide the International Labour Office with the financial means.

Interpretation from French: The PRESIDENT (Mr. ANDRIANTSITOHAINA)—There are no further speakers, so I will put these two reports to the Conference, excluding the resolutions concerning the adoption of the budget for the 49th financial period (1966), and the allocation of expenses among Member States for 1966. The latter resolution I have mentioned will be the subject of a record vote at 11 o'clock tomorrow. If there are no objections, I take it that the two reports are adopted.

(The reports are adopted.)

Interpretation from French: The PRESIDENT (Mr. ANDRIANTSITOHAINA)—I should like to thank Mr. Tesemma, Government delegate, Ethiopia and Chairman and Reporter of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, as well as the members of the Committee, for the reports submitted to the Conference.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

Interpretation from French: The PRESIDENT (Mr. ANDRIANTSITOHAINA)—We now resume the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. VIGLIA-NESI (Workers' delegate, Italy)—The very hard period through which my country has recently passed, after unprecedented economic expansion within a few years, has dramatically revealed the structural evils which weigh down the Italian economy, and still more the social weaknesses and technical insufficiency which stem from these structural evils. In these circumstances the problems of labour protection, of a more equitable distribution of income, of protection of the purchasing power of wages, and of improving manpower skills, have obliged us to seek urgent solutions because cause and effect follow each other promptly.

It is probably due to the economic difficulties and the responsibilities which the ruling class of the country has to face that Italy has, in recent months, made an enormous " qualitative " change. After a century of united existence, my country is at last seeking to organise its economy and therefore its public and private expenditure and to formulate a detailed programme with precise dates for its implementation.

Italian public life, and the relations between the political forces and the unions and other occupational organisations, have been influenced by this turning point in economic and social policy which is generally known as the "policy plan". In connection with the application of this plan we are faced with the problems of unequal development which have, for a century, caused grave imbalances in structure both as regards areas of the country and as regards areas of industry. Commitments to reduce and modernise public expenditure are linked with the choice of types of investment and consequently of production development.

To have desired, supported and brought about such a policy means, for all the forces which have accepted it and approved of it, a parallel extension of the democratic guarantees in our country. Whereas the plan has been opposed by the reactionary and extremist groups, which only desire to overthrow democratic and republican institutions, all the democratic forces of the country are confident in it. The democratic trade unions and a number of modern and clear-sighted employers are beginning to realise the need for sound organisation and projections in connection with the economic development of the country.

This commitment stemming from Italy's position in the Common Market—with all the implications by economic union which this involves—will condition the conduct of all the Italian economic and productive forces. The unions which have understood the historical value of such a policy will now be committed, even in their independent bargaining activity, to co-ordinate the claims and struggles of the trade unions having regard to the limitations, objectives and possibilities of the programme which they have deliberately and fully accepted. Naturally such an approach is required also of government and employers, who must, on their side, accept their responsibilities and co-ordinate their attitudes within the limits and general lines of the plan.

For instance, it will be necessary to apply a vigorous price policy and to exercise vigilance in safeguarding the purchasing power of wages if it is desired that the trade unions, on their side, keep their wage demands within limits compatible with economic stability. An income policy can be conceived only if it applies to all sectors, i.e. not only to wages but also to capital gains.

At the same time some big structural reforms will be necessary to ensure the application of the plan: reform of the state bureaucracy, regional decentralisation, educational reform, the achievement of social security, fiscal reform, and agrarian reform making it possible to transform the Italian agricultural economy into a modern, competitive economy. Indeed, Italy's economic commitment amounts in many respects to a political commitment, which is inevitable because, when one attacks ancient privileges and establishes new relations between public and private action, economic facts must be in harmony with the political will and vice versa.

Within the framework of this economic and social outlook, education and vocational training will in the future become particularly important in Italy. The problem of manpower skills must be placed on a level with that of technological development and investments. In Europe, which will soon have full employment, the position of Italy, which has not yet solved the problem of unemployment, can be radically changed only by a more intense exchange of manpower within the European Economic Community and by raising the levels
of skill with a view to promoting movement of capital and investment in the underdeveloped south of Italy and the other underdeveloped areas. Rational distribution of production based on what has been called “development axes”, aided by the necessary infrastructure—roads, ports, rational urban organisation, etc.—can alone overcome the traditional difficulties which harm Italy and also the European Economic Community in which Italy plays an important part.

These considerations are sufficient to justify the term which we have used to define our programming and the new policy linked with it, namely “qualitative”. We have used this term because, as of now, in my country problems are being discussed on the basis of precise social, economic and technological evaluations, and not of dialectical improvisations or demagogic declarations. We, the Government, the employers, the trade unions and the political forces are all obliged by this policy to be more precise, more direct in asking, giving and claiming. Only in this way can one progressively face the endemic problems of a country and solve them quickly. We must start with the most democratic problem, that of considering all citizens of a country as being on the same level as regards their rights and the possibility of becoming future rulers of the country. This can be done by a big educational reform which will make it possible to select the best amongst our population on the basis of their merits and not to seek them, as in the past, among the most powerful families. If we add to this democratic transformation of society the aim of equality of all citizens, freed from the fear of a hazardous old age or an unexpected family catastrophe by a social security system giving effect to universal principles of justice, we shall really be placing our Republic on a sound basis.

The organised forces of labour in Italy are aware of this great task and of their responsibilities. Therefore, the unions have not only accepted the policy plan but they have insisted, and are still insisting, on taking an active part in it, and on being a decisive element in the elaboration and implementation of projects at the national and regional levels. It is a willingness for responsibility which does honour to the Italian trade union movement, which might merely have continued to protest against social injustice but which, on the contrary, to play its part in the transformation of our society and in making it more democratic and progressive. The strengthening of the unions in Italy is therefore the greatest guarantee for the success of the policy plan, for speeding up the modernisation of our country, and for raising the standard of living of our people.

Interpretation from French: Mr. PLECHÁČ (Employers’ delegate, Czechoslovakia)—Belonging as I do to industrial management in Czechoslovakia, I have had occasion in recent years to attend several international technical conferences, visiting several industrialised countries and thus acquainting myself with problems similar to those on the agenda of this session of the International Labour Conference.

In my job I come up every day against most of the problems discussed at this Conference and that is why I should like to share some of my experiences in connection with the various subjects raised in the Director-General’s Report. In his Report the Director-General has suggested three major programme areas for the I.L.O.’s general programme. It is well known that these problems vary from one country to another as a result of differing historical evolution in the countries and that is why I am glad to see the Director-General stress the role of the I.L.O. in participating in an exchange of experiences between countries and also in helping the countries to develop and to provide work for their inhabitants through measures compatible with human dignity and social justice. The results of the I.L.O.’s activity make it clear that the Organisation can do a great deal for society. The I.L.O. must, of course, take advantage objectively of the experiences of all advanced countries irrespective of their economic and political system and take account of the concrete conditions in a given country.

I note also with satisfaction the Director-General’s statement that a growing number of countries are becoming convinced of the need to integrate more closely human resources programmes and policies with over-all economic development plans and thereby achieve improved conditions of work and life.

The activities of the I.L.O. in this connection—the preparation of economic development studies in several countries, pilot projects, fellowships, visits of experts in order to ensure the evolution of industry, agriculture and international commerce—correspond fully to the policy of our country. Our national industry, our schools and experts participate in the building of our national industry, in the expansion of trade, in the training of supervisory personnel and also in the establishment of cultural, health and social institutions.

As regards that section of the Director-General’s Report which concerns improvement of conditions of work and life, I should like to point out that we have done a great deal in recent years in the field of occupational safety and health and industrial medicine. We are concerned mainly with prevention, and the study of conditions of work, tools and machinery and their influence on the health and better development of the workers. Doctors and technicians are always present during the recruitment of workers by the undertakings to ensure that their assignments correspond to their abilities and the state of their health. During working hours the workers are supervised by these experts, who carry out research on the influence of the environment and work procedures on the health and the proper development of the human personality. Joint research is carried out on the subject of protection against noise, the layout of the workplace, the housing of the workers and other things. Everything is done to prolong human life and improve the health and vigour of the individual.
I should now like to tell you about the experiment we have carried out in our night clinic in order to permit our workers to undergo medical treatment without interruption of their work. There are certain diseases which cause considerable discomfort without making a person an invalid—respiratory diseases, diseases of the stomach, of the circulation, and so on. We have concentrated attention on a group of patients over 35 to 40 years of age, who represent the majority in the night clinic. It has been noticed that treatment in the clinic can contribute to improving the health, during the second half of the life span in particular, of workers in large industrial undertakings, to slowing down the process of aging and to making the workers more content and more active.

I should also like to express my gratitude to the I.L.O. for its activities in the field of the prevention of occupational hazards. I refer to the I.L.O.'s participation in the organisation of conferences and studies on the problems, which make possible exchanges of information and experience in the field of health protection and practical participation in the improvement of the work and life of mankind.

But despite these beneficial results of the I.L.O.'s work I must express my surprise that at this Conference I have encountered discrimination against the delegates of the socialist States. It is really a paradox in the case of the I.L.O. which has declared that it has the general task of fighting discrimination everywhere in the world. I must remind you that nowadays nationalised industry is not the domain of only the socialist States but exists also in capitalist States—in fact, at present nationalised industry produces nearly 40 per cent. of total world production. As I said at the beginning, we are the representatives of the supervisory personnel of nationalised industry and I feel that we have experience on many questions, such as the training of workers or young persons, the protection of women and children, and so on.

I think it is urgently necessary for the I.L.O. to put an end to such discriminatory methods. I will thus support the resolution submitted by the Government delegations of Poland and the Ukraine concerning equitable geographical representation of all States Members of the International Labour Organisation in its Governing Body as well as equitable geographical distribution of elective offices at sessions of the International Labour Conference and the Governing Body. I hope this is also the opinion of the majority of delegates to this Conference.

Mr. FAUPL (Workers' delegate, United States)—As I am privileged once again to take part in the discussion of the Director-General's Report I feel that I must in all conscience reply to the scurrilous attacks on my country made by a number of the communist so-called Workers' delegates to this Conference. I shall not take much time in doing so because the political matters they discussed are not the business of this Conference, and in my humble judgment they should not have been permitted to divert the Conference from the constructive work of this Organisation.

I am a trade unionist, a machinist by trade. I am neither a military nor a political expert, but I do know that in both South Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic the United States—the people of the United States, including especially our free trade union movement—has but one objective, and that is to restore peace and freedom to the people of those countries as quickly as possible. Our aim is to assure to the peoples of those countries the democratic right to select their own government and to secure their countries from aggression. Once we have obtained this elementary protection we intend to give them every possible assistance they may request to permit them to embark upon the path of social and economic progress. The American trade union movement is co-operating with the democratic trade union elements in both those countries so that they may achieve their objective.

This year the Director-General has presented us with what I consider to be a somewhat slim Report on generally non-controversial questions of programme and structure. I find it difficult to understand why the Director-General wanted, for the third consecutive year, a general soul-searching discussion. It would have been much better if we had had the opportunity to discuss a report such as the excellent ones the Director-General prepared in past years, ploughing new ground in an important area within the competence of the I.L.O.

Two possibly fruitful subjects which were included in resolutions adopted by the Conference last year might have been considered—minimum living standards and democratic decision-making. Still a third might have been the whole concept of universality in the field of human rights.

Following upon the reorganisation of the International Labour Office the activities of the Organisation have been divided into three major programme areas—human resources, social institutions, and living and working conditions. We should not, in my estimation, develop such a fixation on the neat patterns of organisation that important tasks are neglected only because they do not fit easily into the organisation chart.

The subject of automation and technological change is an example of what I have in mind. Originally listed as one of the major programme areas, it has now been dropped as a major classification. Is automation being downgraded because it is thus far a problem mainly in developed countries? If so, this is a most dangerous development. The ever greater concern of the I.L.O. with the problems and needs of the developing countries is certainly appropriate, but it would be highly inappropriate to ignore new and critical problems, as well as those old ones still crying out for solution, in the industrialised countries.

Moreover, technological change is not confined to the industrially advanced countries. It is increasingly spreading to the developing countries as well. Therefore, it should hold a prominent place in the I.L.O.'s total effort. Indeed, going beyond the question of automation itself, successful efforts to solve the social problems of the industrialised countries today will greatly help in meeting the needs of the developing countries tomorrow.
The Director-General's Report contains a very short chapter on international labour standards. I must regretfully state that I did not find his treatment of this very important subject too helpful, since he did not offer any suggestions as to how the I.L.O.'s standard-setting activities can be broadened and strengthened. The Director-General has not hesitated to make very specific and often far-reaching suggestions in other fields. Why is he so reticent in this all-important area of I.L.O. activities?

Furthermore, I am disappointed that the Director-General apparently finds it justifiable that improvement of conditions of life and work within the framework of balanced social and economic development “should not for the time being be a major priority area in our activities”. What is the fundamental purpose of our Organisation if it is not to improve conditions of life and work?

If the I.L.O. is to continue to pioneer in establishing and safeguarding standards of workers all over the world, universality must apply where it is needed most, that is, in assuring to workers all over the world fundamental human rights and ever better living and working conditions.

Let me state very candidly that this is another area which requires some accommodation between the industrialised and the developing countries.

We are ready to join in any objective examination of existing standards, even those dealing with fundamental human rights, to see if they really need to be revised. It is conceivable that in some ways they may not fully take account of particular conditions. I even think we should consider the possibility of inserting in some international instruments the legitimacy of progressive application of standards hand in hand with the country's economic and social development.

But I would ask my friends in developing countries, and especially those sitting on government benches, not to expect the free trade unions to give up standards urgently needed in many parts of the world because some countries, regardless of where they are, feel they are not yet ready to apply those standards. This would completely distort the purposes, principles, and objectives of the I.L.O.

I turn now to the question which I consider to be of paramount importance to the future of this Organisation. I refer to the principle of tripartism as practised within the I.L.O. itself and as encouraged by the I.L.O. in other countries. I do not want to be an alarmist, but I cannot conceal my very great apprehension regarding the future of tripartism as a living institution. This concern stems from the reluctance of some governments, and the outright refusal in others, to recognise both the need for and the value of division of authority and responsibility.

In his Report the Director-General says that the major objective of the I.L.O. should be “the growth of workers' and employers' organisations which are generally representative and independent”. The real problem has not been that workers have been unwilling to organise free and independent trade unions. Unfortunately, what we have seen in country after country is the suppression of free and independent trade union organisations by governments which have replaced them with docile organisations completely under government control and domination.

Let me make one thing clear. Sometimes it is charged that the free trade unions are opposed to trade union unity, or that we think the existence of a single trade union movement in a country is proof that there is no freedom of association. This is not true. In many countries, including my own, there is only a single national trade union centre, but trade union unity has been chosen by the trade unions and by their members. It has not been imposed by government and it is not required by law. Moreover, workers have the right to establish unions of their own choosing in or out of the national trade union centres.

The trade union organisations and not the government should decide on international affiliation. If governments force the trade unions of developing countries to break their fraternal relationship we would be weakened, and the industrialised countries, the workers in both the developing and the industrialised countries will be the innocent losers.

Finally, there is the question of tripartism within the I.L.O. I want to issue a solemn warning here to the delegates from the Communist countries and some delegates representing governments of other countries who, not satisfied with denying the right of workers to organise trade unions free and independent of governments in their own countries, now seek to destroy tripartism in the I.L.O. We in the free trade union movement will defend the time-honoured, tripartite principles and institutions of this Organisation with every fibre of our being. Indeed, we will leave no stone unturned to extend tripartism and strengthen it in every activity and every programme of this Organisation.

Some delegates from communist countries, smarting because the Workers' delegates to the Conference have seen fit to elect others to represent them in the Governing Body, are now calling for rigged elections in which they will be automatically assured of seats. The establishment of such a system would mean the end of democracy and group autonomy within the I.L.O. There is only one democratic system of choosing Workers' members of the Governing Body and that is free election by the Workers' delegates to the Conference. The Workers' delegates here in the I.L.O. adopt the worst features of the one-slate so-called elections in the communist countries.

The I.L.O. was founded nearly 50 years ago as a tripartite organisation. The I.L.O. is not just an organisation for the workers, it is an organisation of workers, and if the day ever comes when workers all over the world, organised in free and independent trade unions, can no longer take their rightful place in the I.L.O. through the representatives they have chosen, this Organisation will be no longer worth saving. It is the responsibility of all of us, workers, employers, and governments, to make sure that that evil day never comes.
It is a great honour for me to take part once again in the work of this Conference, which is so widely called the "World Parliament of Labour". I would like to sketch briefly the outline of the measures adopted in my country in connection with the items dealt with in the Director-General's Report. I was for many years the Workers' representative, and I am now a Member of Parliament representing the workers, and as such I am very happy to say that in Iran, as a result of the peaceful revolution of 23 January 1963 under the enlightened leadership of our wise and far-sighted sovereign, a favourable atmosphere has been created for the application of programmes of economic development and a better use of human resources.

Workers are becoming more and more aware of the fact that it is essential to give constantly growing importance to investment in human resources, so as to improve the social situation of the workers and so as to create new possibilities of employment for those subsequently entering the labour market. Moreover, I should like to stress that employment policy must not act as a brake on economic development but on the contrary must accelerate it.

Our Shah has given a realistic forecast that as a result of agrarian reform and the mechanisation of agriculture the present ratio between urban and rural populations will be inverted. Thus, to do away with underemployment and to increase productivity, the programme for the industrialisation of Iran must advance so as a result of agrarian reform and the mechanisation of agriculture we must not act as a brake on economic development programmes along the lines which I have just indicated.

We consider that the success of all our programmes will depend on the understanding and unity of action of governments, workers and employers. This is precisely what the Director-General has stressed and singled out as an objective of employment policy: the support by the population of the economic development programmes of their country and its active participation in their implementation.

In the new conditions in our country, the producing class has been guided by the fact that the consolidation of workers' organisations may, while safeguarding their interests, enable them to play an effective and important role in the general economic development of the country and to contribute towards the creation of a favourable atmosphere for the unity of action to which I have just referred.

On the basis of this idea, workers' organisations have been set up in the various industries and are constantly broadening their scope of activity and strengthening the basis of their power and their unity.

The application of the Act respecting the sharing of workers in the profits of the undertakings contributes to the increase of the real income of workers and the improvement of their standard of living, and at the same time supplies an excellent opportunity for the workers' organisations to negotiate and conclude collective agreements on a footing of equality. All of this, of course, adds to their experience in trade union activity and is one of the best examples and methods for creating mutual understanding between the trade union and management.

In so far as concerns the development of co-operatives, which can contribute directly to the enhancement of the purchasing power of the workers and constantly to a rise in their standard of living, as well as to the creation of the spirit of co-operation in workers' circles, I am very happy to be able to say that we have made very substantial progress with respect to setting up workers' co-operatives in the field of consumption, housing and credit, and as a result of an exchange of views between the trade unions and rural co-operatives I feel that we can hope for effective and fruitful collaboration in this field of activity.

We are particularly interested to observe that the question of co-operatives appears on the agenda of this session of the Conference, and I should like to express our hope that we will be able to benefit greatly from the exchange of the views of the Committee on Co-operatives for the development of the co-operative movement in our country.

In conclusion I should like to stress that all the economic and social progress in my country has been due to the far-sighted guidance of our sovereign who ceaselessly watches over the welfare of his people.

The Iranian nation, which enjoys social justice and total security, is advancing along the path of progress and is putting forth considerable efforts so that our country may reach a position among the most advanced countries of the world.

In wishing every success to the Conference may I express the hope that all peoples of the world may benefit from the advantages of a better life, thanks to peace and international security. It is only in this way that we can achieve the noble and humane objectives of the International Labour Organisation.

**Interpretation from French:** Mr. QUYÊN-Trân-Huu (Workers' delegate, Viet-Nam)—The 49th Session of the International Labour Conference, I am sure, can be proud of the high quality of the working documents submitted by the Director-General of the I.L.O. for our discussion and consideration. I should therefore like to thank the Director-General for his excellent Report which has given us most useful data on what has been achieved on the present situation and on what the I.L.O. should do in the near future.

First of all, the idea of decentralising the I.L.O.'s activity so as to make it more efficacious on the regional level, opens up new horizons which are most encouraging to all those who are concerned and anxious about the economic development of the uncommitted countries through the mobilisation and rational use of the human resources which are available.

The project for strengthening the regional offices should be thoroughly studied. In this connection, the issue should be made for a tripartite regional governing body having wide competence to decide on the action to be deployed in the respective geographical areas.
If this were done the central Governing Body would become more and more a body co-ordinating and supervising the various activities carried out in the different continents. We feel therefore that it is essential to have vigorous and active regional co-ordinators between the central body and the regional offices. Their role would be mainly that of liaison officers.

Moreover, there must be provision for increasing the staffing and material equipment of regional offices so that they may be able to face the technical problems which arise in all fields of vocational training, manpower, employment injuries, working conditions, social security and so on, without overlooking the training of trade union leaders and leaders of the co-operative movements. These should be given priority in all regional activity of the ILO.

Within the framework of this regionalisation of activity, the possibility of setting up a body of experts should be studied and approved—experts in the fields of manpower planning, vocational training and, first and foremost, in workers' education and in the education of workers in the co-operative movement. Here I should like to refer to the statement made by our friend, Mr. Trần-Quốc-Buu at the 161st Session of the Governing Body of the ILO last March. Thus, we believe that regionalisation should include: (a) the institution of regional governing bodies with a very broad field of competence; (b) the strengthening of the administrative equipment and machinery of the regional offices; (c) the creation of a regional co-ordinator for liaison with Headquarters; and (d) the creation of a body of experts for local action.

It is obvious that the multiplicity of national languages militates in favour of recruiting experts in each country concerned. This of course does not mean that the presence of international experts and their role would be pointless within the framework of regional organisation, but rather these international experts would have more technical work to do, that is, studies, training of instructors, statistics and planning.

As far as concerns Chapter II of Part I of the Report, we are very happy indeed to see the stress which the Director-General lays on the development of human resources, which conditions the economic expansion of any country and which requires competent and skilled men.

Our national trade union confederation, the Vietnamese Confederation of Labour has always given its attention to the training of workers because we feel that economic development requires competent men and that looked at in another way, this development, which must be at the service of man, has no other final goal than the complete and integral development of the personality of each individual and of each people through the use of the material and spiritual resources available in the national economy.

In the field of training we have carried out programmes of education, which are highly varied, for trade union leaders and co-operatives and social action by the people. Among the results of this activity we may mention the creation of 24 agricultural and handicraft co-operatives and agricultural resettlement centres in isolated regions which have remained uncultivated up to the present. This action favours agricultural development and at the same time the reduction of underemployment, training in handicrafts and the integration of indigenous populations into the economic life of the country. These centres last year, in spite of the dangers in the jungles which surround them, had the honour of being visited by a representative of the ILO.

Unfortunately, large-scale aggression by fanatical Communists supported by communist China and other foreign Powers against our peaceful population has been an obstacle, but has not stopped expansion of our activity which has already achieved considerable success. Defenceless trade union leaders have been kidnapped or cold-bloodedly massacred, their only crime being that they were instructors and trainers of men, leaders in the co-operative movement, the objective of which was the improvement of the moral and material living conditions of the population, desirous of living in peace on the product of their daily work.

We sincerely deplore that the systematic sabotage by the Viet-Cong is directed against the achievements of our own peasants and workers themselves who devoted so much hope and effort to their endeavours to improve their lot; this is in glaring contrast with Viet-Cong pretensions that they are the true defenders of the liberty of the workers.

Our trade union leaders, however, have not been discouraged. The Viet-Cong's destructive action simply further strengthens our unshaken determination to work towards the improvement of the conditions of the workers, with the enthusiastic support of the workers and the peasants.

May I now turn to agrarian reform. This is one of the outstanding problems in developing areas. We would like the ILO to allot a more important place to the rural population, within the framework of its activities, by considering a more complete range of measures to promote and accelerate rural development.

In the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America the rural workers, who make up more than 80 per cent. of the total population, are still living in the most abject poverty, except for very few exceptions in some highly industrialised countries like Japan and Australia. The lot of this sub-proletariat has become even more wretched as a result of the fluctuations and uncertainties of the prices for raw materials produced in the region. It is therefore absolutely essential that the ILO adopt measures, jointly with the other specialised agencies of the United Nations, to achieve a rapid stabilisation of the market for these basic products. The ILO should lay heavier stress on an over-all policy of employment expansion. The increase in wealth and welfare must be harmonious, otherwise the gap between the income of the favoured urban wage earners in the industrial and administrative sectors and the income of the agricultural workers in general will become still deeper and broader. The action of the ILO will bring results and will be more humanitarian if it succeeds in doing away with this situation, which is due to
a defective system of co-operation between capital and labour rather than to the operation of any so-called economic laws.

We are firmly convinced that the I.L.O. can intervene most effectively by giving its helpful and necessary collaboration in the income distribution policy of the developing countries, to the extent that technical assistance means the share that the I.L.O. will take in the preparation of government decisions through advice supplied by its technical experts. If the I.L.O. succeeds in determining the best ways of enabling workers' and employers' organisations to participate effectively in the preparation and implementation of plans, it will already have achieved excellent results.

We are expecting a great deal of the I.L.O. and we hope that it will find methods of enabling planning to be democratised, that is to say bringing workers' and employers' organisations more closely together in the planning and implementation of economic policy.

Finally, in this year of 1965, which has been proclaimed by the United Nations as International Co-operation Year, we are unfortunately having to deplore war in its most murderous and inhumane form and which the Viet-Cong have imposed on us for more than ten years. We deplore cowardly legal murders, which some have been so cynical as to praise in a tendentious manner, have not made, and will not make, us renounce our projects for the emancipation of man by the education of the working masses. That is why we are convinced that this 49th Session of the Conference will give the I.L.O., with a large measure of unanimity, the terms of reference which will make it possible to carry out the reforms of its regional structure, in order better to provide technical and moral assistance to all the organisations which, like ours, give first place to the training of human beings, the promotion of brotherhood and to social peace and social justice.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. KAZANTS-SLEV (Employers' delegate, Byelorussia)—In connection with the issues raised in the Director-General's Report that relate to the I.L.O.'s programme of activities in the development of manpower resources and also in the field of working and living conditions, it should like to mention some of the basic achievements of Byelorussia in solving these problems.

Byelorussia's experience has eloquently shown the feasibility of overcoming centuries-old backwardness in setting up an advanced economy within the lifespan of a single generation. Socialism has released vast creative opportunities for the working people and secured unprecedented successes in developing industrialisation, raising the cultural level and in training a skilled labour force. Although the war started by the Nazi invaders threw back Byelorussia's industry almost to the level of that of 1913 and destroyed almost half its total national wealth, in 1963 gross industrial production exceeded the 1913 level by 46 times, and in 1964 production increased by a further 10 per cent. There has been a vast expansion in the petroleum, chemical, electrical and mechanical industries.

As a result of this rapid economic growth, there has also been a rapid growth in our national income: during the period 1959 to 1962, the average yearly increase rate was 7.4 per cent. All this was done by the Byelorussian people's own effort, together with fraternal assistance by all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Our country knows no unemployment, that scourge which is so common even in many highly developed capitalist countries. I support the view expressed here by many delegates and confirmed in practice in our country: only through socialisation of the means of production, radical agrarian reform and broad expansion of industry is it possible to solve the problem of unemployment.

We can see the changes which have taken place in our economy and in culture from the fact that more than 2,300,000 people—that is to say almost one-third of the total population excluding children under school age—are engaged in some form of education. For every 10,000 persons there are 102 students at higher educational establishments and 111 students at special intermediate schools. Our people, therefore, view with understanding and sympathy the efforts of those countries which because of colonial dependence have been deprived of the opportunity to develop their economy, their culture and their science. Byelorussia does not only view with sympathy the efforts of the developing countries; it is also giving them practical assistance, by participating in the construction of many industrial projects and scientific and cultural centres, by supplying equipment and by sending its experts to the developing countries.

Unfortunately, as far as the I.L.O. programme of technical assistance is concerned, nothing has been done as yet in the way of using Byelorussian experts or in granting scholarships for training or practical experience in Byelorussian schools or undertakings.

Bearing in mind the economic problems facing the developing countries, we would stress the need for intensifying co-operation by the I.L.O. in training national supervisory personnel and skilled manpower. The technical assistance of the I.L.O. to developing countries should be geared to support the national programmes of economic and social development, and to overcome the consequences of colonialism.

In connection with this question of technical assistance to the developing countries, the research activities of the I.L.O. should be intensified. Studies on such matters as progressive agrarian reform and industrialisation should be based on experience that has been gained in this field by various countries, in particular by the socialist countries, as well as by a number of developing countries themselves.

It would be useful to draft a concrete and broad programme of activities that would take into account the successful solution of the employment problem in the socialist countries. This programme should also improve measures that might speed the elimination of colonialism and its consequences. It should ensure the establishment of mutually beneficial commercial and scientific co-operation between all countries of the world. It is of particular importance in this connection to study the
The International Labour Organisation has stated its solidarity with the United Nations in seeking to guarantee and achieve equal rights for the whole population of South Africa. However, strong economic ties persist between many monopolies in the Western countries and the South African authorities. There is no need to quote a long list of these monopolies; they can be found in all the reference books. Apparently, a number of so-called "free" entrepreneurs propose to continue to support the racist régime in South Africa, supplying it with weapons and capital.

The British journal, The Economist, of 6 March 1965, mentioned that Portugal and Spain do not propose to cease trading with the Republic of South Africa. It is the duty of the International Labour Organisation to make every effort in order to do away with apartheid, that shameful form of colonialism.

Development of international co-operation in the social and economic fields within the framework of the I.L.O. requires improvement of the forms and methods of work of the Organisation and of all its organs. As has been stressed by many delegates, the General Conference must play a more active role in working out and approving the programmes of the I.L.O. The principal organs must all be fully answerable to the General Conference.

Fair geographical distribution of elective posts in the Governing Body and of the functions of officers of the General Conference must be respected. The I.L.O. must be open to all States that wish to participate in its work. By ensuring the broad representation of all economic and social systems and geographical areas of the world it is possible to realise the principles of equality, universality and international co-operation, which are laid down in the Constitution of the I.L.O.

This year there was again an attempt on the part of the private Employers to deprive the representatives of managers from the socialist countries of the right to participate actively in the work of the Conference. Every delegate must have the opportunity to participate in the work of any committee at his choice. It is necessary to put an end to the one-sided representation in the Employers' group of the Governing Body, and to give the representatives of the socialist system of economic management their proper places.

If the I.L.O. wishes to remain true to the basic aims and purposes of its Constitution and of the Declaration of Philadelphia, it cannot stand aside in solving those basic problems which the world has now to face.

In the solution of social and economic problems a major concern is to transfer to peaceful production the resources which are being used on armaments. The I.L.O. could contribute to the progress of disarmament by studying its economic and social consequences. The resources thus released will, of course, be able to find broad application in various fields of social life. These resources could promote broader development of international economic co-operation.

In this connection, it is important that the 49th Session of our Conference should adopt the resolution submitted by the Government delegate of the Ukraine concerning the carrying out by the I.L.O. of studies of the social and economic consequences of disarmament.

The International Labour Organisation must undertake extensive action to promote the co-operation of all countries in the economic and social fields. It must apply every effort to prevent war and to maintain peace as the pre-condition for the activities of this Organisation. I.L.O. activities can only be meaningful if there is peace. Within the I.L.O. as elsewhere, rejection of the American policy of aggression is now one of the most urgent problems in the struggle for peace.

On behalf of the Byelorussian employers, I emphatically demand an end to the criminal attacks by American aircraft against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and to United States aggression against the peoples of South Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic.

The speech of the representative of the United States, Mr. Faupl, was merely an attempt to divert the attention of world public opinion and of our Conference from the neo-colonialist and aggressive policies of the imperialist circles in the United States, about which I have just spoken. Mr. Faupl took the same stand as that taken by two persons yesterday and also by the last speaker, all three of whom are maintained in their positions by support from American bayonets. Mr. Faupl has shown here that he is not very much interested in the problems of peace; he is not interested in putting a stop to the slaughter of innocent women, children and old people or in the economic and social problems of the developing countries.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)
TWENTY-SECOND SITTING

Wednesday, 16 June 1965, 3.15 p.m.

President: Mr. Andriantsitohaina

Report of the Director-General: Discussion (cont.)

Interpretation from French: The President (Mr. Andriantsitohaina)—We now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Mr. MUGALA (Workers' delegate, Zambia)—I feel it a great privilege to represent the workers of Zambia at this session of the Conference. Zambia attends this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference as a full Member for the first time since the I.L.O.'s establishment in 1919 after the First World War. In the meantime my country was under Western colonial rule, and it was only eight months ago that we became an independent nation.

I should like first of all to associate myself with previous speakers in congratulating the President on his election to the presidency of this session of the Conference. I have no doubt that his vast experience and ability will enable him to carry out the tasks of this office admirably.

At this juncture I wish to reiterate my Government's pledge of support for, and the adherence of the workers and people of Zambia to, the noble principles of the International Labour Organisation. It is my profound conviction that our new nation will benefit from the experience and aid of the Organisation and we, for our part, are prepared to make whatever contribution lies within our power.

Permit me to thank the Director-General and his staff for his Report to this session of the Conference, which, in my opinion, is very comprehensive.

However, I should like to be allowed to make an observation on the distribution of seats on the Governing Body. The workers of Zambia consider that the structure and certain rules of the Constitution are out of date, and we call upon the Conference to recommend to the Governing Body that they should be amended in order to bring them more into line with the present stage of society. Seats on the Governing Body must be distributed in a manner that will ensure real representation of all regions of the world and not make the Governing Body appear to be only a tool serving the interests of Western imperialists, as seems to be the case at present. The interests of the peoples of the East, the West, Asia and Africa must be represented on the Governing Body, which, in my opinion, is the backbone of the I.L.O. Because of the revolutionary nature of the economic and social development now taking place in the developing countries, particularly in Africa, I fully agree that there is a need to expand regional activities and that regional conferences should be held regularly to allow more frequent examination of problems facing the countries in the various regions. Furthermore, the regional branch offices should be allowed some measure of autonomy in the application of certain plans which may become urgently necessary in member States. Of course, the application of such plans should be consistent with the instructions laid down by Headquarters.

The workers of Zambia—together with other workers of the world, as indicated in previous speeches—fully appreciate the work of the I.L.O. within the sphere of its major programme areas. The importance of its plans, research and expert advice in these fields cannot be questioned. In developing countries the development of manpower and its proper use form the fundamental nucleus of economic, social and cultural development, and therefore constitute a field of the utmost importance which, like the development of social institutions and living and working conditions, needs maximum emphasis in the I.L.O.

We contend that the workers' trade unions, which, in developing countries, are the only modern mass economic organisations, must be associated with the planning and application of government policy, including national economic plans in developing areas. In order to fulfil their task the trade unions, particularly in Africa, should be freed from foreign trade union interference. We fully support the concept of the international solidarity of the workers, but Africa cannot afford the destructive imperialist tendencies of, and the ideological warfare engaged in by, such organisations as the I.C.F.T.U. The only appropriate trade union organisation for Africa is the All-African Trade Union Federation, which we in Zambia fully support for its pan-African ideology.

I am happy to state that after eight months of independence my Government is doing all it can in all fields to develop the country. It has just completed a manpower survey intended to evaluate the existing manpower in order to
draw up appropriate training schemes and ensure the maximum use of manpower in the appropriate categories. The Government is concerned with the forming of strong employers' and workers' organisations. The Five-Year Economic Plan for 1966-70 is a progressive one which, with the support of the population which it enjoys, will no doubt be successful. We feel encouraged by our Government's conviction that wages must rise in proportion to the realization of our objectives here and elsewhere to make the champions of human destruction, led by the United States, abandon their aggression in all areas of engagement in order that a peaceful situation conducive to the realisation of our objectives here and elsewhere may be created. We call for the complete expulsion of South Africa which deliberately continues to flout international law within this Organisation.

It is very shameful to note that one of the Members participating here—Portugal—continues its policy of forced labour, so incompatible with international labour Conventions. Portugal is not only perpetrating a system of slavery against our brothers and sisters in so-called Portuguese Guinea and the neighbouring territories of Angola and Mozambique but has also sanctioned economic war against Zambia by blockading some of our imports through Lobito in Angola and Beira in Mozambique. I fail to see how the I.L.O. can accommodate a Member which continuously and deliberately disregards the international labour Conventions. Portugal should be suspended from membership of the I.L.O.

The so-called Rhodesia, in collaboration with Portugal and South Africa, is threatening to declare economic war against the new peaceful State of Zambia. They intend to seize all the jointly owned common services, including the Kariba hydroelectric stations, the railways and the airways. I wish to point out that Zambia has contributed the larger part of the capital invested in these services and that to seize them would be tantamount to committing an international crime. The nation of Zambia continues to appeal to the British Government, which is responsible for Rhodesia, to intervene immediately and grant independence to the indigenous peoples of Zimbabwe who are in the majority.

Finally, I appeal to the Members of the I.L.O. and particularly to the elements which are opposed to socialist China, to change their way of thinking and admit that the German Democratic Republic and others to membership of the I.L.O. in order to make this Organisation truly representative of all nations.

Mr. [name—Workers' delegate, Pakistan]—Before I come to the Report of the Director-General which is under discussion, permit me to congratulate you in the name of the workers of Pakistan on being elected President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. The workers of Pakistan really hold you in high esteem and are particularly happy to see you occupying the Chair at this world assembly of representatives of governments, employers and workers.

I am not a newcomer to the International Labour Conference. I have attended about a dozen sessions and also served the I.L.O. as a member of the Governing Body from the middle of 1948 to the middle of 1957. So I have taken part in the discussion of a good number of Reports of the Director-General and I can say quite candidly that this year's Report has interested me the most and has also raised fresh hopes in my mind for the future of the I.L.O.

I am particularly happy to find that the Office has been reorganised and that appropriate departments—such as the Human Resources Department, the Social Institutions Development Department, the Conditions of Work and Life Department, the International Labour Standards Department, the Research and Planning Department, the Economic Planning Department, etc.—have been created. Thus, in my view, the I.L.O. machinery has been fully geared to answer adequately the growing needs and requirements of the I.L.O. This is the type of task which must have taken a lot of thinking, time and labour, and I must offer my wholehearted sympathy and thanks to the Director-General. I am also equally happy to note that special attention will continue to be paid to the conditions of work and life of seafarers, fishermen, dockworkers and workers in inland water transport.

I also welcome the new policy of further decentralisation in the working of the I.L.O. in order to tackle and cope more effectively with regional activities, and the proposed setting up of the three regional branches—one for Africa, one for Asia and the Middle East and one for Latin America. I agree fully with the Director-General's contention that the intensification of the I.L.O.'s regional activities will not distract the I.L.O. from its universal aims and that the regional activities should be developed and conducted keeping in view the universal objectives of the I.L.O.

All the proposed major programme areas of the I.L.O., namely human resources development, labour relations and trade union development, and development of conditions of life and work are very important, but, for the time being at least, the subject of labour relations and development of trade unions interests me the most. Of course, in most of the developing countries the development of management is as necessary as the development of trade unions. In Pakistan we have a number of private companies operating big business which are nothing but family concerns, and I hope the Government of Pakistan will soon amend the Companies Law making it obligatory for these companies to use the word "private" so that they can be readily distinguished from the public companies. Labour relations are, however, improving but still far from satisfactory.

Before I come to the Report of the Director-General which is under discussion, permit me to congratulate you in the name of the workers of Pakistan on being elected President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.
The governments of most developing countries are now paying attention to the growth of the co-operative movement, but the insufficiency of funds seems to be the main hurdle. If the I.L.O. is to play a significant part in the development of the co-operative movement, it must also tackle the question of adequate credit facilities, particularly to those who are concerned in manufacturing industrial or consumer goods. In East Pakistan we have established a co-operative jute mill, but as far as I know financial difficulties are retarding its progress.

The problem of agrarian reform is a complex and far-reaching one. In fact the lot of the tillers of the soil. In East Pakistan we took away the landlords and giving ownership to the tillers of the soil. In East Pakistan we took away the landlord and vested the ownership in the tenants as far back as the year 1950 by passing the East Bengal Estate Acquisition and Tenancy Act, but has the lot of the jute-growers and other tillers improved much? They are still being exploited as they were exploited under the British and the landlords' rule. After every harvest the prices of raw jute still go down to cost level or even below at times, but no sooner does the jute go out of the hands of the growers than the prices shoot up. It is true that the Government has established a Jute Marketing Corporation, but it can be better termed as an apology to the jute-growers than anything else. It therefore goes without saying that the real answer to this problem is either a strong co-operative marketing organisation, or nationalisation of the entire raw jute trade. I personally stand for nationalisation, but till it is nationalised a co-operative marketing organisation could also help the producers a great deal provided adequate finances are placed at their disposal.

In West Pakistan, too, a great land reform has taken place. During the period of martial law, General Mohammad Ayub Khan (now Field Marshal and President of Pakistan) took courage and abolished the jagirdate (feudal landlords) and limited holdings to 500 and 1,000 acres of irrigated and non-irrigated land respectively. Many say that this reform could have never been accomplished by any parliametary government in West Pakistan. But the question again arises: has the lot of the cotton-growers and other tillers improved much? Again the answer is either a co-operative or nationalisation of the raw cotton trade, I would therefore strongly urge upon the I.L.O. to keep in view that the agrarian question cannot be solved adequately by passing a Recommendation or even a Convention. It can only be solved by arranging adequate finance and marketing facilities of agrarian produce.

Before I conclude let me extend to all of you the sincere greetings of the workers of Pakistan and their warm wishes for the success of this Conference.

Mr. CHENG (Employers’ delegate, China)—I feel privileged to be able to attend this General Conference of the I.L.O. and to participate in the discussion of the Director-General’s Report. Although this is only the first time that I have attended the Conference as the Chinese Employers’ delegate, the I.L.O. and its long years of social and humanitarian activities are by no means new to me. The same is true of the topic of the I.L.O. structure and programme which is now before the Conference for the third consecutive year.

The Director-General has presented once again his eloquent Report covering problems relating to the Organisation’s structure and programme in addition to the I.L.O.'s work during the past year. We employers in the Republic of China fully appreciate his desire and effort to streamline the structure and the working methods, with a view to adapting the Organisation to the changing needs of the world. As human resources are a decisive factor in economic development and social progress, our special attention has been focused on their development and utilisation in our country. Indeed, if people do not have the skills needed to use natural resources and the capital and equipment which must accompany them, if they are not productively employed, if they do not participate actively, freely and in a responsible manner in the tasks of development, it will be very difficult to achieve any economic and social progress; but, on the other hand, as pointed out by Mr. Haythorne, Chairman of the Governing Body and Chairman of the Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O., the role which human beings can play in the process of development will be enhanced if living and working conditions are improved, the standards of living are made more satisfactory, and a greater degree of social justice is attained. It is therefore in this context that I would like to give this august assembly a brief account of what my country has recently been doing towards the realisation of these objectives.

As you probably know, since 1953 the Government of the Republic of China has launched a series of economic development plans. Thus, from 1952 to 1963 our gross national income increased by 212 per cent. and income per head by 140 per cent., with the annual average growth rate for the entire economy recorded at 7.4 per cent. China’s agricultural and industrial progress presents not only a spectacular achievement in our own country, but also an encouragement for the free world as a whole. But, if one were to trace the contributing factors, it cannot be denied that, in addition to many other elements, a right utilisation of our manpower resources has played a vital part. In the first place, despite the ever-increasing population on the island, our manpower has been mobilised to the fullest possible extent so as to turn the human resources into an active productive force.

At the same time, thanks to the expanding economy the surplus manpower and unemployment have been absorbed. Today even the discharged servicemen are being resettled as planned in agricultural and public works projects. Secondly, in order to improve the quality of our labour force, educational and vocational training have been in full swing since the Government has moved to Taiwan. During the past 11 years landmark movements have been noticed in the field of general education. At present more than 96 per cent. of the school-
age children are in elementary schools, and some 56 per cent. are receiving a high-school education. As regards vocational training special measures, including apprenticeship schemes, are also on the increase to ensure an adequate supply of skilled human resources for the need of our over-all economic development.

While a developing economy provides a basic guarantee for the improved standards of living of the people, we have not lost sight of the different additional measures in the social field in the interests of the workers' welfare. For instance, a comprehensive labour insurance plan has been in effective operation since 1953 and, thanks to the assistance furnished by the I.L.O., its functioning has been found satisfactory. To help working men and women to obtain decent housing at low cost and on easy terms, large-scale construction projects are being developed all over the province. Besides, the Taiwan Employment Service Centre is expanding and its work of channelling agricultural labour into industry has been most helpful in the present-day manpower situation.

The foregoing, however brief it may be, gives a clear-cut picture of how our efforts are being directed to building up the nation on a sound economic and social basis. It is also designed to create the right climate so that human resources can play an increasingly important part in the process of development.

With regard to the other programme areas proposed by the Office, such as social institutions and labour relations, the Chinese employers find themselves in general agreement with the principles thereof. As regards the methods of action, we are of the opinion that, despite its past success, the tripartite structure of the I.L.O. should continue to be strengthened in the implementation of new programmes.

In the Republic of China we are at present engaged in an all-out human resources development plan, covering aspects of education, training, employment services, manpower distribution and the like, to promote the utilisation of human potential. Progress has also been made in recent years in the establishment of social institutions and improvement of labour relations. All these have been initiated by the Government in consultation with both employers' and workers' organisations.

I am particularly gratified to report that, in view of the huge tasks of economic construction facing both employers and workers, labour relations in Free China are more harmonious than ever. We decided to work hand-in-hand with the僮 promote the development of the economy in a joint effort to promote further our standards of living. Under our supreme policy of recovering the Chinese mainland so as to deliver our brethren from the communist tyranny, we unite and work together for the common good of the country. We believe that the communist régime now in the mainland will soon be toppled. When this happens the I.L.O. principles will see light in the whole of China in conditions of human freedom and dignity.

I am fully in favour of the Director-General's remarks regarding those I.L.O. instruments which no longer fulfil their original purposes and which should therefore be eliminated from the present code of Conventions and Recommendations. As time goes by it is inevitable that a certain number of instruments adopted in the earlier years have become obsolete, and in certain cases completely out of date; a streamlining of these instruments is thus very urgent.

Another matter we must endorse strongly relates to decentralised organisation so as to ensure utmost flexibility between countries and regions at different stages of development. Much has already been done in the past in this field, but more still remains to be achieved. By so doing, the I.L.O. would implement its principles and adapt its standards better to the needs and problems in local areas.

Finally, I would like to refer to the two questions raised in the speeches of the delegates from the communist bloc concerning the composition of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and the revision of the procedures of the Conference. In view of the efficient functioning of the Governing Body in the past 47 years and its great achievements, I do not see any need or justification for altering the composition of the Governing Body. As regards the procedures of the Conference, we should all bear in mind that the unique characteristic of the I.L.O. is its tripartism, and that therefore group autonomy should be respected and strictly observed. We are strongly opposed to the idea of revising the Conference procedures for the sake of expediency or satisfying those countries in which the government's view is always the only view and the so-called Employers are in fact the government itself.

In closing may I wish the Conference great success.

Mr. ATTARD KINGSWELL (Workers' delegate, Malta)—I wish first of all to express my warmest congratulations to the President on his election to the presidency of this Conference. It is also my pleasure to convey the sincere greetings and esteem of the workers of my country to the many distinguished delegates and advisers attending this Conference.

It is not the first time that I have addressed this august body. For many years now, observer delegations from Malta have participated and played an active part in the work of this Conference. Today, however, I come here differently. It is the first time that my country is participating as a full Member of the International Labour Conference, after having joined the Organisation earlier this year. I consider it right and proper, on this first and unique opportunity, to restate publicly and declare that the workers of Malta fully support the noble aims and the activities of the I.L.O.

I wish to be brief, but cannot help expressing our workers' profound interest in the humanitarian work of the I.L.O. It would be superfluous for me to enumerate the many international instruments prepared by this Organisation that served to improve the way of life of all peoples, workers in particular. A quick reflection on this subject, however, also reveals that we are still a long way from the goals which the founders and leaders of the I.L.O. set themselves to achieve. This is a formidable challenge to us all, and it is mainly for this reason that the
I.L.O. has had to reorganise its structure and become better equipped to face the realities of the situation existing in the world today.

In my humble opinion, the reorganisation proposed by the Director-General in Part I of his Report is a step in the right direction, but it cannot by itself bring about the desired improvements in the social and economic conditions of member States. It needs the full co-operation of governments and the active support of the employers' and workers' organisations. Other international agencies of the United Nations should also be asked to extend their expert and financial assistance for the rapid development of newly emergent countries. All possible help and advice should be given to those countries which express willingness to establish the standards set out in I.L.O. instruments.

Speaking for the workers of my country, I wish to state that we have more than an outside interest in the useful work which is being done through I.L.O. technical assistance in Malta. Whilst we accept that experts come on the invitation of the Government, we may suggest that it will greatly facilitate their tasks if they could meet trade union representatives and ensure that the workers are not excluded from the preparation and activation of I.L.O. projects.

Another general observation which I dare to make is that our participation in the preparation of I.L.O. instruments should not end in Geneva. It remains our responsibility to see that the decisions taken in this Conference are later ratified and scrupulously followed in our respective countries. We cannot afford to spend three busy weeks preparing international instruments and then put them in cold storage or forget all about them. I strongly appeal to all Workers' delegates to ensure that the recommendations of I.L.O. Conventions become one of the slogans of their unions. Trade unions should make it their concern to urge and persistently press for the ratification of I.L.O. Conventions in their respective countries.

I was glad to hear the Honourable Minister of Labour and Social Welfare declare to this Conference a few days ago that the Government of Malta has accepted the obligations entered into on behalf of the territory of Malta by the United Kingdom Government in respect of no less than 25 Conventions. It was furthermore stated that the Government of Malta has undertaken to continue to apply the "non-metropolitan" Conventions which the United Kingdom had applied hitherto until it is possible to ratify the corresponding "metropolitan" Conventions. I wish to put it on record that we are glad to learn of our Government's intention on this matter, and the workers of Malta will certainly give every support and assistance which may be needed for the early ratification of these Conventions.

I said earlier that trade unions should be more militant in their endeavours to ensure the ratification of as many as possible of the I.L.O. Conventions. I would like to follow this proposal myself by inviting the Government of my country to set up a committee, with employers' and unions' representation, which will study and make recommendations on the possible ratification of more I.L.O. Conventions. We want to assist our Government in every possible way in pursuing a genuine desire to implement I.L.O. standards and policies. This will be of benefit not only to the workers but to the country as a whole.

The Director-General, in Part I of his Report, described in a very clear manner the appropriate machinery to run the three major I.L.O. programme areas. In my considered view, this is a very practical way of assisting the developing countries in generating the necessary forces that can improve the social and economic conditions. Malta has, over the years, developed its social institutions and has acquired reasonably good living and working conditions. This does not mean that technical assistance in these two fields is not welcome. We trade unionists will be the first to argue that there is still room for improvement. It is, however, in the field of human resources and economic development that we are in the greatest need of assistance.

Malta has no natural resources and its one-third of a million people live on an area of 120 square miles. In the past they earned their living selling their labour to the British defence establishments. Our national wealth has always been the ingenuity and skill of our labour force. The former employment areas are now closing down, and the Government of Malta has proved unable to create new job opportunities fast enough to maintain the existing labour force. At the same time, thousands of youngsters qualify from our schools and colleges only to find there are no jobs waiting for them. This makes the situation more difficult, as a consequence of which thousands of workers are leaving the island, without any significant effect on the unemployed, whose figures keep steadily rising.

It is therefore in this field of human resources that the I.L.O. is urgently desired to assist us. We must stop this waste of our national wealth which, I regret to say, is being somewhat encouraged by our Government in a hopeless task of keeping the unemployed figures from rising further. This short-sighted policy is aggravating the situation by creating a false sense of security when much greater determination of our people is needed to pull our country from the brink of economic disaster. Our unions are very conscious of the seriousness of the situation and have been asking the Government to set up a National Development Economic Council to advise and keep the problem under constant review. So far, and notwithstanding the gravity of the situation, the Government has taken a negative attitude towards any sign of wanting the employers and the unions to share with it the task of diversifying the economy of the island.

It may be pertinent to point out that the first Five-Year Development Plan, prepared by the former Crown Colony Administration, realised less than 50 per cent. of its objectives. Malta is now independent, and in the early stages of a second Five-Year Development Plan, but unless the Maltese Government's present attitude changes, and changes quickly, the Plan will likewise fall short of its very modest objectives. It is therefore in this direction that the I.L.O. can use its good influence and convince the Maltese Government
of the usefulness of tripartite action in solving our economic problem. I am putting the suggestion because it appears from our distinguished Minister's address that I.L.O. technical assistance in this area is welcome. The I.L.O. may insist that no economic plan can succeed without the active participation of the employers' and trade union organisations.

In extending my congratulations to you, Mr. President, allow me to thank the I.L.O. and the many distinguished delegates for welcoming our country in the membership of this important Organisation.

Interpretation from French: Mr. TUDOR (Workers' delegate, Rumania)—May I take this opportunity to welcome the four new member States in our midst—Malawi, Malta, Zambia and the Yemen.

The questions raised in the Director-General's Report at this session of our Conference are important elements for the future activity of the Organisation which, together with the other specialised agencies of the United Nations and other international organisations, is called upon to contribute to an increasing extent to the permanent improvement of the economic and social conditions of the workers. The attention of the workers and of their trade union organisations is, no doubt, concentrated above all on the problem of the rational utilisation of human resources in all sectors of the economy, without which—as the Report points out—it is not possible to achieve co-ordinated economic and social development.

The importance of the rational utilisation of human resources is also illustrated by the fact that, out of 49 Special Fund technical assistance projects coming within the competence of the I.L.O., 31 are aimed at the training of supervisory personnel, particularly in the developing countries.

With a view to finding solutions on a broader scale, the I.L.O. should make a comparative study of methods of vocational training and employment, which would review national and regional experience and characteristics.

Rumania, which in the past was a backward country, is engaged in full-scale economic development, both on the industrial and agricultural levels. By mobilising the tremendous energy of the workers, by the permanent improvement of the means of production throughout the country, and through the better use of its national resources, our country is carrying out a policy of rapid socialist industrialisation, the results of which can be seen from the increase in over-all industrial production to 6.5 times the level in 1950. In the coming five years, over-all industrial production will increase by a further 65 per cent.

We attach particular importance in the national economy to modern technology and to the development of certain key industrial sectors such as the electrical trades, the chemical industry, the iron and steel industry and engineering.

The dynamic development of the national economy has given rise, naturally, to a whole lot of social and cultural problems. Amongst these should be mentioned the problem of the training and rational utilisation of supervisory personnel, the solution of which has been made possible by planning, training and full employment in accordance with over-all economic development plans. During the period 1950-65 the number of wage earners has doubled, the greatest increase occurring in the main industrial sectors.

The progress achieved in the national economy has made it possible to allocate considerable funds to social and cultural activities, which have developed sixfold over the past 15 years. Real wages have more than doubled during the same period.

Our trade unions have made a major contribution to the solution of all economic and social problems. They take an effective part in the preparation and implementation of economic plans, in the organisation and improvement of the production process, and in improving the technical and occupational skills of manual workers, technicians and engineers.

The trade unions also take part in settling those questions relating to the social and cultural needs of the workers, and in the formulation of legislation and decisions in this connection. They are in charge of social insurance systems, they organise and supervise working conditions and engage in activities in various sectors of the public services.

The programme and the tasks before the I.L.O., as can be seen from the Director-General's Report, are complex. Their solution in the spirit hoped for by the working masses will be made possible only by a change in the methods of work and structure of the Organisation. By the very nature of its work and structure, the I.L.O. should be a forum for international co-operation. In our view this can only be ensured by fair representation of all the regions of the world and of all political, economic and social systems, and through democratic methods of work.

How can one speak of the universality of the programmes of the I.L.O. when all its Members do not participate on equal terms in their elaboration? We consider the present situation to be an anachronism, where the workers' organisations of the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, which comprise so many workers rich in experience of trade union activity, are deprived of their legitimate right to contribute to the work of the I.L.O.

Even though this question has often been debated, it continues, to our regret, to remain unsolved, and this prejudices the achievement of the I.L.O.'s objectives.

The I.L.O. should be a tribunal for the free exchange of views and experience on a footing of complete equality so that it may find unanimously acceptable solutions.

At the same time the strict observation of the principle of universality makes fair representation of all Members in all the organs of the I.L.O. indispensable.

As a rule only the representatives of certain workers' organisations are elected to these organs, while the World Federation of Trade Unions and its affiliated organisations, which represent more than 120 million workers, is not represented in the Workers' group of the Gov-
ering Body or among the officers of the Workers' group of the Conference.

We hope that appropriate measures will be taken as soon as possible to put an end to such a state of affairs. We believe that the adoption by the Conference of the resolution submitted by the Government delegations of the People's Republic of Poland and of the Ukrainian S.S.R. would be an encouraging step forward in this respect.

From the discussions at our Conference it is clear that most delegates believe that the implementation of the tasks and the programmes of the I.L.O. can only be assured in a climate of international peace and co-operation among all peoples, based on freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

It is the duty of the I.L.O. to contribute to respect of these principles and to oppose any action that may lead to their violation, wherever it may occur.

The workers and the trade unions of the People's Republic of Rumania, who are deeply interested in the maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world, express their misgivings about existing tension in certain parts of the world. They urgently demand an immediate cessation of the aggressive action against the people of Viet-Nam, and of the interference in the domestic affairs of the Dominican Republic.

International tension and the existence of theatres of war lead to the wastage of vast resources for military purposes at a time when economic backwardness, chronic malnutrition, illiteracy and unemployment continue in many parts of the world.

The maintenance of colonial domination, which has been so often condemned in this Conference, and the policy of racial discrimination that continues to exist, present sources of tension which affect the economic and social progress of the peoples as well as the activities of our Organisation.

The trade unions of our Republic express their complete solidarity with those peoples that are struggling or consolidating their national independence. It is the peoples of the world who must freely decide their own future without foreign interference. All peoples, great or small, are entitled to contribute actively to social advancement and to the safeguarding of peace throughout the world.

It is the duty of the I.L.O. to make a sustained effort to contribute to the abolition of all forms of colonial exploitation and to further trade union and democratic freedoms. We believe that the adoption of the resolution submitted by the Workers' delegate of Yugoslavia and of the resolution submitted by the Government delegate of the United Arab Republic will serve these purposes.

To conclude, I should like to assure you that the trade unions of the People's Republic of Rumania will continue to contribute to the solution of the problems facing the I.L.O. and will support every constructive effort that is made with a view to improving the economic and social conditions of the workers.

Mr. POLLYDORE (Workers' representative, British Guiana)—I wish to associate myself with other speakers in congratulating the President on his election as President of this Conference, and to assure him that I have been watching with great interest the dignified manner in which he is discharging the functions of his very high office.

I speak here as an observer on behalf of the workers of British Guiana, a country which, though in a remote corner of South America and with a small population of just under 600,000, has been figuring very prominently at international levels over the past 12 years. In recent history British Guiana first came into international prominence in 1953, when its Constitution was suspended by the United Kingdom Government.

In more recent years British Guiana figured prominently again at international levels on account of a number of major political and industrial events.

In 1962 there was a general strike when civil servants, for the first time in the country's history, participated in strike action. In 1963 there was another general strike, which lasted 80 days, involving nearly all government employees including civil servants and workers in the private sectors. In 1964 there was a strike in the sugar industry motivated politically, which was associated with violence and arson and resulted in a number of deaths. Despite these major events in the political and industrial affairs of the country, the trade union movement remained basically a united one except for a short period between 1953 and 1955 following the suspension of the country's Constitution.

This unity in the trade union movement was possible because, while the movement was always deeply interested in political objectives, its immediate objective has always been the achievement of economic and social advancement of the workers. However, the British Guiana Trade Union Council, which is the national trade union centre, recognised at the same time that the objective of social and economic progress is intimately tied to certain political considerations, and having regard to the political and industrial background—even though acknowledging that independence would not mean immediate transformation of the country's adverse economic position to one of economic prosperity—my Council made representations to the United Kingdom Government for British Guiana to be granted independence without delay under a radically changed political system which would ensure the following: that racism could not be successfully fostered as a means of achieving and maintaining political power; that economic possibilities are provided for all, regardless of race; that totalitarianism could not be imposed on the people through misuse of political power; that freedom of association, more especially trade union rights, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, will be upheld.

A change in the political system has been effected, and the present political climate is conducive to economic and social advancement.

I trust that within the next few months the present preoccupations of the Government and the people on this question of independence, which absorbs so much valuable time, will
disappear with the attainment of independence, and that thereafter all energies in the country will be directed towards economic and social progress.

The Report of the Director-General, which covers a wide range of matters, sets out the achievements of the I.L.O. in a very modest way when account is taken of the fact that so much has been accomplished in so many directions and of the acknowledgements expressed at this Conference by many delegates of the progress made in their countries through the help and guidance of the I.L.O.

The proposal by the Director-General in Chapter II of Part I of his Report that a strategy in the field of human resources should concentrate on three main objectives is an excellent one, since these objectives involve some of the basic essentials for economic and social progress. The objectives mentioned by the Director-General are: better utilisation of the labour force by creating higher levels of productive employment; improving the quality of the labour force by vocational education and training; and enlisting popular support for the tasks of national development, and the participation of broad social groups in them.

With respect to the first objective—that is better utilisation of the labour force by creating higher levels of productive employment—I feel that the immediate need of British Guiana, as in the case of other countries with similar economic problems, is that the I.L.O. should advise on measures which could be taken to create new jobs for the substantial number of people who are unemployed. While recognising, as stated in the Director-General's Report, that "the creation of full employment is not an end in itself" and that "employment which does not contribute to economic growth does not bring the realisation of social objectives any nearer"; still, where it is possible in the long run to integrate various stages of development programmes designed to achieve economic growth, development programmes, both in the public and private sectors, should take into account the immediate objective of providing employment for those exposed to hunger. The assistance of the I.L.O. in determining such programmes would be most welcome to the workers of British Guiana, and I am aware that the British Guiana Government has already taken positive steps in this connection.

Briefly, may I say that the realisation of social objectives through economic growth is the only progressive approach today; but there are still many countries where, despite substantial economic growth, workers are not brought any nearer to the realisation of their social objectives except through extreme pressures including strikes forced on the trade union movement, where it is militant, by the type of employer whose only concern in human resources is its utilisation for the further enrichment and strengthening of capitalism.

Regarding the second objective—that is improving the quality of the labour force by vocational education and training—apart from improving the quality of labour in the particular categories in which the labour force is normally utilised, consideration might be given to providing facilities for those who respond to encouragement for training outside their normal occupation. For example, low-income-group working people who cannot afford to buy houses could be organised with greater enthusiasm and interest to build their own houses in a massive drive to meet the housing shortage if trained in simple modern techniques in low-cost housing construction.

My Council has just organised a housing cooperative in British Guiana and, with a loan of $2,500,000 made available by the trade union movement of the United States of America, 500 houses for workers will be built shortly as a first step. The present British Guiana Government has made substantial provision for aided self-help housing, but even taken together the total number of houses to be built by the cooperative and the Government would make no significant impact on the serious housing problem in British Guiana.

Regarding the third objective—that is enlisting popular support for the tasks of national development, and the participation of broad social groups in them—I believe labour relations to be the most important aspect of this objective. It is recognised that the pattern of labour relations would continue to vary from country to country, and even in the same country, according to the state of political, social, and economic development, and that no universal formula could be devised in this field for general adoption. Nevertheless, experiences and investigations have made it possible for broad guidelines to be set down, and there is evidence that some of these are being used with modification by individual countries to meet their particular needs.

As the Director-General said in Part I of his Report, "It is imperative that the I.L.O. should have a full understanding of the situation in each country and in each region. In this way, and only in this way, will it be possible to suggest measures which fully meet the most critical needs of the country or region concerned, and which will have the effect of strengthening and developing an adequate system of labour relations in that country or region, while at the same time ensuring respect for the principles and freedoms for which the I.L.O. stands, and which constitute the very reason for its existence."

I consider the Director-General's approach to the development of viable systems of labour relations to be a very good one which merits the co-operation of all member countries. I feel certain that, in the search for this understanding by which he hopes to suggest measures for strengthening and developing an adequate system of labour relations in individual countries or regions, account will be taken of the problems in labour relations in some countries arising from political and ideological pressures which sometimes obscure industrial issues: disparity in the educational levels between the employing class and the working class, and the urgency for improvement in the general educational levels of workers as distinct from trade union education; also manipulated economic pressures by employers aimed at compromising the Government and the trade union movement.

I am happy to see at this Conference the ready expression of support from the Employers
for the development of co-operatives. Some employers believe that consumer co-operatives constitute an erosion of their commercial functions and deliberately set out to create economic obstacles to their development. I think such obstacles, if allowed to become widespread, could only provide reasonable ground ultimately for workers in developing countries to demand that governments should assume the responsibility for making basic consumer supplies available to consumer co-operatives and commerce alike.

My final congratulation to the Director-General is in respect to his statement in his Report that the first major objective of the I.L.O. is “the growth of workers' and employers' organisations which are genuinely representative and independent”. Independence of the trade union movement is essential and calls for working-class unity, and the workers' struggles for social and economic justice can be achieved only if working-class unity transcends national frontiers.

When, however, condemnatory statements are made against the functioning of the I.L.O., such as I have heard made at this Conference by some Workers' representatives and even a Government representative from one of my neighbouring countries in referring to British imperialism and American aggression, one wonders how international working-class unity could be brought any nearer when such utter disregard is being shown for the sentiments of workers in those countries against which those statements were made.

In order to demonstrate impartiality in dealing alike with workers in different countries, why did those who made those condemnatory statements not refer to persistent authentic reports that there is no independent trade union movement in Cuba, no right to strike, no negotiation of collective contracts, and no trade-union elections? Why has David Salvador, Secretary of the Cuban Confederation of Labour, with whom I have been associated personally in the free trade union movement, been forced out of the movement through imprisonment, despite his part in the revolution to bring democracy to Cuba? Why are there 15,000 political prisoners in Cuba today? These questions should be answered for all those who believe in a free and independent trade union movement which is the basis of working-class unity.

Instead of agitation and condemnation, constructive efforts should be directed towards the restoration and development of an independent trade union movement where this does not exist. Only when freedom and rights of workers have been assured can we hope for the development and strengthening of sound institutions for the welfare of the workers in the world and be free of aggression and intervention by the agents of totalitarianism. Thus, the road to universality in the I.L.O. should be constructed by free workers, free employers and free governments in a world that universally respects and adheres to the same basic principles of human liberty and independence of workers, employers, and governments.

Mr. SCEK MAO (Employers' delegate, Somalia)—First of all I wish to congratulate the President most warmly on his election to the highest office of this Conference. I am convinced that the Conference will benefit from his capable and precious guidance in fulfilling the task before it.

Also, I should like to express my congratulations to the Director-General for the clarity of and richness of ideas in his Report.

This Report, divided into two Parts, presents a complete image of the activities of the Organisation in the past year, and analyses with competence the main programmes and working methods. It was the general opinion that the I.L.O. should adapt itself to the constant changes in the international situation, and I am gratified to note in the Report that this procedure is being followed.

The regrouping of the I.L.O.'s activities in the three major programme areas, namely human resources, social institutions, and conditions of work and life, is consistent with the opinions expressed at the 48th Session.

I have noticed with satisfaction that priority has been given to the development of human resources, these resources being intimately linked with the other factors of production, namely capital and natural resources. Even in this era in which automation is at its peak, human resources continue to have their own importance. A most convincing illustration of this is the situation existing in the industrialised countries, where considerable importance is given to the vocational and technical education of manpower.

In order to attract foreign capital into developing countries one important condition is the availability of qualified and suitable manpower in those countries. It would therefore be of great assistance to them if the I.L.O. could institute its activities in the field of human resources.

The development of social institutions should also be put into effect in due time.

The present trade union movements in States which have recently obtained their independence are still in the infant stage. Therefore, assistance should be given to workers to enable them to overcome their initial difficulties more quickly.

In this difficult stage of reconstruction of their countries, both workers and employers should be conscious of the importance of their position and should collaborate in order to achieve their objective. On the other hand, it is obvious that the developing countries cannot afford to resort very often to drastic measures for the solution of any possible conflict which might become an obstacle to progress in industrial improvement and economic development. However, it is gratifying to note that some positive results in this respect have already been achieved to reduce such action to the minimum. No effort should be spared to create and maintain good relations between workers and employers.

The last point referred to in the programme, i.e., conditions of work and life, is one of the traditional activities of the I.L.O. We are
grateful to this Organisation for its sound and substantial contributions in this field, in which it can boast of long and fruitful experience. The changing international situation and the legitimate aspirations of the inhabitants of every country for tangible well-being and economic and social welfare necessitate the intensification of research to achieve better living and working conditions.

In regard to the three major programme areas, I can assure you that they are in perfect harmony with the objectives of the Five-Year Plan for the economic and social development of my country. The objectives aimed at in this Plan are as follows: (1) the provision of more employment facilities by creating new job opportunities; (2) the provision of increased educational facilities to train the technical and professional personnel necessary for the achievement of the Plan; (3) the encouragement of expansion of the trade union movement according to fair criteria; (4) the development of standards for better understanding between workers and employers on a sound and healthy basis; (5) the improvement of the working and living conditions of the working classes; (6) an increase in the workers' productivity by the raising of the level of remuneration; and (7) the establishment of a broader system of social security.

Another item mentioned in the Director-General’s Report and for which our Five-Year Plan has made provision concerns the rural population. In this respect our Government is seeking ways and means of settling part of the nomadic population by the establishing of various rural communities.

Finally, I approve of the other matters covered in the Report, especially those dealing with the internal reorganisation, decentralisation and expansion of the I.L.O.’s activities. However, it is advisable that the new structure be established in such a way as to avoid any overlapping.

Within the context of its revised programme the I.L.O. must continue its fight against racial discrimination and other forms of social injustice. In my opinion it would be appropriate for the Organisation to adopt more severe measures against South African and Portuguese. In fact, I feel it is useless to persist further in the use of methods of passive persuasion in order to induce those two States to renounce their social importance and the maturity they have acquired by experience.

In concluding, I wish to express my fraternal welcome to the new member States and to join in the congratulations to the President and to the Director-General.

Interpretation from French: Mr. PULVEREL (Representative of the International Confederation of Senior Officials)—Mr. President, on behalf of the International Confederation of Senior Officials, may I first of all thank you and the other staff of the session for having authorised me to speak in this discussion.

The Director-General’s Report this year is in our eyes so important that I decided to come myself, as President of our Confederation, to explain the point of view of my Confederation to the Conference.

We appreciated the Report particularly this year because of its clarity and its comprehensive conception. Its precision of thought will certainly bear fruit because it will enable more people of all social, economic and political backgrounds to study it fully and closely. Indeed, successful pursuit of the I.L.O.’s objectives requires as many men as possible in public life to be familiar with the work of the Organisation, to follow it up and to appreciate its results. Moreover, as many ordinary men and women as possible everywhere should know what the I.L.O. is doing to lay down standards of living and to improve social relationships and to increase the general well-being. It is also necessary for an increasing number of the “citizens of the world” that we have become to appreciate the concern of the I.L.O. for the humblest and most unfortunate, thus removing an all too common prejudice against the international agencies.

The work of the I.L.O. should be better known so that it may have a higher prestige and thus be more effective. At present, circulation of the Report is still unduly restricted to a small number of specialists. As representative of an international organisation, the International Confederation of Senior Officials, I would wish a summary of the various activities of the I.L.O. to be prepared for world circulation and distributed with the aid of the powerful information media of today.

There are several points in the Director-General’s Report which have had the special attention of my Confederation. The first is the reorganisation of the I.L.O. into specialist departments which should enable the various activities to be prepared with greater precision and technical expertise. We applaud this step which will facilitate study of the various points in the Report by specialised commissions or working parties and so simplify their work. Similarly, by rationalising research, it will enable better advantage to be taken of the results.

As for the dialogue between the State and the various social groups, we agree with the Director-General that these groups should now take a new step forward. They should be given more power in the economic administration and development of the societies to which they belong. In particular we believe that trade union organisations should now move beyond the objectives previously allotted to them. To reach their targets more efficiently while serving the community they should enter fully into public life and assume new and greater responsibilities commensurate with their social importance and the maturity they have acquired by experience.

From this point of view, it seems that the problem of associating workers in the management of undertakings should already be the
subject of a broad exchange of views aimed at defining the standards which might be set in the light of the social and economic realities of the various countries. We would also wish to have the I.L.O. deal with the problem of the advancement of all workers, not only collectively but also in accordance with standards of personal merit.

In a more special field we are glad to see the Report stress once more the need for employers' and workers' organisations to be independent of political bodies. In many countries there is a growing protectionist tendency to favour organisations allied or directly linked to the public authorities or political parties. This leads to monopoly representation and cannot but adulterate the freedom of the social and trade union organisations.

Lastly, I shall speak of the position of public officials since my organisation exists mainly to defend their interests. The Meeting of Experts of November 1963 raised high hopes among them. Formerly a privileged class, civil servants now feel that they are the poor relations of modern society. Indeed, doubts are often expressed whether I.L.O. standards are applicable to them. Benefiting by the admirable activities of the trade unions in the private sector, the industrial workers have achieved great advances, which we very much welcome, but although the importance of the role of public officials in modern economies is steadily increasing they do not enjoy social equality with other groups. Particularly as regards remuneration, there is nearly everywhere disparity between the rise in national incomes, and the insufficient upward adjustment of public officials' salaries. There is also a constant telescoping of grade differentials, which no longer reflect the responsibilities carried by public officials.

It is to make good these deficiencies and restore to public officials a status more in keeping with their functions that we ask the I.L.O. to continue its work on their behalf.

In particular, we would like to repeat our request that a public officials' department be established in the I.L.O. It would work together with joint bodies in which representatives of governments and of public officials' international organisations might prepare international standards.

We would also wish, for the sake of equity and efficiency, to have permanent consultative status granted to us. After all, our organisation has co-operated in the work of the I.L.O. for ten years thanks to the kindness and understanding of the Governing Body, which I wish, in passing, to thank very warmly. Furthermore, our organisation, despite its specialisation, has continued to be concerned, as is its duty, with the study of all the problems handled by the International Labour Organisation. The I.L.O. would thus be meeting what is in our opinion becoming an imperious necessity, deeply felt by civil servants and public service employees, who comprise at least one-sixth of all employed persons.

In this regard, I should like to remind you that we have not merely expressed wishes to the I.L.O. but have in recent years traced a path for it by doing very important work on behalf of public officials. We have formulated model regulations for supranational officials, made a comparative study of the legal status of public officials in the various countries of Western Europe, drawn up a survey on the position of public officials in the national economy, and made a study of their place in the Europe of tomorrow.

Moreover, we are now preparing two other comparative studies—one on remuneration and the other on pension schemes in the public services.

All these are expressions of our constructive spirit and our special technical expertise, which we place unreservedly at the disposal of the International Labour Organisation.

(The Conference adjourned at 4.45 p.m.)
TWENTY-THIRD SITTING

Thursday, 17 June 1965, 10.15 a.m.

President: Mr. Raza

Report of the Director-General:
Discussion (cont.)

The President—During the twentieth sitting last Tuesday afternoon the Government delegate of Cyprus requested the deletion of certain remarks which he considered to be derogatory to the Head of State of Cyprus. As I said in an earlier statement to this Conference, I will not allow any derogatory references to any Head of State. I have now had an opportunity of reading carefully the record of the remarks in question and I have found that they did not constitute an attack upon Archbishop Makarios but were put in the form of a quotation from a speech by Archbishop Makarios. I cannot regard a statement made by a Head of State as in any manner derogatory to himself.

On going through the record of the proceedings, I have noticed a recurrence in the use of certain language which goes beyond what is customary in such a forum as this. The use of the words, for example, "a few madmen", "treacherous and bloody", "is it not criminal?", and "is it not barbarous?", in my view, constitute unparliamentary language, and I would therefore again request speakers to refrain from using such language.

We now resume our discussion of the Director-General’s Report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. NTUTUME (Workers’ delegate, Gabon)—In the name of the workers of my country, I should like first of all to greet very warmly the President of this session of the Conference, Mr. Hashim Raza, and to congratulate him on his election to this office.

The importance of this session has not escaped our trade union organisations, because of the particularly significant character of the Director-General’s Report, which opens extensive prospects for the activity of the I.L.O. on behalf of the developing countries.

I do not wish to discuss all the items on the agenda of this session and I shall confine myself to certain problems which are of immediate concern to the workers of my country.

Before taking up the problem of co-operatives, to which I attach the most importance because nothing has been done in my country in this regard since its colonisation, you will permit me to recall briefly certain apprehensions regarding freedom of association already expressed at the 48th Session of the Conference by the Workers’ delegate, Mr. Auguste Walker Anguilet, National General Secretary of the African Confederation of Believing Workers.

Everyone knows of the ratification by my country of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87). With regard to the new Ordinance of 17 April 1965 promulgated by the Republic of Gabon, I must say that freedom of association in my country is a reality today, but still the ordinance I have mentioned, which has the force of law and permits the dissolution of any trade union which may trouble public order, does give rise to some disquiet. However, we hope that our Government will use with due wisdom the weapon with which it has armed itself because of certain circumstances.

The word “trouble” is not clearly defined, but we are convinced that non-political strikes will not be considered as troublesome.

The I.L.O. must watch more closely than in the past over the application of ratified Conventions, particularly by the developing countries, to ensure that the relevant legislation adopted by them is in conformity with the spirit of the Conventions, and thus tends towards the achievement of the fundamental objective common to all the Conventions, namely the social progress of mankind.

The exclusion of South Africa from this institution caused satisfaction and relief, but one should not have the illusion that that is the only country where the dignity and fundamental freedoms of men are not respected.

Therefore, in order to enable the Conference to study and to discuss better in the future the report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, it would be useful for the report to be more complete and detailed, particularly regarding Convention No. 87, for it is in the greatest interest of the I.L.O. itself to be vigilant in the application of that Convention.

The I.L.O. deserves the gratitude of the Gabonese workers for the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the Conference of the item on the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries.

As I said, my country has not any co-operatives at present; we had some, but they did not survive. It would be of great use to have technical assistance from the I.L.O. with a view to
evaluating the fields in which co-operatives could be established advantageously and setting in motion an experiment which would prove the efficiency of the system, despite the former setbacks.

The refusal of the Conference Committee on Co-operatives to envisage the preparation of a Convention, although almost all the Workers' members of the Committee wanted this, is regrettable. However, I hope that the proposed Recommendation will achieve practical results.

The workers of Gabon are disturbed by the silence of the Government regarding the replies it was asked to give to the I.L.O. under article 39 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

It is not too late, and I am convinced and I hope that the Government will not refuse to take this problem into consideration in the interests of the country.

Having said this, I shall not close without stressing that the workers of my country have appreciated very much the excellent work done by the I.L.O. in Report VII (2) to the Conference, and I would like particularly to quote from the Proposed Conclusions which state that "The instrument should invite the governments of developing countries to formulate and carry out a policy under which co-operatives receive aid and encouragement without losing their independence ".

The Government of Gabon has a good chance of succeeding in the application of such a policy, particularly among the peasants who, at the moment, are in the most unfavourable position of all. I think we may have high hopes in this regard.

As regards the decentralisation of the activities of the I.L.O., I have been glad to note the establishment of the Dar-es-Salaam Field Office, but I would like to express a wish that a third African centre be established and be placed in a French-speaking African country.

To conclude, I should like to express all my gratitude to the Director-General for the important Report which he has placed before us. It will, I am certain, help to enable us to adjust the standards of our Organisation to the realities of the changing world of today.

*Interpretation from Spanish:* Mr. DOMÍNGUEZ ACEJA (Employers' delegate, Cuba)—Mr. President, in the name of the socialist employers of my country and in my own name I should like to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the 49th Session of the Conference. We also welcome as new Members of the International Labour Organisation the States of Yemen, Malta, Malawi and Zambia.

While these two facts fill us with satisfaction, on the contrary we deplore the absence of representatives of the German Democratic Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the heroic fighters of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, as well as the illegitimate occupancy of the seats that are properly those of the People's Republic of China. We do not wish to let this opportunity pass without expressing our deepest sympathy to the Governments and peoples of Yugoslavia and Japan on the recent mining disasters which were such a tragedy for the peoples of these two countries.

Before we refer to the Report of the Director-General, we have to raise before this assembly, as we have in previous years, the question of the discrimination practised against the socialist Employers by the Employers' group. Year after year the group of capitalist Employers have deployed various methods to try to prevent our participation in the Conference. They have not succeeded in doing this since the Appeals Board has not accepted their methods. This year the Employers of the capitalist countries tried an electoral manoeuvre aimed at taking the Appeals Board of the Conference by surprise. With the natural feeling of reserve of those who have been victims of discrimination in the past, we noted this manoeuvre, observing that as usual we were eliminated from membership of the various committees of the Conference.

We protested, and straight away the Appeals Board confirmed our status as representatives of the Employers of the socialist countries, rejecting the position of the capitalist Employers, which was basically a violation of the principles of agreements and decisions of previous years under which it is perfectly logical to recognise our position as Employers at this Conference.

This situation, which is systematically provoked year after year by the group of capitalist Employers in opposition to the decisions of the Appeals Board and the will of the Conference, must be stopped once and for all by the Organisation, since it constitutes a serious obstacle to the development of the Conference and in no way facilitates the exchange of ideas and experience, which might be advantageous to all those attending this Conference.

We would also like to call the attention of all the delegates, and particularly those who suffer under imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to the fact that in the years before the triumph of our socialist revolution the Employers' delegation which came in the name of the employers of Cuba was never discriminated against, but those were the days when the land did not belong to those who worked it and when our factories and undertakings belonged to North American monopolies, which laid waste our nation and usurped our representation; as our Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, has said, we were then a country with a flag, a national anthem and a coat of arms, but we had neither independence nor sovereignty.

Today the situation has changed. The Employers' delegate of socialist Cuba is the manager of an undertaking, representing the managers who in our country administer all the factories which the Revolution returned to their legitimate owners, the people of Cuba. It is in the name of the people that we administer these factories, and we are answerable to the people only. We are responsible as managers for many activities such as the employment of manpower, the cultural and vocational training of workers, the preparation of technical staff and the application of labour and social legislation modelled in many aspects on the principles of I.L.O. Conventions, of which our country has ratified 65.
This is the experience which we would like to communicate to this Conference and which certain people have endeavoured to ignore through this discrimination of which we have been the victim. This is a reality, and the Conference and the Organisation must decide once and for all on this question, so that we will not, year after year, be faced with a situation which is not in conformity with the most basic principles of the I.L.O., and which is only the idea of a small group of these employers who try to impose these ideas on the Conference and put obstacles in the path of progressive measures by the Organisation.

I should like to refer to the agenda item of the employment of women with family responsibilities. Our delegation has participated very actively in the work of the Committee in question, explaining the experience in our country as a result of the essential measures which were adopted by the Revolutionary Government in order to stimulate and facilitate the participation of women in industrial and agricultural production, and in the other activities of a political and social nature in the country.

At present women workers are trained in the same way as men, and 36 per cent. of students are women. We have 800,000 workers going through the highest primary class, and 35 per cent. of these are women. We have a wide network of nurseries and nursery schools, which not only facilitate the employment of women but also provide a high standard of child care, which is of concern to our Government. In order to simplify domestic work, we have many popular laundries and restaurants. Our former domestic servants work in other jobs and are trained and are studying in order to take on still more important jobs for the Revolution and the economy. They thus participate more and more actively in our national life, and an end has been put to the discrimination which our women formerly suffered.

As regards the conclusions of the Director-General, regarding the most important programme areas (development of human resources, social institutions, and living and working conditions), very little can be done if the rural masses are not freed from exploitation through appropriate programme measures. The I.L.O. is conscious of its obligation to deal thoroughly with questions affecting rural workers, who represent a large percentage of mankind, and has therefore determined to do its duty by placing the question of agrarian reform on the agenda for the Conference.

The character of the subject requires the adoption of energetic and thorough measures on the national and international levels. It is not possible to postpone the solution of the agrarian problem. In Latin America, for example, the situation is such that the average income of the Latin American rural population is so low as to approach the sub-human. This tragic situation requires profound changes in the agricultural structure of those countries that will affect the very basis of the existing economic, political and social systems.

We must struggle for agrarian reforms to eliminate the monopolies, to give the land to those who work it and to attack the roots of malnutrition, poverty, illiteracy and lack of culture of the rural masses.

A few foreign monopolists exploit the work of millions of peasants. The injustice is evident, and so agrarian reform cannot merely remain on paper. Agrarian reform must be the instrument which breaks up the colonial agrarian structure which has caused the evils affecting millions of Latin American peasants.

Agrarian reform on such lines is possible. When we proposed to put radical agrarian reform into effect, we met enormously powerful obstacles. There were the Yankee monopolies and our own Cuban estate owners. Then there were hunger, poverty, illiteracy, lack of culture and other evils stemming from the old agrarian structure of our country. Twenty-five per cent. of our best land was in the hands of North American companies; 13 big North American estates owned 1,173,015 hectares. It was not possible in Cuba to introduce real agrarian reform without affecting the interests of the imperialist companies, nor was it possible to fight against imperialist domination without affecting the enormous lands included in the Yankee estates. Nevertheless, despite armed aggression directed and financed by the Government of the United States, despite the economic blockade of imperialism, Cuba undertook its agrarian reform, put through its agrarian revolution, eliminating the large estates. It liquidated illiteracy and educational backwardness; it eliminated the chronic unemployment of more than 800,000 Cubans, and now such is the shortage of North American workers that more than 50,000 urban volunteers are mobilised to harvest more than 6 million tons of sugar. This is a mortal blow to the imperialists and their lackeys who prophesied the breakdown of our social economy. There is no question but that the shortage of manpower gives rise to the need to mechanise our agriculture. We are working along these lines and we can state, without fear of contradiction, that Cuba will mechanise successfully, in a short period of time, the harvesting of its sugar cane which is our main product.

We cannot conclude our statement before this assembly without condemning energetically the attitude of the Government of South Africa which maintains its inhuman policy of apartheid, to the shame of all the peoples of the world. We hope that the measures adopted by the United Nations will be put into practice so that this shameful régime will disappear, this régime which attacks the basic human rights of man. We should also like to state that it is very difficult to carry out the suggestions made by the Director-General in his Report, particularly in so far as concerns the development of human resources, when these human resources are crushed and destroyed by the aggressive and brutal conduct of North American imperialism which, in Viet-Nam, ignores the most elementary principles of international law and the universal concepts of what is right and moral, and invades, without any valid excuse, the territory of the Dominican Republic, trampling underfoot the sovereignty of its people. Under these conditions the tasks to be carried out in developing human resources . .
The PRESIDENT—I would like to remind the speaker that references to theatres of war are not allowed, and I would not like him to continue in this strain further.

Interpretation from Spanish : Mr. DOMÍNGUEZ OCEJA—The tasks to be carried out in the development of human resources will come up against the aggressive conduct of this common enemy of the peoples of the world, but we do not doubt that the peoples will conquer in the near future for the triumph of peace and prosperity for humanity.

Finally, we would like to refer to the national liberation of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. We express from this rostrum our solidarity with them in their fight, for their struggles and sufferings are our own.

Fatherland or death, we shall conquer!

Interpretation from Spanish : Mr. ARANGO (Government delegate, Colombia)—The Director-General's Report to this session of the Conference is a document of the greatest importance for the success of our work.

In Part II of the Report we find a summary of the activities of the I.L.O. in 1964 and some very wise reflections on the development and utilisation of human resources; on labour relations, social institutions and conditions of life and work, all of which make up a very extensive programme for the years to come.

The Director-General's Report always aims implicitly or explicitly at defending the fundamental principles on which our Organisation is based, namely that universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, as the Preamble to the Constitution says; and the declaration regarding freedoms, rights and objectives of our Organisation set out in the Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944. I appreciate that the repetition of the same subjects from the rostrum may seem monotonous and contribute to the languid atmosphere which sometimes seems to envelop the plenary sitting, but I must run this risk because of the great importance of the principles laid down in the instruments I have mentioned.

In his 1964 Report the Director-General called attention to the danger of excessive attachment to the material aspects of development and forgetting human rights. It is a pity that this suggestion of the Director-General to set up an international network of compulsory legal provisions to protect human rights has remained on paper.

In Part II of the Report, speaking of priorities in the United Nations system and alluding to resolution 984 (XXXVI) of the Economic and Social Council, the Director-General sets out the following list: (a) development of international trade as a primary instrument of development; (b) industrial development; (c) development of human resources; (d) development of agricultural production; and (e) development of natural resources.

This enumeration is an excellent general rule, but the order in which it is to be applied may vary according to the particular situation. In my country, for instance, there is no priority between industry, agriculture and international trade. There is parallel development of them all. We export coffee only and are therefore keen to diversify our exports and to arrest the progressive worsening of the terms of trade. This important undertaking cannot be successful without real and vigorous international co-operation. This was proved at the Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva last year.

If there is a priority, in a universal sense, it cannot be other for the developing countries than rapid advancement in the utilisation of human resources. The Director-General says that "if there is to be development, people must acquire the necessary skills, combined with fruitful social attitudes engendered through suitable institutions". This is indeed a truth rich in promises.

I agree with many observers of today when they say that the common denominator in all systems is the progress of science and technological achievements. If that is so, it is not possible to escape from the state of underdevelopment or to maintain a high level of industrialisation without the resources of science and technique. However, we have to be careful not to fall into the technocratic superstition that the scientific wand can be waved at any time by any people. Great difficulties arise when moving from one culture to another. The scientific spirit is nothing more than the initial phase of Western civilisation.

In my opinion, the developing countries are in a period of scientific and technological assimilation. This situation is shown by the growing demand for experts from the various international agencies.

The expert is a kind of a symbol of modern technique; therefore, our countries require them and they receive them with gratitude. But their advent is transitory and adventitious. If it is to effect lasting changes, the scientific spirit must sink its roots into the national soil and give forth the fruit which is characteristic of a certain society. "Technical colonialism" has been spoken of with reason in referring to the superficial condition of those countries which have reached a high grade of scientific development as compared to the countries which are at an initial stage in this regard.

Again in Part II of his Report, the Director-General says in this regard: "Integrated social and economic development, with rapid industrialisation as the central factor, is not possible without planned development and utilisation of human resources in all sectors of the economy." To this effect, the I.L.O. has developed manpower planning, an essential factor and one of great interest to the developing countries.

The last session of the Conference also approved a Convention and a Recommendation on employment policy, having due regard to regional requirements and in close co-ordination with the activities of the United Nations and other specialised agencies.

My Government has given particular attention to this question of the utilisation of human resources, because it is fundamental if we wish to emerge from the stage of underdevelopment.
The National Apprenticeship Service (S.E.N.A.) is a Colombian institution working towards the technical training of manpower. It is expanding vigorously, with the most encouraging results. At present we are preparing 40,000 workers a year in 56 different kinds of jobs. In this connection, my Government would like to thank the I.L.O., the Special Fund and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration for their efficient help. In passing, I should like to pay tribute to the fact that this programme is adapted to the development of the Latin American countries by sponsoring and mobilising European migration of skilled manpower.

Since the phenomena to which I have referred are connected with the activities of many bodies, my delegation was pleased to see the steps the I.L.O. has taken to coordinate its efforts with other international bodies and thus to avoid, as far as possible, duplication, with its consequent disadvantages. We appreciate that this problem of co-ordination is one which is constantly growing, in so far as its importance and complexity are concerned, as the international organisations extend their range of action.

It is not possible in these few minutes to enumerate all the initiatives taken by the I.L.O., which appear in the Director-General’s Report and which of course receive the full support of our delegation. However, special attention should be given to the objectives set forth in the section “More effective co-ordination of the activities of the I.L.O.” in Chapter I of Part II of the Report which have been summarised as a greater degree of decentralisation, a grouping of Headquarters staff in larger departments and the perfecting and control of programmes. The decision to expand the Human Resources Department is a very wise move. I apologise to my distinguished listeners if I keep reverting to this question but it is because we consider it essential to the development of our countries. The plans for stimulating industrial trade, agricultural production, industrial development, the development of natural resources, financial aid and so on, will yield the hoped-for results only to the extent that the human resources in any given country will contribute effectively to the achievement of these programmes. Hence, all the developing countries have the great responsibility of tackling this very special problem in a determined and energetic manner.

Following the recommendations of this Organisation, that the population should participate more and more in governmental decisions, my Government has convened meetings of the employers’ and workers’ organisations to study together important measures of an economic and social nature. My Government not only accepts this policy, but promotes it actively and protects it, as I had the honour to state last year from this rostrum.

The question of agrarian reform is not one that can be expounded on in a few minutes. It is certain that my country is engaged in carrying out agrarian reform with unwavering determination. Our agrarian reform does not consist of a mere redistribution of the ownership of land, although this is also being done, but it implies the adoption of measures not only to increase production and to raise the standards of income and of employment. This last aspect is so urgent that it must be tackled at once, since the population pressure is now reaching maximum intensity in my country. One has only to look at the statistics. In 1800 Colombia had about two million inhabitants; in 1900 the population had risen to four million, that is, it took one hundred years to double the population. In 1938 the population approached nine million inhabitants, that is in 35 years the population had doubled; and in 1964 the population reached 17 million inhabitants, which means that it doubled itself in 26 years. I am not mistaken when I state that similar figures could be cited for other countries in Latin America, to refer to this geographical region alone.

The population explosion is a phenomenon of such magnitude that it is modifying basically all the plans for the future of governments and of international bodies.

I cannot leave this rostrum without expressing to His Excellency Haşim Raza, Secretary to the Minister of Health, Labour and Social Welfare of Pakistan, my most sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. Our President’s personality and high qualification are so well known that I need not take the time now to list them for our consideration. I should also like to extend a warm greeting to the delegations of Yemen, Malta, Malawi and Zambia, countries which have recently become Members of our Organisation.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. HANI (Government delegate, Iraq)—It gives me great pleasure to convey to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of Iraq, and on my own behalf, cordial congratulations on your election to the presidency of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. Our President’s personality and high qualification are so well known that I need not take the time now to list them for our consideration. I should also like to extend a warm greeting to the delegations of Yemen, Malta, Malawi and Zambia, countries which have recently become Members of our Organisation.

I am certain that, under your wise guidance and with the co-operation of all participants, this session of the Conference will be successful and achieve its objectives.

I take this opportunity to welcome in the name of Iraq the four friendly countries, namely Yemen, Zambia, Malta and Malawi, which have become Members of our Organisation with a full appreciation of its importance and with the desire to co-operate in the building of social justice by their support of the aims pursued by this Organisation.

We hope that, by the next session, the sun will have completely set on the empires which have for so long drained the wealth of other nations and exploited the efforts of other peoples, so that we shall be able to see in this half the free representatives of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, Muscat, Oman, occupied Southern Yemen and Aden when the struggles of all these peoples will have put an end to the dreadful policy of oppression now exercised in their countries by colonialists. We shall then
no longer hear about colonialism, with its forced labour and racial discrimination.

For the third year the Conference has been discussing the reorganisation of the I.L.O. and the effectiveness of its programmes, with a view to keeping pace with the quick progress which characterises the second half of the twentieth century.

The Report of the Director-General, in dealing with the programmes and the activities of this tripartite body, is clear and logical and expresses the concerns achieved during the last two years. There is no doubt that the adaptation of the I.L.O. programmes and their development in an integrated manner will lead to a greater and more effective influence of this Organisation on the economic and social conditions of the world than has been achieved up until now.

Nevertheless, it has been recognised by all those who intervened on these issues during the last two years that it is necessary to reconsider the structure of the Organisation and its offices, and that there is a need to increase its regional centres, with special care for the pattern of their distribution, giving them more authority to enable them to carry out their duties without hesitation. There is no doubt that the benefit obtained from such centres will be enhanced and their activity will be more effective if their staff members are recruited from among the peoples of the regions where they are situated, because this will enable them to create the drive and vitality to solve the problems with which they live and remedy the ills from which they have suffered. In this respect we would like to reiterate our belief that there should be a reconsideration of the distribution of the regional centres and of the arbitrary manner in which they have been composed, without taking into account geographical, linguistic, historical and cultural realities.

We are certain that the success of the regional centres will not be achieved unless the above-mentioned factors are taken into consideration in order to secure co-operation among the countries concerned themselves as well as between the countries and the centres.

I have pleasure in taking this opportunity to refer to the meeting of Arab Ministers of Labour held in Baghdad in January 1965 and to the Ministers' decision to establish a joint Arab labour office on a tripartite basis which will supplement the activities of the I.L.O., stand parallel to it in the Arab world, and secure the co-ordination and integration of workers and labour affairs in the Arab countries.

The decision to establish such an organisation will be an incentive for the I.L.O. to reconsider the distribution of its regional offices.

At several previous sessions of the Conference many delegations have requested a democratic composition of the membership of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., and of the membership of its committees, as well as democratic recruitment of the staff of the I.L.O.

We reiterate that the success of the Organisation, the effectiveness of its activities, and its continuity depend on following democratic principles, so that the Conference becomes the highest authority of the Organisation and the Governing Body composed according to the will of the Conference and not through procedures which are no longer in harmony with the progress and changed circumstances of the world.

In this connection I feel compelled to refer with regret to certain manoeuvres which took place during the first stage of the agrarian reforms laws and the membership of Industrial Committees. Attempts were made to keep out of these Committees countries whose economic strength and industrial contribution qualify them without any doubt for membership. These attempts were made for no valid reason but because certain countries did not like the political colour of certain others.

We refer to this question to illustrate the destructive discriminatory measures exercised by certain groups within the Organisation, measures far removed from the interests of the Organisation and the welfare of its Members and contrary to the proper conduct of its business. Such an attitude may weaken the Organisation and cause its destruction.

I have the honour to inform the Conference that since our last session my Government has enacted laws which provide for profit-sharing by workers in the industries in which they are employed. Twenty-five per cent. of the profit is allotted to the worker; a part of this profit is distributed in cash, while the rest is devoted to workers' housing and social and cultural schemes in the interests of the workers. The worker is now entitled to take part in the administration of the enterprise in which he is employed. Shortly before our arrival the workers elected their own representatives to management boards. A law now in force provides for the establishment of a workers' education institute. An I.L.O. expert now in Iraq assists and advises the Government on this scheme to ensure its success.

During the past year we opened two new vocational training centres, one for the training of technical workers in wireless and communications and the other for railways.

In the budget for the new five-year plan a sum has been allotted for the establishment, with the co-operation of the I.L.O., of an institute for vocational training. The Social Security Act passed in October 1964 provides retirement, old-age and invalidity benefits for workers, and protection for families which have lost their breadwinner.

The law thus ensures that the worker who has given his youth and energy to the building of his country will have the means of livelihood when he is unable to work.

This session of the Conference has on its agenda the question of agrarian reform. I have the pleasure of informing you that my country has been engaged in its policy of agrarian reform since 1958. The following figures will illustrate the background prior to the adoption of the agrarian reform law.

Of 8 million hectares, which constitutes the total cultivable area of Iraq, individual ownership comprised 5,850,000 hectares, of which 4 million hectares were owned by less than one-half per cent. of the population.
Five per cent. of this one-half per cent. owned 220,000 hectares of cultivable land while 164,928 persons owned the remaining area, which covered 1,850,000 hectares.

Following the introduction of agrarian reform, up to the end of March 1965, 1,850,000 hectares had been expropriated by the Government from 1,850 owners and were distributed to 248,305 families who are now working 1,750,000 hectares. During the same period an area of 520,000 hectares were distributed to 4,342 peasant families. The progress of expropriation and distribution of land will continue until the Government achieves justice in land ownership, the complete eradication of the feudal system and of the accompanying poverty and illiteracy.

**Record Vote on the Resolution concerning the Adoption of the Budget for the 48th Financial Period (1966) and the Allocation of Expenses among Member States for 1966**

The President—The next item on the agenda is a record vote on the resolution concerning the adoption of the budget for the 48th financial period (1966) and the allocation of expenses among member States for 1966. This resolution appears in paragraph 63 of the second report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

*(A record vote is taken.*)

The President—The result of the record vote is as follows: 305 votes in favour, none against, with 43 abstentions. In view of this vote, the resolution concerning the adoption of the budget for the 48th financial period (1966) and the allocation of expenses among member States for 1966 is adopted.

**Report of the Director-General: Discussion (cont.)**

The President—We resume our discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. Wagner (Employers' delegate, United States)—My compliments to you, Mr. President, and also to the Director-General. There are great opportunities for constructive action by this Conference. The Director-General's Report covers in very excellent form many areas of interest, the most important of these being: first, how to develop programmes of action to stimulate economic growth all over the world and particularly in the emerging and developing nations; second, the promotion of programmes of technical assistance to help develop skills, both managerial and labour, which must be adequate if economic growth is to be realised; and third, I would say, is the necessity for the improvement of the environment in which labour lives and works all over the world.

I had fully intended to spend the time allotted to me in a broad discussion of these matters in which all delegates should be interested. It has been my privilege for most of the past five years to conduct the operation of an enterprise which, with its own capital, has been engaged in creating and managing other successful enterprises.

These have added to the economic welfare of my country and have created thousands of job opportunities for labour and supervisory operating personnel. These enterprises include construction, shipping, manufacturing, the extractive industries, banking and many others. I do not mention these to boast but rather to indicate to you that, based upon these experiences and under proper conditions here, it might have been possible for me, over the past six years, to contribute more constructively to your deliberations.

Whether we are believed or not, it is a fact that the United States employers have a positive desire to assist in every way possible to bring about rapid economic and social progress in all the countries that have so little and need so much. However, beginning in 1969, I have sat in this plenary six times and have heard my country, maligned and viciously attacked in parliamentary, unparliamentary and abusive language. One year it is to smear us as monopolists, imperialists, money-hungry capitalists, deniers of human rights; another year as colonialists, neo-colonialists (whatever that means); and now we are charged with aggression by the masters of aggression. We have not forgotten Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Tibet—but have you so I would like to say also we were attacked last year on the basis of giving aid to other countries with designs of a selfish nature. Well, the many millions of taxpayers in my country have not had any designs on anybody but a desire to help. They have given $120 billion—yes, I repeat over $120,000 million—to the rest of the world, and what have they gained—an imbalance in their payments structure, which is a matter of real concern. I have been disturbed and upset by these speeches. It is not the fact that the Soviets and their satellites make them that disturbs me. From long I.L.O. experience I realise that the communist world is on the defensive, and propaganda is its effort at destructive achievement. To succeed, communism believes it must violently challenge all nations which possess true democracy and where people are truly free. The real and only reason I am upset by their violent, organised, correlated and collective attack is because I have noted reactions here which indicate that some of you may have been taken in by some of these vicious and planned efforts to create confusion and to obscure the basic purposes of this Conference.

So again, as in past sessions, I am forced to waste precious time which might have been used for constructive suggestions—yes, I am forced to point out to you the real purpose of the invective against my country and the real differences in their form of society and ours.

What I am going to say does have a direct and fundamental relation to the future of this Organisation. It has a specific relation to the question of progress for emerging and developing nations.

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1 See p. 285, Appendix IV, p. 659 and Appendix XII, p. 708.

2 The detailed results of the vote will be found on p. 320.
Whether you like the United States or not is a matter of your own personal concern, a matter of your personal emotions. But you come here at great expense to your governments and to the I.L.O. for the sole purpose of helping mankind, and particularly the people of your own countries, to solve big social and economic problems. You, and the emerg­ ing and developing nations, particularly those from Africa, have so much to lose if the I.L.O. continues to degenerate further into a propaganda forum. You have much to gain if the United States and other highly developed, truly democratic nations continue to support an Organisation dedicated to social objectives and economic achievements, provided it is so conducted.

Despite the fact that communist agents and sympathisers circulate in practically all nations, most of you know perfectly well what would be the consequences of communist control and communist dictatorship in your nation. Actually, people everywhere want freedom. Not for one moment can anyone believe that a communist takeover in his country would produce freedom and independence.

Let me stress again to the uncommitted nations that once you go down the communist road there is no alternative choice, no turning back. But if you choose the free enterprise form of society, or even a so-called mixed economy, you can always change your mind. If you choose communism, you cannot return to the I.L.O. as free men, with free minds and a free choice to act on I.L.O. documents in what you believe to be the real interests of your people. You must always act according to the dictates of the central controlling communist Power, or go home and suffer serious consequences. The record proves that this is the communist way of life—adhere, conform, follow the party line, or be ostracised or worse. This is no idle statement. Even in small matters the iron control is evident. For example, the radio reported last Friday an incident in Yugoslavia. A prominent writer was sentenced to nine years in prison for insulting the Soviet Union. What had he done? He had visited the Soviet Union and had written about conditions there. Among other things he had said that Living Standards in the Soviet Union were only 40 per cent. as good as those in Yugoslavia. His report was not refuted or denied, but all the same he is in prison.

A prominent communist official made the boast that communism would bury the United States. He has been relegated to the status of a nonentity now, but not for making that statement. Communism cannot bury the United States—if it could, it would bury the whole free world. Ironically, the totalitarian nations of Eastern Europe have increasingly shown that trade agreements with the free world are most necessary to them, that they need the free world and its gigantic economic capacity.

Do I need to prove again, by resorting to the obvious comparisons, that the United States and other free industrialised nations have achieved tremendous economic progress and that this has been made possible by free people, free trade unions and free enterprise, achieving the world’s most massive economic capacity, the highest standards of living and the greatest opportunity for people in every walk of life? Do I have to recite figures again to show that communism does not meet the economic needs of its people, and certainly not their economic desires? Must I again suggest that you take a look at East Germany which, under communist domination, is in a very sorry state, while West Germany is a thriving, happy, free country? Must I again remind you of the almost daily slaughter of the courageous persons fleeing East Germany, leaving their possessions behind, fleeing because they love freedom and are willing to risk their lives for it—and I might say that today, 17 June, is the anniversary of the uprising of the people of East Germany in 1953, seeking freedom, which was put down by Soviet might.

But enough of these comparisons. Let us examine another facet of this strange pheno­ menon of slander and invective promulgated by the communists. In the six years I have been coming here I have been perplexed by the constant barrage of vituperation against my country. Certainly the Soviets do not indulge in this just because they want to hear them­selves talk or for altruistic reasons. They always have an objective in mind—and what is that objective? I believe I am beginning to understand it. They have sought to dominate this Organisation. In this they have failed and will continue to fail, because domination by them would end the constructive work of the I.L.O. for labour everywhere. So now they have the vain hope that because of the constant attacks they make upon the United States my country will in disgust withdraw from the I.L.O., and they have the vain hope that this would cause the collapse and demise of the I.L.O. Then they appear to think they could blame the United States and, at the same time, be freer to ply their aims at world domination.

Despite an occasional relapse into a softer line, they have at no time given up this major objective—world domination. It is, of course, apparent to you that they are very active in their efforts to subvert the newer nations to their ideology.

I believe another reason for their desire to cause the collapse of the I.L.O. is that it is no longer a profitable platform to them for propaganda purposes. People everywhere are becoming increasingly aware of the communist economic failures in agriculture, in living standards for their people and their inability to provide even an adequate supply of basic consumer goods.

The great economic expansion in the Common Market and in the E.F.T.A. has been a thorn in their side. They have frequently as­serted that capitalism is decaying and will soon disappear. Unfortunately for the communists, stubborn capitalism is not co-oper­ative and persists in proving them wrong constantly.

So again we hear the same old nonsensical clichés about monopolists, imperialists and colonialists, directed against the United States. Now they know, of course, that these charges are false. They know full well that they, not the United States, are the monopolists, the imperialists and colonialists. Indeed we might call it the Soviet imperialist colonialist empire.

No country that they have taken over by force
or by infiltration has been freed from their oppression and repression.

The communists come here and talk glibly about human rights, freedom of association and all the other fine principles of this Organisation, while denying the enjoyment of these rights and privileges to millions of people under their domination. They even advocate resolutions against other nations for violation of I.L.O. principles when in fact they, the communist countries, are themselves far more guilty of such violations.

They must think that you and I are but children who will be impressed by their propaganda and that by pointing their finger at others they can conceal their own shortcomings.

With reference to their attack on us for our efforts to help South Viet-Nam repel aggression from the North, I would suggest that it would become them better if they were to prevail upon their aggressor communist brothers in Hanoi to come to the conference table as the President of the United States has so often requested.

As to the Dominican Republic, they may soon see their false tears when it becomes plain to the world by irrefutable documentation that communist incitement was the major cause of the debacle there. Judge them not by what they say but by what they do!

There are some among you who may have honest differences of views about American policy in Viet-Nam or in the Dominican Republic. But I remind you that the United States citizenry is made up of people from every country in the world, every country represented here, or by offspring of those people. Those people in our country support overwhelmingly the specific policies of our Government in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic, and may I remind you also that, within certain fair limitations, you can enter the United States and stay there if you wish, or you may leave freely without having to climb a barbed-wire covered wall under machine-gun fire.

Please understand that I do not hate the people who live under communism. Even among those who come here I find—when they are not on the platform—invading against my country—a number of them who are very attractive personalities.

My opposition to communism as a form of society is based upon my conviction that it does not work in the interest of people. No system of society can endure if it fails to meet the economic needs of its people.

But notwithstanding these statements, I desire to give credit where credit is due. I would like to compliment Mr. Bogacki of Poland for his restrained speech. I agree with much of what he said about the necessity for improved world trade as being the road to better things for the emerging and developing nations. I have every confidence in his first attendance at an I.L.O. Conference and because he may not know all of the background of the free Employers' rejection of the application of so-called employers from communist countries, I shall try once more to make the matter clear.

There is apparently no question about his qualifications as a manager; but that is exactly what he is. He is a manager of a business owned by the Government, which is the real employer. The Government determines the wage rates, the conditions of employment, and he dare not oppose their conclusions. In communist countries workers are not allowed to strike if their desires are not met. There is absolutely no similarity of employer-labour relations in a communist country with those prevailing in an open, free society. Since so-called communist employers always vote with their governments on I.L.O. instruments, their presence on the Employers' benches seriously lessens the impact of free employer votes on I.L.O. matters.

Of course, I have listened to charges that managers from nationalised industries in other countries do sit on the Employers' bench. This is true in some instances, but there is a great difference. Those people are from mixed economies where there are also private enterprise employers. It is in these latter that set the conditions of employment and the standards for workers. The nationalised industries in such countries conform to the decisions of the private sector. There is no such equalising force in the communist nations.

I will be very glad to visit with Mr. Bogacki or other so-called communist employers if they want to talk further about this.

In as much as this will probably be the last time I shall attend an I.L.O. Conference, I may be forgiven if I indulge in a little personal comment. My comment is this. I thank the Almighty and the founding fathers of my nation that I have been a free man. I thank Him also for the fact that the labour delegation and the Government delegation of the United States are also free men. I thank Him for the fact that we may disagree with each other without fear of reprisal or punishment. I was the son of immigrant parents; I lived in very poor circumstances as a boy. The fact that I have been able to achieve moderate economic success is not the thing that pleases me most, but that I have been able somehow to serve my fellow men. I would say to you as a parting wish, as a parting hope—and I mean to include all of you, those from the communist nations as well—that if you have not achieved this kind of freedom which it has been my pleasure to enjoy, and opportunities for people, I do hope, in the not too distant future, you will all have this kind of freedom so that we can be friends and understand each other and walk along the road hand in hand for the benefit and help of all mankind.

Interpretation from French: Mr. BAH (Workers' delegate, Guinea)—In bringing the fraternal greetings of the workers and the people of the Republic of Guinea to the honourable delegates at the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference, I should like to take this opportunity to extend to Mr. Raza, the distinguished representative of Pakistan, our warmest congratulations on the confidence which this assembly has shown in him by electing him President.

The workers of my country have also asked me to express their welcome, on their entry into our Organisation, to our sister country of Zambia and also Yemen, Malta and Malawi. We wish these new States full success in the consolidation of their independence and in their
activities in international life, for the liberation of other peoples, for social progress and peace in the world.

We are thus optimistic when we see the tendency towards universality which the I.L.O. is showing every year and we hope that at the next session of the Conference the I.L.O. will finally admit to membership the valiant peoples, such as those of Viet-Nam, struggling for their freedom and unity, and the peoples of the People's Republic of China unjustly kept out of the UN bodies in spite of their 675 million inhabitants.

The Director-General of the I.L.O. in his Report touched on the important problem of the utilisation of human resources. We consider this problem to be absolutely basic to any country which really wishes to promote economic and social life conforming to the legitimate interests of its workers and of its labouring masses.

Man in fact is the most precious of all capital. Therefore, the efforts of every responsible body should be aimed at the constant improvement of the living conditions and the standard of life of the people of the country as well as the satisfaction of their constantly growing needs.

The achievement of such objectives presupposed, of course, methods of action which will lead all those persons firmly and in full liberty, to assume their responsibilities and to participate in the planning, the decisions and in the application of the economic, social and cultural programmes of their country. This requires an implicit individual and collective awareness which requires at all times a courageous and responsible attitude. To us, the true freedom of man as an element in society takes on meaning only through the lucidity with which man conceives and makes his own decisions, aimed at achieving all that affects the life of the community to which he belongs and, through that community, his own life.

That is why, when we achieved independence in 1958, we were well aware of the fact that sovereignty simply meant responsibility and that no people can feel free unless they are fully and totally responsible. It is in undertaking its responsibilities with conviction that our party, thanks to the farsightedness of its great leader, has succeeded in eliminating the old economic structures inherited from the colonial régime, which were based on a type of colonial trading company, and replaced them by a modern structure which perfectly coincides with the needs and aspirations of our people. Remaining uncompromising in their opposition to laziness, selfishness and irresponsibility, our productive forces, which have been freed from all domination and oppression, have courageously set to work and have contributed greatly to the rapid growth of our national economic bases. Today, thanks to the stability of our national currency and the proper management of our finances, we ourselves control our own economy which is perfectly healthy. Two economic development plans, one a three-year plan which has been completed and one a seven-year plan which has been started, have already contributed to a definite improvement in our communications, our infrastructure in roads, airports, ports and railways and have created throughout the territory a number of processing industries to meet the immediate needs of the population: mills producing wood for building and furniture, brick factories, textile mills, tobacco plants, match factories, canning plants, saw mills, and so on. Also, various hydroelectric dams have been built and an electric power station of great capacity has been in operation for a number of months.

Along with our industry, our agriculture is developing, thanks to the intensive activity of our peasant co-operatives and the numerous machines and modern equipment made available to them by our State. Handicraft works are also developing, giving a vigorous impetus to national economic growth.

In the social field we have more primary, secondary and higher schools. Thanks to reforms in this sector, our education is no longer anything like what it was under colonialism, the main objective of which was the training of a handful of subordinate staff and the maintenance of all the others in systematic ignorance. Our reforms are aimed at a deep knowledge of the great possibilities for exploitation of the rich cultural heritage of Africa, its history, its literature and its arts, with, at the same time, a fuller knowledge of mathematics and natural sciences. The efforts of the population are just as important in those aspects relating to the rehabilitation and the renovation of African culture and art, through the creation of national ballets and instrumental groups, which have already been applauded in a number of countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and America.

A modern stadium with 25,000 seats which was built at Conakry has contributed to the further encouragement for physical-culture activities in all fields.

The building of hospitals in urban centres and dispensaries in the most isolated villages is also being carried out and, thanks to the dynamism of our health services and of our mobile teams engaged in the control of the great endemic diseases, and the positive action of health personnel in maternity and child protection, diseases and mortality rates have diminished considerably.

Uncompromising war has been declared on illiteracy and considerable progress has been achieved in this field.

Our labour code, renowned for its revolutionary and democratic content, has been in force since 30 June 1960 (Act No. 1/AN/60), and this was followed immediately in 1961 by the Social Security Code. This last code is well known to the specialists of the I.L.O. and it is
certainly one of the most progressive social security codes in the world today. It covers all social risks and provides for benefits of all kinds; it provides for a 100 per cent. refund of medical and pharmaceutical care costs—all of this without any contribution by the worker.

Our trade union movement, which achieved unity immediately after independence, is today a dynamic organisation in our country. Its work encompasses not only the defence of the interests of the workers of the Republic, but also, and above all, the education of the worker to enable him to participate in the management of national resources, in the planning, decisions and application of economic and social programmes. This education aims at making the workers more aware of the objective necessity to struggle constantly to ensure a permanent increase in national productivity and production.

The National Confederation of Workers of Guinea has, for this purpose, a great university, which was built in 1960 and which has contributed to the training of a number of African and Guinean leaders. Thanks to this training, our trade union movement has contributed to making available to the population many well-trained leaders as the heads of undertakings and administrative services.

We have made great progress in many fields, but we are aware that there is a great deal yet to be done. We are aware of our shortcomings and our backwardness, owing to reasons of an historical nature. But we are convinced that these shortcomings and backwardness will not remain eternal stumbling blocks in the path of progress of our people. Thanks to our revolutionary conscience, to the creative energy and to the capacity for mobilisation and organisation of our people, also thanks to the tremendous resources of our soil and our subsoil, we shall shortly overcome underdevelopment and make our contribution to the general efforts of the peoples of Africa and of the world in their struggle for social progress, peace, and for the happiness of mankind.

In this connection, the workers of the Republic of Guinea appreciate what has already been done by the I.L.O. and hope that in their desire for development and social progress, the I.L.O. contribution will continue. They also hope that further considerable efforts will be made by our international Organisation on behalf of other countries, notably the developing countries, in the training and advanced training of technical staff.

Another point has also drawn our attention. As everyone knows, it is obvious that our world today is characterised by great forward strides and rapid transformations in the political, economic and social life of various nations. This is particularly evident in the developing countries. That is why we feel that the I.L.O. must devote its attention to transforming its basic structure—particularly that of the Governing Body and other organs of the administration—in order to work towards an equitable distribution of seats at all levels.

I should be failing in my duty if I concluded my speech without expressing the profound indignation of the workers and the people of my country at the crimes perpetrated by Portuguese imperialism in its African colonies. Portuguese colonialism, despite the appeal of all the people wishing for peace and justice, continues to ignore the most elementary rules of fundamental human rights and persists in pursuing its hateful policy of exterminating the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Bissau Guinea.

But we state solemnly that Africa will remain worthy of its destiny and will never renounce the reconquest of its total freedom regardless of the difficulties and violence which it may encounter. We are sure that Angola, Mozambique and Guinean Guinea will win their total independence.

We are also convinced that the International Labour Organisation, which is faithful to its policy of peace, justice and liberty, will not hesitate, as it has already done in the case of the racists of South Africa, to contribute to the elimination from our assembly of all unworthy representation of these Portuguese colonialists.

Mr. Fennema (Employers' delegate, Netherlands)—I have the honour to speak rather late in the debate on the Director-General's Report, and therefore I feel some hesitation in repeating what more than 150 speakers have already done before me—congratulating you, Sir, on your election as President of this Conference. Perhaps it is now more appropriate to congratulate you on the fact that the greater part of this Conference is already over and that a period of greater personal freedom for you is in sight.

But I should like to congratulate you, in particular, on the firm and decisive way in which you prevented a number of speakers, particularly those representing countries which entered this Organisation through the back door of the United Nations, from transforming this International Labour Conference into a political annex of the United Nations.

As I participated in the meetings of the Working Party of the Governing Body on programme and structure I think it is not for me at this moment to develop further thoughts with regard to the three major programmes, but rather to listen to what other delegates have to submit for the guidance of the Working Party. I have the impression that the three major programmes do not lead to very different views.

Probably to stimulate an animated discussion, the Director-General has already included in his Report his views with regard to the future tasks of standard-setting of this Organisation; and this appears to be a most controversial subject as long as a great number of delegates consider international standards as the primary tools for social progress. At last year's session of the Conference we heard many voices from the developing countries indicating that standard-setting activities are of little practical value for these countries. For instance, the Indian Government delegate, Mr. Dube, in the discussion of the report on women workers with family responsibilities, declared last year—and I quote—"What I have just said casts serious doubt on one very important function of the I.L.O.—its normative function. To be worth while norms must conform to the highest prevailing conditions, but because of their very nature they are
bound not to be relevant to countries where such conditions do not prevail. I am constrained to remark that the I.L.O. should do its best to allay this misapprehension, if it is a misapprehension, regarding the lack of relevance to the majority of its Members of one of its most important functions.

At this Conference we have heard also many statements of the same nature, with which I feel myself in complete agreement, and if the I.L.O. wants to be more than an overloaded bureaucracy in an ivory tower, it should notice the winds of change in the nature of its activities.

The problem is to create jobs in the underdeveloped countries, and one cannot create jobs by standard-setting.

We know how difficult it is to obtain minor changes in the direction in which the I.L.O. is going. A little jet gun will not suffice to put the I.L.O. on another orbit. Fifteen years ago a Government delegate of the United States recommended that there should be more waste paper baskets in this conference building because the ashtrays were overloaded with waste paper. The situation is still exactly as it was 15 years ago, and will not change before this hall has shared the fate of the building where 30 years ago the International Labour Conference took place—the Bâtiment électoral near Place Neuve, now completely destroyed by fire.

On several occasions in the past I have already shown my dissatisfaction concerning the methods of the so-called debate on the Director-General's Report. It is really no debate but an incoherent rhapsody of speeches in which it is impossible for an ordinary human being to find his way, although it may be helpful to the Director-General because he can always find somewhere some support for every proposal or suggestion he has made.

I welcome, therefore, the proposal which has been supported amongst others by Mr. Grandval, Minister of Labour of France, to substitute for a long theoretical discussion of the Director-General's Report in plenary session the examination of this Report by a committee, where a real exchange of views could take place, with the result that the Director-General could receive a much clearer indication of the common trend of thought in the Conference. It seems possible to start such a new procedure on an experimental basis to find out how it works, because I think it becomes clearer every year that the present system is no longer a workable solution. Moreover, if the committee procedure were adopted, the speakers from this rostrum would no longer have to make their speeches in a conference hall where generally more than 80 per cent. of the seats are empty.

More important and more dangerous is the wind of change concerning resolutions relating to matters not included in an item on the agenda. Resolutions are meant, in my opinion, to provide an opportunity for expressing the general wishes of the Conference for the guidance of the Governing Body and the Director-General. But the resolution procedure was not meant to be used for condemning specific countries, where the Republic of South Africa was condemned by way of a resolution for its policy of apartheid, which is violating one of the fundamental principles of this Organisation, I can accept, because our Constitution provided no other means for action against such a defaulting Member. However, I think that the resolution procedure is abused in cases where the Constitution or the procedure of the Governing Body contain specific measures for taking action.

One member State is now accused by another member State of not having secured the effective observance of the Two Forced Labour Conventions; both member States have ratified these Conventions, but the one member State has not ratified these Conventions, but the question arises whether the accused member State is the only one in this Organisation which is not providing freedom of association to its trade unions. If it is not the only one, all other member States in the same position should not be omitted from the resolution, and particularly those which have ratified Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 but which do not respect the obligations resulting from their ratification.

Another member State, by way of a draft resolution, is accused of not guaranteeing freedom of association to trade unions. There is no violation of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), or the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), as the member State has not ratified these Conventions, but the question arises whether the accused member State is the only one in this Organisation which is not providing freedom of association to its trade unions. If it is not the only one, all other member States in the same position should not be omitted from the resolution, and particularly those which have ratified Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 but which do not respect the obligations resulting from their ratification.

The queer thing about this last-mentioned draft resolution is that it also requests recognition of the right of free expression, although it was presented by a delegate and supported by the Government of a country where, six weeks ago, a young professor, Professor Mikailov, was condemned to ten months' imprisonment for publishing an article, " Moscow, Summer 1964 ", in which he had compared Soviet concentration camps to Nazi death camps. I do hope to see Professor Mikailov in this hall as a delegate of his country one day. He is the right man for the I.L.O., which he proved in his statement before the court: " I consider that Stalinism is no better than Fascism. That is why I have made the comparison in order to show that totalitarianism is always the same, regardless of whether it is Fascist or Stalinist, no matter under what sign, and no matter what social system it tends to realise."

This brings me to the next point with which I should like to deal. A number of delegates, in practice all coming from what they call socialist countries, in practice all coming from what they call socialist countries, with the Republic of South Africa was condemned by way of a resolution for its policy of apartheid, which is
seats in the organs of the I.L.O., they want to be President of the Conference and Chairman of the Governing Body, and at the same time they play with the tripartite structure of our Organisation. This tripartite structure means that workers' and employers' representatives have to be independent of their Government and of one another, and the so-called principle of universality—which, by the way, is mentioned nowhere in the Constitution—can never overrule the principle of tripartism. It is clear that the situation is quite different in the other specialised agencies of the United Nations, where only governments are represented and where no tripartite structure is involved. We have to protect and to defend our Organisation against the winds of change if they blow the I.L.O. to the shores of dictatorship. We have to protect and to defend our Organisation against the winds of change if they blow the I.L.O. to the shores of dictatorship.

Unfortunately, the representatives of the communist countries do not show any signs of improvement in their human relations. It was not Western Europe that built the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall, which suppress the freedom of workers to migrate for employment and settlement, referred to in Part III of the Declaration of Philadelphia.

However, the problem of safeguarding freedom of association is under consideration by the Governing Body. Last year the Conference adopted a resolution concerning freedom of association. It invited the Governing Body of the I.L.O. "(a) to strengthen its efforts to induce all the States Members of the International Labour Organisation to ratify and apply Conventions Nos. 87 and 98, reminding them that fundamental principles of the Organisation are involved; (b) to study the possibility of including in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation certain essential principles contained in these Conventions; (c) to consider likewise how the machinery of the International Labour Organisation for the protection of freedom of association may best be strengthened; (d) in the light of findings resulting from the action recommended in (b) and (c) above, to consider including the whole question in the agenda of an early session of the Conference;".

As a result of this resolution the Governing Body at its 160th Session in November 1964 took the decision to ask the Director-General to prepare a background paper dealing with the possibility of amending the I.L.O. Constitution in order to include certain essential principles contained in Conventions Nos. 87 and 98, on the basis of which it could discuss the matter further at its 162nd Session. Such was the decision of the Governing Body, and, although the background paper has not yet been distributed, it is clear that, in the near future, the Governing Body will have to examine this question further.

I do hope that this examination will not only stop a further undermining of the tripartite structure, but rather will strengthen this very special feature of the I.L.O. Our task with regard to the social and economic development of the new countries needs the co-operation of free trade unions and free employers' organisations. These freedoms should not be abolished by the winds of change.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. POLYAKOV (Employers' delegate, U.S.S.R.)—Our Conference is approaching the end of its work. From this rostrum, delegates of many countries have mentioned the changes taking place in the world, and have not concealed their dissatisfaction with the programme, structure and methods of work of the International Labour Organisation. They have voiced disappointment over the fact that the Director-General's Report does not reply to a number of vital problems. This session has shown once again that the I.L.O. must at last become a genuinely universal international organisation that will react firmly to the events taking place in the world and will consistently and resolutely uphold the cause of peace and social progress.

The achievements of science in the twentieth century, and of the workers and engineers employed in industry, make it possible to solve the basic problems facing humanity: the fight against hunger, disease and poverty. Industry and science have the new tasks of harnessing the wealth of the oceans, the deserts and outer space.

The purpose of the I.L.O. is to work for social progress, for equal rights for all, for better working conditions and, above all, for peace. However, these vital problems—upon the solution of which depends to a great extent the establishment of peace throughout the world—and the struggles of the peoples for independence and freedom are still being handled slowly and vaguely by the I.L.O.

One of the main reasons is that certain circles are disconcerted by the new possibilities that have arisen of making better use of the I.L.O. as an instrument to promote international peace and security. Speaking of democracy, they repeatedly oppose the role of the I.L.O. as a centre for equal participation by all States. The main driving force in the present onslaught by reactionary forces against the basic provisions of the Constitution has always come from individual representatives of capitalist firms and organisations who regard the I.L.O. as their private reserve. Certain Employers from capitalist countries are still continuing at the sessions of the I.L.O. Conference to spread fear through the supposed menace of the socialist countries, encouraging their allies to continue discrimination, and trampling underfoot the legitimate rights of the socialist Employers. These arguments, however, are so outworn that they can no longer have any effect on any self-respecting person.

This morning the Director of the United States Chamber of Commerce has once again taken the liberty—as he has done every year for the past six years—of engaging in slanderous accusations against my country. He has long since acquired the reputation of a man who specialises in misinformation and in introducing discord in our work. Everything here irritates him: the successes of the socialist countries and the struggle of the peoples for their liberation. He even attempted to represent the aggressive war his country is waging in Vietnam as a benefaction. This pitiful demagogic onslaught cannot detract from the genuine advance of our countries, which are free from exploitation and enslavement. I sincerely pity you, Mr. Wagner, for history has written off
the régime you praise. I hope that your successor will use more parliamentary language when he takes the floor.

We are not asking for charity here. We, the representatives of the great Soviet Union, which, thanks to the labour of our talented people, has turned in a relatively short span of time from an economically backward country into one of the major industrial powers of the modern world, insistently demand that an end be put to the reactionary role of the so-called "free" employers, and that the obsolete Constitution and Standing Orders be democratized.

Half a century ago the leaders of the capitalist countries arrogantly proclaimed that the days of the small nations were over and that the day of empires had come. Today we see that after the long nightmare of colonialism the sun is shining again in Africa. The hurricane of liberation has swept the colonial empires from the face of Africa. The prediction of Victor Hugo that in the twentieth century Africa would be free is coming true. In the same way as it is indisputable that the Nile flows through Africa, no one can deny the historical fact that the collapse of colonialism is closely linked with the Russian Revolution, which aroused the revolutionary spirit and energy of the African peoples. The great religion of free Africa, admits the Baltimore Sun, is socialism: almost everybody worships it or professes it in one way or another.

In its relations with the young States my country has established a new type of international economic relations based on the principle of equality and mutual advantage. We are engaged in multilateral co-operation with the developing countries in the economic, technical and cultural fields and in the training of their national personnel. The main value of our economic co-operation with the liberated countries is that it helps the peoples of those countries to lay the foundations of their own national economies and thus achieve genuine economic independence.

Today in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the help of the socialist countries, vast construction work is going on. With the help of the Soviet Union alone, 500 industrial and other projects are being carried out. More than 400 industrial and other projects have been or are being carried out with the help of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and other socialist countries. Our trade ties are growing constantly. The Soviet Union is engaged in trade with 35 developing countries. During the past ten years the over-all volume of trade between the Soviet Union and those countries has increased five-fold. In exchange for the traditional exports of the developing countries the socialist countries are supplying equipment and the latest machinery. The conclusion of long-term trade agreements with the Soviet Union ensures the developing countries of a market for their products for several years ahead, and the continuous crisis-free growth of the socialist economy provides the most favourable prospects for further expansion of trade.

Under the impact of socialism the process of social renewal throughout the world is going ahead very rapidly. The socialist countries already account for 26 per cent. of the total surface of the earth and 35 per cent. of its population. The share of the socialist countries in world industrial output has risen to 38 per cent. During a short time, in the course of a single generation, our country has multiplied its economic potential. It has a highly developed industry, it has achieved an outstanding position in such branches of science as physics, chemistry, biology, cybernetics, and electronics. We have highly qualified engineering and technical personnel and a skilled labour force. My country has the services of people equipped with up-to-date knowledge and a progressive ideology. They are ready for great exploits and are capable of carrying out 600 new large-scale industrial plants were inaugurated in the past year and considerable technical progress has been achieved. More than 3,000 new types of machines were devised and some 1,200 devices for production control and automation. Further improvements were introduced in the material and cultural conditions of the people. Wages were raised for more than 1.5 million workers, and for employees in all the service branches. During the same period over 10 million people moved into new homes. There are 73 million people with advanced or intermediate school education, and 68 million, that is to say one-third of the total population, are engaged in some form of education.

Our successes are great, but our peoples are still not satisfied with what has been achieved. The economy poses problems that demand new solutions; such problems are due partly to the need to improve the administration of an expanding economy. We are now concentrating our forces on carrying out the present annual plan. The incontrovertible advantages of socialism are so obvious that they cannot be denied even by the ideologists of imperialism. It was not without sadness that William Randolph Hearst Jr., who had visited some of the European socialist countries, admitted that the humble worker has a better lot, a higher standard of living than ever before. He went on to say that socialism is here to stay and that no idle talk can change this fact.

The world is living in alarming times and here in this Conference attempts are being made to divert attention from the suffering of the labouring masses in many countries which are subjected to aggression. The sympathies of my people are wholly on the side of the patriots who are struggling for freedom. The whole world of labour emphatically condemns the war that has been started by the American imperialists in Viet-Nam and demands insistently that an end should be put to the aggression and that every people should be given the right to determine its own future. The activities of peace-loving forces, their unity and their determination to scotch the aggressors' plans are of great importance to the I.L.O. also. The I.L.O. must protest against the imperialist provocations in Asia and Latin America. Developments show that there is only one path along which international relations can and must now progress: the peaceful coexistence of States with different social and political systems, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, the recognition of the right of all peoples.
to live in freedom and independence and to
determine their own future by themselves.

Mr. HAUSMAN (Employers' delegate, Israel)
—Permit me, first of all, Sir, to congratulate
you on your election to the presidency of this
session of the Conference and at the same time
to welcome the countries which have recently
joined our Organisation.

The unprecedented growth of I.L.O. mem-
bership in the past few years has caused not
only new initiatives but also a qualitative change in our Organisation. Almost all the
department Members fall within the category of
developing countries, and the Organisation is
not fully prepared to meet the challenge of
the situation. The imbalance existing now
between the urgent need for increased technical
assistance and the means and measures for the
granting of such assistance cannot easily be overcome.

It may safely be assumed that one of the diffi-
culties—the need for quite extensive changes in the structure, activity and programmes of the I.L.O.—is on the point of positive solution as a result of the steps that have already been taken as well as of those envisaged
by the Director-General in his Report. Another
difficulty is the lack of a sufficient number of experts willing to undertake missions in the
developing countries. The present favourable
economic situation and the shortage of highly
skilled manpower in most of the developing
countries are to a great extent responsible for
this state of affairs.

I would suggest that to relieve this situation
the I.L.O. could benefit not only from a renewed appeal to the industrialised countries
to provide expert help to the needy countries but also from a co-ordination between the
Organisation and individual countries which
extend technical assistance on the basis of bilateral agreements. This could be done, I
submit, by the I.L.O.'s concentrating more on
such fields of activity as are aligned for long-
term periods. On the other hand, short-term
programmes, such as seminars, specific training
courses and other specific activities, could be
organised within the framework of bilateral assistance schemes.

I have a further suggestion to make in this
connection to which I will return when speaking
on regional activities.

I am in full agreement with the emphasis
that has been placed in the Director-General's Report on the need to integrate policies and
activities in the development of human resour-
ces with economic development planning. One
of the major problems in the developing countries is how to activate within the shortest
possible time potential manpower resources,
entrepreneur initiative and the support and
co-operation of the public. The natural medium
for such activation in these countries is usually
the government, since other potential sources of economic and social activity, such as
employers' and workers' organisations, are
either practically non-existent, or too limited in scope, means, status and vision to be able
to play their proper role in co-operating step
by step with the government in the process of
development.

Such situations form a vicious circle in which
the almost exclusive, and therefore excessive,
activity and power of the government prevent
the free growth of voluntary organisations.
On the other hand, only through the channels
of such organisations is it possible to awaken
and develop the forces dormant in a nation
which is free and intends to remain free. This
vicious circle can only be broken if the em-
ployers' and workers' organisations are made
aware at an early stage of the development
process of the importance of their role and if
government make it the task of such emancipation by appropriate means.

Indeed, one of the important tasks which
the I.L.O. should undertake is that of finding
ways and means to foster the harmonious and
balanced growth of all the forces, even if such
growth would be less conspicuous than more
rapid growth due solely to governmental
activity.

As the Director-General clearly indicates,
the technical assistance programme for the
developing countries has to take the form, in
coordination with other United Nations agencies, of over-all programming for general
education, vocational training, workers' educa-
tion, management development and economic
and administrative development.

The planning and execution of such wide and
integrated programmes require many teams of
experts in the various fields of social and
economic sciences and in public administration,
and will need much greater resources than are
at present at the disposal of our Organisation.
In addition, as has been indicated by the
Director-General, such activity involves a
much closer geographical contact with the
developing countries because all planning and
activity must be based on first-hand knowledge
of local conditions. The strengthening of
regional offices and activities, based on
geographical distribution, is therefore well in
line with the needs of our time.

This need for experts, together with the
necessity for an intimate knowledge of local
conditions, would suggest the advisability of
considering the recruitment of some of the
experts from within the regions themselves. If
this suggestion were accepted the I.L.O. would
have to elaborate a programme for the training
and development of experts.

In addition to the first priority—namely
that of rendering extensive technical assis-
tance in developing countries—the I.L.O.
cannot but continue or even increase its
activity in the field of research and the dis-
ssemination of information as well as in that of
the administration and supervision of the
existing International Labour Code. It must
also watch closely and be sensitive to new
problems arising in the industrially developed
parts of the world, and must search for the
solution of such problems as the social and
economic results of automation.

Considering all these new demands and
challenges on the one hand and the limited
financial and human resources of our Organisa-
tion on the other, would it not be advisable to
call a halt to, or at least to restrict to the
minimum, for some years to come the standard-
setting activity which absorbs so much of its human and financial means?

I agree wholeheartedly with the Director-General's proposals for a simplified procedure for the revision of Conventions and Recommendations, provided all the necessary safeguards are employed. Some delegates have suggested that the international standards should be adjusted to regional conditions and needs. I would like to express my opinion that once we abolish the principle of the universality of international standards we shall perpetuate the disparity between developed and developing countries and between countries with greater and lesser degrees of understanding of and susceptibility to social justice and freedom, and by our very decision we shall be defying the basic purposes and ideals of our Organisation.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)
Record Vote on the Resolution concerning the Adoption of the Budget for the 48th Financial Period (1966) and the Allocation of Expenses among Member States for 1966

For (305)

Afghanistan :
Mr. Zakarya (G)
Mr. Baizay (G)

Argentina :
Mr. Bouyakchidji (G)
Mr. Bouhara (G)
Mr. Taouag (E)

Australia :
Mr. Cook (G)
Mr. Hill (G)
Mr. Gibson (E)

Austria :
Mr. Choc (G)
Mr. Krenn (G)
Mr. Mautner-Markhof (E)
Mr. Benya (G)

Belgium :
Mr. Servais (G)
Mr. Trochet (G)
Mr. Verscheureen (E)
Mr. De Bock (W)

Brazil :
Mr. Lopes de Oliveira (W)

Burma :
Mr. Kri (G)
Mr. Tin (G)
Mr. Han (E)
Mr. Htein (W)

Cameroon :
Mr. Nso-Ekhh-Nghaky (G)
Mr. Fokam Kamga (G)
Mr. Bekombo (E)
Mr. Ngom (W)

Canada :
Mr. Haythorne (G)
Mr. Mainwaring (G)
Mr. Hallsworth (E)
Mr. Morris (W)

Central African Republic :
Mr. Ledok (G)
Mr. Halile (E)
Mr. Kokey (W)

Ceylon :
Mr. Wirasinghe (G)
Mr. Rajasekiriya (E)
Mr. Thondaman (W)

Chad :
Mr. Keke (G)
Mr. Yamsala (G)
Mr. Isenmann (E)
Mr. Gorallah (W)

Chile :
Mr. Thayer (G)
Mr. Huidobro (G)
Mrs. Defillippi (W)

China :
Mr. Liu (G)
Mr. Lee (G)
Mr. Cheng (E)
Mr. Teng (W)

Colombia :
Mr. Arango (G)
Mr. Cueva (W)

Congo (Leopoldville) :
Mr. Mulalo (G)
Mr. Makwambala (G)
Mr. Jonkhoore (E)

Costa Rica :
Mr. Padilla Castro (G)
Mr. Mora Carrillo (E)
Mr. Lopez Chinchilla (W)

Cyprus :
Mr. Sparis (G)
Mr. Protopapadopoulos (E)
Mr. Ziaritude (E)

Dahomey :
Mr. Lotou (E)
Mr. Amlon (W)

Denmark :
Mr. Christensen (G)
Mr. Lund (E)
Mr. Vognbjerg (W)

Ethiopia :
Mr. Tesemma (G)
Mr. Amede (G)
Mr. Gebregziabher (E)

Finland :
Mr. Rinne (G)
Mr. Lappalainen (G)
Mr. Mildh (G)
Mr. Nilsson (W)

Gabon :
Mr. Abassolo (G)
Mr. Minten (G)
Mr. Kieffer (E)
Mr. Bouladoux (W)

Federal Republic of Germany :
Mr. Clausen (G)
Mr. Ernst (G)
Mr. Erdmann (E)
Mr. Beermann (W)

Gabon :
Mr. Bannerman-Menson (E)

Greece :
Mr. Zarras (G)
Mr. Papoulias (G)
Mr. Papageorgiou (W)

Guatemala :
Mr. Hernández Cardona (G)
Mr. Eisner (E)

Guinea :
Mr. Camara (G)
Mr. Foulad (G)
Mr. Heltot (E)
Mr. Bah (W)

Honduras :
Mr. Ramos Alvarado (W)

India :
Mr. Bheekabahai (G)
Mr. Menon (G)
Mr. Ahmad Ali (W)

Iran :
Mr. Azimi (G)
Mr. Farzaneh (G)
Mr. Ghayour (E)
Mr. Poursaei (W)

Ireland :
Mr. McCarthy (G)
Mr. Tobin (G)
Mr. Griffiths (E)
Mr. Fitzpatrick (W)

Israel :
Mr. Mizer (G)
Mr. Raday (G)
Mr. Hausman (E)
Mr. Becker (W)

Italy :
Mr. Agno (G)
Mr. Burpura (G)
Mr. Campanella (E)
Mr. Vigilantesi (W)

Ivory Coast :
Mr. Koffi Koussei (G)
Mr. Konian Kodjo (E)
Mr. Coffie (W)

Jamaica :
Mr. Grel (G)
Mr. Chambers (E)

Japan :
Mr. Aoki (G)
Mr. Shiseki (G)
Mr. Mishiro (E)
Mr. Shioji (W)

Jordan :
Mr. Abdul Aziz (G)
Mr. Dia (G)
Mr. Asafour (E)
Mr. Jawar (W)

Kenya :
Mr. Ndiri (G)
Mr. Obimbou (G)
Mr. Richmond (E)
Mr. Adongo (W)

Kuwait :
Mr. Sarawi (G)

Lebanon :
Mr. Khuri (G)
Mr. Nair (E)
Mr. Zainati (W)

Libera :
Mr. Wilson (G)
Mr. Nelson (G)
Mr. Padmore (E)
Mr. Rahman (W)

Libya :
Mr. El Marimi (G)
Mr. Derbi (G)
Mr. Bou Hailin (E)
Mr. Shihata (W)

Luxembourg :
Mr. Kayser (G)
Mr. Bealing (G)
Mr. Hoyot (E)
Mr. Krier (W)

Malagasy Republic :
Mr. Ranjeve (G)
Mr. Raselison (G)
Mr. Andraitsoiotsaina (E)
Mr. Raverson (W)

Malaysia :
Mr. McColloch (G)
Mr. M'Tegha (G)
Mr. Nellis (E)
Mr. Maffenje (W)

Mali :
Mr. O. B. Diarra (G)
Mr. Dummelle (E)

Mali :
Mr. Bonacci (G)
Mr. Ramsay (E)
Mr. Attard Kingwells (W)

Mauritania :
Mr. Souseidahmed (G)
Mr. Kano (W)

Mexico :
Mr. Fernández Landero (E)
Mr. Sánchez Madariaga (W)

Morocco :
Mr. Laraqui (G)
Mr. Bennis (G)
Mr. Soubir (E)
Mr. ben Seddik (W)

Netherlands :
Mr. Veldkamp (G)
Mr. Fennema (E)
Mr. van der Ploeg (W)

New Zealand :
Mr. Parsonage (G)
Mr. Macan (G)
Mr. Tucker (E)
Mr. Skinner (W)

Niger :
Mr. Kone (G)
Mr. George (E)
Mr. Delanne (W)

Nigeria :
Mr. Okonkwo (G)
Mr. Obiogun (G)
Mr. Abebe (E)
Mr. Borha (W)

Norway :
Mr. Oknes (G)
Mr. Selvig (E)
Mr. Strand (W)

Pakistan :
Mr. Latif Khan (G)
Mr. Wajid Ali (E)
Mr. A. Ali (W)

1 See p. 310.
### Panama:
- Mr. Paredes (G)
- Mr. Amado Burgos (G)
- Mr. Aizpurúa (E)
- Mr. Araya Bernal (W)

### Peru:
- Mr. Letta (G)
- Mr. Donayre (E)
- Mr. Cruzado (W)

### Philippines:
- Mr. Albano Pach (G)
- Mr. Guevara (G)
- Mr. Lovina (E)
- Mr. Hernandez (W)
- Mr. Letts (G)
- Mr. Araya Bernal (W)

### Portugal:
- Mr. Fernandes (G)
- Mr. Ribeiro da Cunha (G)
- Mr. Eibeiro da Cunha (G)
- Mr. Lopes Sussekind (G)

### Romania:
- Mr. Dumitrescu (G)
- Mr. Dateu (G)
- Mr. Olteanu (E)
- Mr. Tudor (W)

### Rwanda:
- Mr. Uzamugura (G)
- Mr. Ntawila (E)
- Mr. Sauvenier (E)
- Mr. Ntawila (W)

### Senegal:
- Mr. Sidibé (G)
- Mr. Diouf (G)
- Mr. Sow (W)

### Spain:
- Mr. Gómez-Acebo (G)
- Mr. Giménez-Arnau (G)
- Mr. Albano Pacis (G)
- Mr. Letts (G)
- Mr. Araya Bernal (W)

### Sudan:
- Mr. Sighaireoun (G)
- Mr. Gawher (W)

### Sweden:
- Mr. Åstén (G)
- Mr. Tiller (G)
- Mr. Bolin (W)

### Syrian Arab Republic:
- Mr. Chahoud (G)
- Mr. Zeina (G)
- Mr. Charabati (E)

### Switzerland:
- Mr. Holzer (G)
- Mr. Saxer (G)
- Mr. Kuntschen (E)
- Mr. Méri (W)

### Tanzania:
- Mr. Mponji (G)
- Mr. Tandui (W)

### Thailand:
- Mr. Ashakul (G)
- Mr. Udompong (G)
- Mr. Ariyarg (E)
- Mr. Baviwongse (W)

### Trinidad and Tobago:
- Mr. Wallace (G)
- Mr. Ramchand (G)
- Mr. Pereira (E)
- Mr. Hackshaw (W)

### Tunisia:
- Mr. Ennaaceur (G)
- Mr. Etti (G)
- Mr. Ghali (E)
- Mr. Achour (W)

### Turkey:
- Mr. Ünal (G)
- Mr. Sari (G)
- Mr. Kocatopçu (E)
- Mr. Demircioy (W)

### Uganda:
- Mr. Basaza-Mpyei (G)
- Mr. Nyagakina (G)
- Mr. Walker (E)

### United Arab Republic:
- Mr. Kamel (W)
- Mr. Nour (G)
- Mr. Rifat (E)
- Mr. Faheem (W)

### United Kingdom:
- Mr. Barnees (G)
- Mr. Ieron (G)
- Mr. Sir George Pollock (E)
- Lord Collison (W)

### United States:
- Mr. Weaver (G)
- Mr. Delaney (G)
- Mr. Wagner (E)
- Mr. Faupl (W)

### Zambia:
- Mr. Kalinga (G)
- Mr. Nyirongo (G)
- Mr. Canning-Cooke (E)

### Against (40):

### Abstentions (43):

### Brazil:
- Mr. Lopes Sussekind (G)
- Mr. Corrêa do Lago (G)
- Mr. Marques Andrade (E)

### Bulgaria:
- Mr. Tsankov (G)
- Mr. Popov (G)
- Mrs. Peeva (E)
- Mr. Ivanov (W)

### Byelorussia:
- Mr. Gurinovich (G)
- Mr. Schedov (G)
- Mr. Obukhovich (W)

### Cambodia:
- Mr. Calcinés Gordillo (G)
- Mr. Camejo Angudin (G)
- Mr. Domínguez Oceja (E)
- Mr. Carbonell Horruitiner (W)

### Czechoslovakia:
- Mr. Pithart (G)
- Mr. Pisea (G)
- Mr. Plochaň (E)
- Mr. Pášek (W)

### Costa Rica:
- Mr. Sánchez Pérez (G)
- Mr. Fuenz y Carbó (G)

### Ecuador:
- Mr. Jaramillo Pérez (G)
- Mr. Tijerino Medrano (G)

### Estonia:
- Mr. Artturi (G)
- Mr. Berganström (E)
- Mr. Méri (W)

### Ethiopia:
- Mr. Chaboud (G)
- Mr. Zeina (G)
- Mr. Charabati (E)

### Estonia:
- Mr. Artturi (G)
- Mr. Berganström (E)
- Mr. Méri (W)

### Finland:
- Mr. Fahrner (G)
- Mr. Nisbet (E)
- Mr. Walker (E)

### Spain:
- Mr. Udompong (G)
- Mr. Asbakul (G)
- Mr. Raviwonge (G)

### United Kingdom:
- Mr. Barnees (G)
- Mr. Ieron (G)
- Mr. Sir George Pollock (E)
- Lord Collison (W)

### United States:
- Mr. Weaver (G)
- Mr. Delaney (G)
- Mr. Wagner (E)
- Mr. Faupl (W)

### Zambia:
- Mr. Kalinga (G)
- Mr. Nyirongo (G)
- Mr. Canning-Cooke (E)
TWENTY-FOURTH SITTING

Thursday, 17 June 1965, 3.15 p.m.

President : Mr. Raza

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation from French : Mr. TAMPUNGU (Workers' delegate, Congo (Leopoldville))—Mr. President, thank you for allowing me to speak in order that I may give you the reflections of the Congo workers on the Report now placed before the session by the Director-General. I associate myself with previous speakers in congratulating you on your election to the Chair. In the name of the workers of the Congo, I welcome the newest independent States whose representatives are here for the first time. I would like to express to the Director-General the satisfaction of the workers of my country for the positive constructive Report which he places before the delegates to this 49th Session. I confirm here the opinions of the Congolese workers already expressed here by my Workers' delegate comrades who were at the 47th and 48th Sessions and at the Second African Regional Conference on some of the matters dealt with in the Director-General's Report. The support of the workers of my country for the constructive and realistic proposals contained in the Director-General's Report is based on the fact that the Report meets their requests. The Director-General understands that without unity and co-operation it is difficult to bring a country out of its state of underdevelopment and raise the standard of living of the working population. Since our country's accession to independence, we have not ceased to call on the authorities for application of the national austerity policy, based on an economic and social development plan, in which the trade unions, peasants and employers must co-operate. Despite the difficulties of all kinds that my country is going through, this demand has been partially satisfied. The Constitution of the Congo, in the drafting of which we participated, sets up under government agencies at the central and provincial levels economic and social councils composed of representatives of the most common economic and social activities.

The National Council of the Union of Congolese Workers, which met in January of this year, did not merely call for application of the constitution clauses in this regard; in a document published after the meeting it also made definite practical proposals on the procedure to be followed regarding the formulation, conception, application and supervision of the plan, and regarding the operation of the economic and social councils.

For the third time the Conference has to discuss the programme and structure of the I.L.O. It is better to restrict ourselves to the items on the agenda of the session in the light of the objectives coming within the traditional competence of the I.L.O. Delegates in their speeches should avoid introducing questions which are within the competence of the other specialised agencies to which the I.L.O. States Members belong. This would avoid confusion and complication.

As for the new structure, it is preferable to give it time to prove itself in practice. However, the I.L.O. being the only tripartite inter-governmental institution, it would have been desirable for its structure to provide for machinery guaranteeing tripartism, not only in the Conference and the Governing Body but also at the level of the Directorate.

As for the programme areas of the I.L.O., the workers of my country approve the proposals regarding the utilisation of human resources for economic and social development. They have been ceaselessly calling for this from the Congolese authorities since we acceded to national sovereignty. They believe that to reach these objectives the I.L.O. will have to increase its efforts in the field of education. This should cover not only trade union officers but also the officials of the public administration responsible for employment problems and planning, and also management grades in undertakings in the private sector.

The I.L.O. could, within this same field, help governments to establish or develop, as the case may be, people's education in their countries. The personnel would then be available for the application and supervision of plans in public administration and private establishments. The masses, thus prepared, would readily make efforts which would enable plans to be applied in conditions favourable to economic and social development.
Regarding the development of social institutions, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has not ratified the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention or the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention. On the other hand, social legislation in my country is in constant progress. The Constitution of the Congo guarantees freedom of association. Orders and decrees have been issued and applied regarding social security, contracts for hire of services, collective bargaining and collective agreements, occupational grading, labour management relations and representation of personnel in undertakings.

The first social elections were democratically organised in the various undertakings of the Congo in the second half of 1964. Of ten trade union organisations which put up candidates, my union was the victor with 65 per cent. of the votes, the other 35 per cent. being divided among the other nine organisations. This result confirms what we have always said here, namely that we are the most representative organisation, for on 31 December 1964 we had 92,413 paid-up members, more than 30 member federations and ten occupational associations, 70 permanent officers, 60 administrative officers, of whom 130 full-time officers were paid by our union, apart from the many volunteer workers. Although social legislation progresses and the trade unions develop, two main difficulties emerge: the lack of honest, competent trade union officers able to apply and supervise social legislation, and the ill-will or lack of understanding on the part of some employers who, on various pretexts, take a reactionary attitude towards the justified claims of the workers.

This attitude is an opportunity for extremists to exploit the population by dividing it, and then introducing war, under cover of economic stagnation and poverty. When a collective dispute arises, calumny and corruption displace justice, force is introduced and solutions imposed, instead of being negotiated. Some employers are so powerful that they can even subvert the present form of government. The action of the trade unions is described by them as subversion. These are motives which will lead governments, they hope, to mistrust the unions and adopt a hostile attitude towards their free development. The authorities can thus be tempted to establish a single trade union obedient to them, which will do nothing for the workers, as is already the case in some countries where the governments and employers, fearing the action of independent trade unions which would prevent abuses, regard the existence of more than one trade union as a restriction on development.

The I.L.O. must pay attention to the motives of governments that advocate a single trade union movement and should ensure that such unity does not crush the workers whom it is supposed to benefit. Trade union diversity and membership of international organisations are not a handicap to economic and social development. What is a handicap to development is the lack of an austerity policy based on a plan jointly produced and supervised by the whole community in accordance with the proposals contained in the Report of the Director-General. The African governments should know that their refusal to associate trade union representatives in the formulation and conception of economic and social development planning and their dictatorial attitude in imposing plans or points of view without negotiation or consultation are obstacles to their own development plans.

Regarding the results of economic and social policy since accession to independence, an African Head of State, well known for his "unitary" attitude, said this year that his economic and social policy was not profitable to the working classes of his country, but that it contributed to creating a bourgeois class among the public servants. This leads us to conclude that if the Head of State of that country had not stifled the action of the trade unions and if the laws had not established trade unions devoted to the State, and if the trade unions and free associations of employers and peasants had been associated in planning, then that Head of State would not have found himself in such a situation after eight years' independence.

On the basis of all these considerations and the experience drawn from the events since accession to independence, the workers of the Congo firmly believe that the time has come to unite all the population in order to consolidate independence and unity, with a view to putting into effect our reconstruction on the basis of an over-all plan. Therefore, they entirely share the opinion stated in the Director-General's Report that: "It is generally agreed that I.L.O. action in the field of labour relations and the development of institutions which determine and harmonise these relations must be inspired by the fundamental principle that efforts for economic and social development must be undertaken with the active participation of the interested parties; and that they must be based on a frank dialogue between the State and different organised social groups, a dialogue inspired by mutual understanding, by mutual respect for each other's autonomy and freedom of action, and by a determination to reach agreement.

We also approve the point of view in the Director-General's Report according to which: "Governments must also aim at establishing the necessary machinery for the examination and solution of differences which might arise between workers and employers, taking into account the interests of the nation as a whole.

The goal of economic growth will not be attained or brought any nearer by the elimination of the very notion of conflict, but rather by attempting to prevent conflicts from arising or, when they do, by applying methods of conciliation, negotiation or arbitration in order to bring out and emphasise the elements in the situation on which a more fruitful co-operation might be built."

The workers ask the I.L.O. to address the employers also, because it is in the interest of all that they should remain open-minded. Some of their attitudes do not facilitate the task of our governments in this field.

I now come to the question of living and working conditions. The workers of my country, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, accepting the utilisation of human resources
and the improvement of conditions of life and work, feel that the action of the I.L.O. in this field must figure in the forefront of our priorities. For us this is a vital question. At the same time as the economy is developed, the conditions of work and life of the population must also be improved. These conditions are the subject of social disputes which sometimes disturb economic development. The I.L.O. must advise governments and draw the attention of employers to these matters. Economic development of the developing countries should not be achieved at the expense of the workers.

The association of workers in management has been approved by the workers of the Congo. This is indeed included in the action programme of our organisation, of which I am one of the national officers. That is the only way to be taken if one wishes the workers to feel responsible for the conduct of the undertaking. This objective must be reached.

The suggestions of the Director-General regarding the standard-setting action of the I.L.O. and the various interventions by delegates in the Conference have had the attention of the workers of my country. This problem is very delicate. In the opinion of our workers, the I.L.O. should pay attention regarding certain suggestions. The opinion that there should be a distinction between principles to which there cannot be any exception and measures for application in particular groups of countries are not bad in themselves. However, when one considers the historical background to this standard-setting action and when one considers relations between the countries, developed and developing, we Congo workers have our reservations.

Another situation is of concern to our workers, and that is peace. If programmes are to be achieved we certainly must have peace in the country. The situation in my country is not good. The workers therefore ask the representatives of the countries here to use their influence in their countries so that a stop to be achieved we certainly must have peace. This objective must be reached.

Mr. SATTLER (Employers' delegate, Hungary). The Report of the Director-General gives a concise account of last year's activities of the I.L.O.

I think that today it would be premature to evaluate the success of the reorganisation of the Office. Therefore, I should prefer to deal in my comments first of all with one of the three main fields of activity—namely the question of labour relations, and to contribute some ideas towards the elucidation of the problems prevailing in this domain.

In the course of production, there arise and exist amongst working people relationships of different kinds, both as regards their content and form. In the first place, I would mention the relationships among colleagues, the relationships between superiors and subordinates, relationships established by co-ordination of various fields of action, friendships, groups or party organisations based upon an identity of political views, trade union groupings and so on. All these relationships are essentially determined, however, both in respect of their form and content, by whether, in the respective society, production is carried out within the framework of a capitalist or a socialist régime.

It is well known that in my country we have a socialist economic system and on this basis the Hungarian employers can solve a great number of questions regarding labour relations in a different way from, and, in my humble judgment, more successfully than the employers in capitalist economies.

Therefore, I miss in the Report of the Director-General an analysis of labour relations on the basis of the circumstances obtaining in production under a socialist régime. Had the Director-General included this, the Report, in my opinion, would have been substantially more positive and his analysis deeper than the present one. A blind eye should not be turned to the fact that at present two kinds of production system do exist in the world, side by side and simultaneously, merely divided geographically from one another, so that any realistic evaluation of the actual situation demands, amongst other things, a precise analysis of labour relations within both capitalist and socialist societies.

As a matter of fact, this deficiency in the Report cannot be made good or completed in such a short, time-limited contribution as mine here. Nevertheless, perhaps I may be permitted to mention a few aspects.

A very important problem of employers under both socialist and capitalist production systems is that of constituting and stabilising a constant, basic staff. Socialist employers lay very great stress upon forming this basic nucleus and their endeavours are supported in my country by certain labour legislation provisions. In order to develop a permanent working staff we offer many possibilities for encouragement and appreciation, in both material and moral respects. Our aim is to increase the security of the whole working staff, who are faithful to their enterprise and to secure basic permanent manpower by granting various privileges.

The establishment of a stabilised personnel helps in the successful solving of disputes which may arise between employers and employees. Stable labour has more developed and more efficient working methods; it is therefore able to attain a higher standard of productivity; its human relationships are smoother, due to mutual adaptation and assimilation, than in production collectives where there is a high fluctuation of labour. In this connection we would point out the importance of creating a good atmosphere and a good workshop climate in factories and, generally, in all production units.

A clear outlining of the perspectives for each worker and employee contributes to the creation of a good atmosphere. In my country, we are very interested in the regular examination and furthering of the possibilities for teaching and promoting individuals or categories of labourers. Besides the establishment of a
pleasant atmosphere, we are all the more forced to do this as we have to organise and ensure the replacement of labour, a task which is becoming more and more one of the most important problems of the employers in my country.

A constant and high level of training unskilled labour to become skilled labour must be obtained, relying, of course, on the workers themselves in agreement with them and with their approval. An efficient and stimulating way of replacing staff members, both administrative and technical, is to select the best of the workers' category for this purpose, choosing and applying the required training methods. An important methodological means of doing this is through the setting up of a so-called training and staff development plan, the open nature of which allows for discussion of it with the workers and employees concerned.

The very large and varied educational network maintained by the State provides considerable help in this direction. This state network is well completed by courses and extension courses organised in the factories and workshops. I will give only one example which may be of some interest: whereas in the past post-graduate training for engineers was given exclusively at universities and thus was tied to the site of the university, today it is possible to undergo post-graduate training at certain larger factories as well; such arrangements have been made, in the first place, at remote works, and in this way great progress has been achieved in comparison with the past even in this very delicate and important field.

Permit me to come back to this morning's debate. We listened to the speech of Mr. Wagner, the Employers' delegate of the United States. I have to revert to the words he spoke because he mentioned my country in terms with which I suppose the majority of us disagree and, what is even more important, which cannot be proved by facts. I shall not use the style of the popular press which was used by Mr. Wagner; I simply want to state that Hungary, my country, has been oppressed by only one country—Nazi Germany—in the past 22 years. That country was the aggressor and not the Soviet Union, which liberated our country from the Nazi yoke. But aggression exists in those countries which at this Conference we are not allowed to call by their names. Let us judge by deeds and not by words.

Finally, I should like to make some remarks about the special report of the Director-General on the policy of apartheid, a report which, as decided by last year's Conference, is before us for the first time. I think I can express in the name of all the participants in the Conference our energetic protest against the further measures for extending racial discrimination in the field of labour that the South African Government has taken since our decision last year. As appears from the report, the new legislation increases and extends the compulsion to work, puts into force further restrictions and gives a practically free hand to all tyrannical acts against the African workers by means of mere administrative procedures, evading all legal procedure should it be of any formal character whatsoever. Acceptance of such ideas as "work-shy persons" or "undesirable persons" offers clear proof of the fact that the spreading of arbitrary autocracy is included in the Government's intentions.

Please allow me to quote from a report submitted to the United Nations General Assembly, document A.5840, which states that: "The policy of apartheid, which is being carried out in South-West Africa by the South African racist régime, offers the foreign companies every opportunity for the exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants. In fact, the exploitation of low-paid non-European workers is a feature of the territory's economic system, especially in its mining industry and agriculture. This enables the foreign companies and the local European farmers to reap high profits, and makes any improvement in the living conditions of the Africans impossible."

It clearly appears from the document mentioned that we employers must protest against the apartheid policy because it is inhuman and because we have to protect the essential fundamental human rights.

For how long do the South African exploiters want to get astronomical profits through the work of slaves whom they use instead of decently paid manpower?

At this session of the Conference a number of speakers have already criticised the special report of the Director-General—for instance Mr. Kibuka, the distinguished Workers' delegate of Uganda, who said that the report falls short of the spirit of the Declaration. Though I agree that this report, being the first one of its kind, may not be satisfactory in every respect, may I, nevertheless, point out that the Director-General is proceeding in the spirit of our decision taken last year if he submits in his yearly reports suggestions for measures to be taken by the Conference in order to protect the South African workers from the shameful discriminatory measures of their Government. The Director-General itself emphasises that the present session should specify what kind of positive measures are to be taken in fulfilment of our decision last year.
Since it appears clearly from the Director-General's special report that the Government of the South African Republic did not send the reports requested by the I.L.O., I suggest that the Conference should establish a permanent committee to study this question. The Conference should charge this committee with the duty of submitting every year constructive proposals for action to be taken in addition to, or as part of, the special report of the Director-General.

Racial discrimination is a very close relative of colonialism and of oppression against struggles for freedom and independence. I therefore feel obliged, at the end of my speech, to protest against the terrific contradiction which exists when we talk here about welfare and about raising living standards, while workers and peasants, women and children, are being killed by oppressors in, for instance, Angola, in Mozambique, in the Dominican Republic and in Viet-Nam. The I.L.O. has to fulfil its noble duty—it has to raise its voice unmistakably and decisively against war and for peace.

The PRESIDENT—The last speaker asked a question of the Chair. He asked whether an attack on communism is relevant to the agenda of this Conference. My answer is that neither an attack on communism nor an attack on capitalism is relevant to the agenda of this Conference.

I made my position clear on the day when an intervention was sought on the question of the relevancy of matters to this Conference. I then stated that although I may not agree with your views I will not stop you from expressing them. The only limitations which I have imposed are two: one is that I will not allow attacks on Heads of States, and this is a matter of protocol and a matter of precedent; the other is that we should avoid references to theatres of war, and that is because we do not want an atmosphere of cold war to prevail in this hall.

We meet here in order to exchange our views and try to bring about a consensus. Apart from these two limitations that I have imposed, I have not questioned the right of delegates to express their views on matters which are not relevant to the discussion. I leave it to their good sense to decide themselves.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. AIZPURU-RÚA (Employers' delegate, Panama)—I feel highly honoured to come again to this rostrum to comment on the Report of the Director-General, in which he has this year, most prudently, merely outlined a limited number of questions which refer to the programme and structure of the I.L.O., which, in his opinion, have received the approval of the Conference.

In his Report the Director-General faithfully keeps the promise he made to submit this year new proposals and ideas on points which, because of their importance, deserve our attention.

Knowing as I do the various subjects set forth by the Director-General in the excellent Reports that he submitted for the 1963 and 1964 Sessions of the Conference, and having studied carefully the new questions which he discusses so clearly and insightfully in the Report to this 49th Session of the Conference, I feel that it is not only a pleasure but also a duty on our part to extend to him our warmest congratulations and our encouragement so that he may persevere, as he has so brilliantly done up to the present, in the study of the great social, economic, labour and technical problems which fall within the objectives of the International Labour Organisation.

In the chapter on international labour standards, the Director-General brings out the fact that many speakers have made the statement that standard-setting continues to be an essential role of the I.L.O.; and, with the authority which he unquestionably has, he also indicates the need for approving new international standards. There is no question but that international standards are the backbone of the I.L.O., but there is also no doubt that the present international standards, which make up a sufficient programme for I.L.O. action towards its various objectives, have come up against enormous difficulties of application in the developing countries and also in some of the underdeveloped countries. The difficulties are due to the fact that the standards were adopted by the Organisation under the inspiration of highly industrialised countries, which followed very closely their own national legislation without giving due consideration to the situation of the less developed countries and to those countries which are still developing and which, without exaggerating, I believe we can say represent the majority of the States Members of this great Organisation.

The consequence of this is hesitation in the ratification and application by the less developed countries of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference. Also, the result frequently is that these standards and recommendations are approved in a symbolic way, which runs counter to the interests of the Organisation because subsequently they are not applied, as the Organisation desires, to regulate social, technical and labour conditions in a universal way. All of this shows that it would be more effective for the I.L.O. to concentrate on the operational activities that it has to carry out with the objective of getting all countries to bring their national laws up to uniform standards in conformity with the principles of the Organisation. Such practical action would be pertinent in so far as concerns the study of conditions in each country, technical assistance which they require for strengthening their private economy or organising their own labour legislation, stimulating productive industry which constitutes the principal source of employment, and, finally, anything which will help underdeveloped and developing countries to make sufficient progress to permit the application and observation of the international labour standards of the I.L.O.

We also feel that international instruments must be more flexible and realistic so as to take into account the existing conditions in member States which have not achieved complete economic development in order to permit the application of these instruments without endangering the economies of these countries. Only fundamental principles, such
as human rights, should be the subject of precise Conventions.

In his Report the Director-General, with his customary sincerity, puts a direct question to the Conference when he asks for an opinion on the establishment of a programme for the development of social institutions. The Employers cannot ignore the Director-General's question, and we must refer in a very concrete way to the ideas which he has advanced in this connection. We feel we must attain the first objective which he mentioned, with respect to the development of truly representative and independent workers' and employers' organisations. On solid foundations in each country, they may efficiently play its own active part in the national effort for economic and social development. The assistance which the I.L.O. can give on this aspect of labour relations and the development of institutions which govern labour relations in each country would be of great value, since it is on the basis of these principles, for which the Organisation stands, that true social development can be created in each country, that social problems in the labour field can be solved.

Concerning the second objective referred to in the Report, the development of representative organisations, we also agree that representative organisations which exist or which will be created in each country must have the opportunity of playing their proper role in the development of the society to which they belong, and we quite agree with the Director-General that it is the governments themselves, because of the preponderant role of direction and management that they play in the process of economic and social programming and planning, which are in the best position to stimulate the development of these social organisations and see to it that they do participate effectively in the construction of national programmes.

We also agree with the third point referred to by the Director-General, relating to the aid which the I.L.O. should give to the governments of member States in organising proper administrative machinery to solve the complex problems arising out of industrial relations. The governments need new guidance and technical advisers who can harmonise the various social tendencies so that they may all work towards the adaptation and application of international standards which must inspire the respective national legislations.

Finally, in so far as concerns the fourth point in this Part of the Report, we must say that at no time have the Employers opposed the improvement of workers' conditions within undertakings, and indeed in their own interests they have always been in favour of meeting the aspirations of the worker concerning social security so long as they are within the possibilities of the undertaking and the needs of the economy of each country.

In this connection, we must call attention to a divergency of opinion which the Director-General very honestly mentioned. This concerns the share of the workers in the administration of the undertaking. The Employers must say very firmly that this principle is not desirable. A free undertaking is governed by private initiative, which requires from the employers, in the field of industrial competency, originality, careful thought and commitment, and these human conditions cannot always be found in everybody. Therefore, the selective attitude of the management officials of any undertaking, and of the technical experts of the undertaking, is governed by very careful and detailed specialisation and choice; within this field of action any initiative on the part of workers, who are perhaps simply interested in general management questions, would be a failure. Moreover we must be very careful always to defend the principle of private enterprise which is the foundation of democracy and the foundation of the social doctrine in all republican forms of government. If you do not respect this principle, and if you work towards inadequate socialisation, you will lose the independence of the employer and will soon reach the concept and conditions of a communist régime which puts all the activities of the State under one single direction, where free initiative cannot operate, and regimentation is the principle of human relations.

Moreover, to what extent would it be in the interests of those affected to transform the worker into an employer?

In some countries of Europe the system of giving the worker a share in running the undertaking has been tried out. So far, we do not know the results of this measure. I think it would be a good idea if the I.L.O. could observe in those countries whether it has been beneficial or whether it has merely converted workers into more rigid employers than the owners or representatives of the undertakings themselves.

The Director-General devotes special study to human resources and economic development in Chapter II of his Report, with particular attention to raising the standard of productive employment and improving manpower skills. The help of the Organisation is necessary, and not just desirable, as part of the guidance function of the I.L.O., to which the Director-General quite rightly calls attention, in manpower planning through the determination of objectives for its development and utilisation, and the adoption of concrete measures directed towards these objectives. These human resources, which serve the workers as well as the employers and member States, must be the object of a full investigation by the I.L.O. so that the Organisation may identify clearly the existing needs in the underdeveloped and developing countries, rather than study and determine the abundance of such human resources in countries of broad economic development. The economies of the less developed countries require the technical assistance of the I.L.O. for their social progress so that they may obtain an increase in fully productive employment which is essential to their development. Therefore, we feel that the I.L.O.'s programme of action should give first priority to those countries.

We consider that the organisation of the developed countries should also receive the close attention of the I.L.O. It would be extremely helpful if we could obtain from the highly developed countries with great economic potentialities the assistance which they are well able to give to the lesser developed countries, assistance of all kinds, particularly
that of a technical nature, so that administrators and specialists on manpower questions may be trained very rapidly in the new countries. We also repeat the observations we made at previous sessions of this Conference to the effect that priority must be given to manpower planning in rural regions which are more extensive in the lesser developed countries.

We share the opinion of the Director-General that improvement of the quality of manpower must be approached by the I.L.O., as a problem of vocational training in the developing countries, from differing angles; the I.L.O. must channel its work towards the creation of all types of specialised and skilled workers and managerial staff in those countries. We share this point of view because we feel that to the extent that this project of vocational training and of economic objectives is carried out in those countries, great achievements will be made in the utilisation of human resources and in social and economic progress, and the benefits will have repercussions on the universal welfare which is essential so that the peace, understanding and co-operation required by the interdependence in which all the nations of the world live today, may be achieved.

In conclusion, I should like to say that Panama has included in its legislation all the provisions set forth in the Conventions which have been approved up to the present and which is proved by the many laws of our present Labour Code. It is not necessary for me to tell you that in our country there is a system of absolute freedom of workers and employers because since 1903, when we became an independent and sovereign State, we have followed the principles of democracy as a system and as a doctrine, and these principles we are determined to maintain and defend because they represent the most deeply rooted tradition in the life of the Panamanians.

Mr. President, I should like to extend to you our congratulations on the well-deserved honour conferred upon you by your election to this high office. Your election was fully justified by your personal merits, and I must say the same most sincerely of the other Officers of this Conference.

Mr. BORHA (Workers' delegate, Nigeria)—Mr. President, I should like to associate the workers of Nigeria and myself, as their spokesman at this session of the Conference, with the sincere congratulations which have been expressed to you by preceding speakers on your election to your high and honourable post.

This year, as in years past, the Report of the Director-General deals with questions which are of vital interest to the workers of Africa and therefore to Nigeria. Of no less interest are the other items on the agenda such as agrarian reform, the problem of women workers and the role of co-operatives in economic development.

The workers of the developing countries, for whom these questions have special significance, sincerely hope that the deliberations of the Conference may lead to conclusions that will further strengthen them in their struggle against the social evils which persist in their respective countries.

To come here to this Conference hall, where so much history has been made and where so many warnings have been heeded and ignored, is for me and for many others an experience difficult to describe.

In the years that I have attended this Conference in company with other delegates from the newly independent States of Africa, the discussions, particularly in the past two years, have ceased to sound like echoes and have begun to sound like the substance and reality of African life itself.

Two years ago, in an episode which had no precedent in the annals of this Organisation or any other international body, the passion for justice, which had been fed by decades of exploitation in Africa, burst into full cry here in this hall. Those who were here will not soon forget the spectacle. It was a turning point in the history of the International Labour Organisation and a turning point also in relations between men and nations as these had been observed over many human lifetimes.

The result was the expulsion of the Republic of South Africa from the I.L.O. and the beginning of a process of isolation and retribution which sensible men everywhere can only hope will lead to a decent society in that unhappy country. Africans of all tendencies and all races may take pride in the fact that they were the authors of that historic process. It is to be hoped that the spirit of honesty and the principles of honourable behaviour which led to action in the case of South Africa will not go to waste in other areas in which the I.L.O. is concerned.

Here it is only proper that we should remind ourselves that, while the South African policy of apartheid is unique in its bestiality, the substance, if not the form, of that unique policy raises its repugnant head in seating certain member States of this Organisation and is condoned in the statutes and national practice of those States.

I refer to Spain and Portugal, whose attendance at this Conference is an affront to all men and women of all races and tendencies who uphold human dignity and believe in honourable behaviour in their relations with their fellow human beings.

The forced labour policy of Spanish colonialism in certain territories of Africa and the repressive measures of Portuguese imperialism in Angola, Mozambique, etc., is a sharp discord in the I.L.O.'s crusade to foster human harmony and progress based on social justice. It is to be hoped that these erring Members will read the writing on the wall and open their hearts to the voice of reason, which appeals to them from this rostrum to make a change for the better.

The Director-General speaks of "human resources in connection with labour relations, of trade union development and the growth of sound social institutions. These subjects are indeed inseparable and captivate the imagination of every African.

But what is not said in this Conference and what is not said in the parliaments and in the press of the countries of Africa is what every African sees happening all around him. Half a decade after the achievement of independence, the mass of African people, the human re-
sources of this great continent, lie inert and untended. From one end of Africa to the other, social institutions are being eroded by the political parties of one-party States or they are being abolished outright. Trade unionists who were in the first rank of those who achieved the independence of their countries are imprisoned. Others are exiled and cut off from the working class they sought to serve.

All of this adds up to a loss of freedom and a loss of political expression by the African masses which may never be replaced. It sometimes seems to us Nigerians that the respect of our own Government for the rights of the trade union movement and the freedom of individuals is an isolated ray of hope where liberty in many places has died of disappointment.

It is true that nowhere on earth does the perfect society exist, but in reading the Report of the Director-General one is tempted to say that the prospects for the perfection of society are nowhere so dim as in the developing nations. Unemployment is general, social security is next to non-existent, education is all but inaccessible for the masses of the people. The simplest needs of the human body and of the human spirit are unfulfilled because of a combination of external indifference and internal indecision which stuns the imagination of anyone who believes in the mere possibility of social justice and civilisation.

I want to say to the Director-General, to my fellow delegates and to humanity at large that the problems of my people cannot be understood unless they are discussed with honesty. Things are not as they should be, politically, economically or socially, in the new countries of Africa, and no change will take place until this is understood and until the necessity for remedies is accepted. I urge from this rostrum, from which the spirit of Africa has been so eloquently expressed, that it is time to speak of Africa's problems and Africa's future on the basis of reality. Africa needs tools, not words, practice, not empty policies or arrogant theorising. The masses of our people ask: "Where is my job? Where is my child's school? Where is my house in which my family will be safe from disease and exploitation?"

These questions carry an implicit and urgent appeal to the whole human race for a concerted effort towards progress and social justice. Progress cannot be imposed; it must arise from the total commitment of the innate genius of the people who will benefit from it. That is why it is gratifying that, in spite of the present handicaps from which we suffer — handicaps caused by long years of political subjugation — the masses of the African people are determined to continue their forward march and to build for themselves a society of free men and women. It is also gratifying that the developing nations are showing increasing awareness of their obligations in Africa's crusade for advancement and the raising of the standards of its people.

Almost everyone from the developing nations who has spoken from this rostrum has stressed again and again the justified apprehensions of those nations about the widening gap between the prosperity of the developed nations and the imposed poverty of the developing nations. It is clear that, if Africa is to be delivered from poverty and disease, no piecemeal approach to its social problems will suffice. The relationship between the developed nations and the developing nations in the field of international trade should be critically re-examined. The developing countries cannot continue to absorb losses in the sale of their raw materials. Economic health cannot be achieved on either side in such a situation. This is a basic question in the problem of raising the living standards of the people.

Above all, the reconstruction of Africa must be seen as a commitment not only of the African people themselves but also of the developed nations, in one concerted effort so that results may be achieved with the minimum of delay. In other words an all-out economic development plan similar to that which performed a near miracle in the rehabilitation of Europe after the Second World War should be drawn up with the co-operation of the other specialised agencies of the United Nations. As a first step, experts should be made of the problems involved in the imbalance between the resources of the developing nations and those of the developed nations. From this, plans could be made to launch this world programme for progress and social justice in Africa.

Africa has found disappointment in slogans, and nowhere more bitterly than in the effort to achieve trade union unity on a pan-African basis. There have been many efforts to unite African labour. Innumerable initiatives have been taken, especially by the leaders of the African Trade Union Confederation, to unite Africa's working class, which was split in May 1960 by the unfortunate conference which resulted in the formation of the All-African Trade Union Federation at Casablanca. Nevertheless, the division persists; it persists because of a basic philosophical difference between the two sides. Major elements of the A.A.T.U.F. believe that trade unions must submit to the control of governments and political parties. A.T.U.C. members, on the other hand, believe that the trade unions should lend their full genius and strength to the task of nation-building while maintaining their traditional loyal independence. There are no differences between the two tendencies which cannot be resolved, but differences must be resolved on a basis of mutual respect and free and frank discussion; and above all on a basis of reality.

The reality is that Africans demand democracy and integrity in all their institutions and, after their bitter battle against colonialism, will not march backwards into servitude. An end should be put to irresponsible threats of "total war" against those who will not toe the line of those who serve ideas which, in my honest view, have no relevance to the African way of life.

I believe in pan-African trade union unity as well as in unity at the national level. Unity in our time is not impossible but the search for it should take account of realities so that the trade union dialogue on unity which goes on all the time in Africa may begin to produce fruitful results.

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Interpretation from Russian: Mr. MAKHNYA (Government delegate, Ukraine)—It is pointed out in the Director-General's Report that it deals "only with general questions of programme and structure on which there already appears to be a clear consensus in the Conference." In fact, matters of structure are not even dealt with in the Report if the reorganisation of the Office, which was carried out without the participation of the Conference, is discounted. It deals exclusively with the three main programme areas of future I.L.O. activities.

The programme measures which were proposed by the Director-General at the 47th Session and are now described in greater detail deserve attention and close analysis. I will comment on only one of the three main programme areas—that is, human resources development.

One cannot fail to agree with the Director-General when he says that "human resources policies and programmes should be better integrated with, and geared to, economic planning." The experience gained in many countries, including the Ukraine, in the field of economic development shows that in order to achieve full employment and ensure skilled manpower supply economic development plans must be closely linked to the utilisation of the available manpower and to the training of the skilled manpower needed. That is why the better utilisation of manpower through expansion of opportunities for productive employment, improvement of skills through vocational training and education, full support in the tasks of national development and the association of the broadest proportion of the population in the accomplishment of these tasks are matters that must underlie the future activities of the I.L.O.

The Government delegation of the Ukraine made the point at the last two sessions that the I.L.O., like other specialised agencies, must have a clearly planned and consolidated programme, and this viewpoint was shared by many other delegations. At the 47th Session the Government delegation of the Ukraine suggested the following procedure for the preparation and approval of the I.L.O.'s programme. A draft programme would be prepared by the Director-General, and the Governing Body would examine this draft and then pass it for discussion and approval by the Conference. Then the Conference, having approved the programme, would instruct the Governing Body and the Director-General to carry it out within the framework of the approved budget. The Governing Body would submit an annual report to the Conference on the progress of implementation of this programme. We consider that such a procedure is the only appropriate one, corresponding to the Conference's role as supreme agency of the Organisation.

I would like to refer briefly to the fate of other proposals made in discussion of the Director-General's Report, and in the same connection to the activities of the Governing Body's Working Party.

At the 44th, 45th and 46th Sessions many resolutions were submitted on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. At the 46th Session alone, 20 such resolutions were tabled. Some of them were adopted, others not, while some were not examined at all. What is noteworthy is that none of these resolutions was in any way artificial; they were of vital concern, reflecting the need to ensure that the activities of the I.L.O. and its structures should correspond to the requirements of our day. This is a natural process, designed to rejuvenate the Organisation, and one which should in the course of the past few years have led to substantial results in so urgent a matter. Unfortunately, the whole process was slowed down. The Director-General considers that "in accordance with the spirit of the resolution on programme and structure adopted by the Conference, the Governing Body and its Working Party now provide the most appropriate machinery for elaborating a widely acceptable body of conclusions for the development of the I.L.O.'s programme and structure in the years ahead."

The Government delegation of the Ukraine cannot agree with this view of the Director-General. If a number of the proposals made by delegates come within the competence of the Director-General and the Governing Body, there are a number of others which relate to the Constitution and the Standing Orders. These are, in fact, the most constructive proposals which are designed to ensure the genuine democratisation of the I.L.O., and the solution of these important problems relating to programme and structure and to the Standing Orders must remain, as provided for in the Constitution, in the hands of the supreme body of the Organisation, the General Conference. That is why paragraph 3 of the resolution adopted at last year's session of the Conference clearly states that the proposals within the competence of the Conference should be referred to one or more of its forthcoming sessions.

At present this depends directly on the progress of the activities of the Working Party. It has necessary to speed up all the work of the Working Party, so that the most serious proposals, relating to structural changes, procedures for preparation and approval of the programme, etc., can be submitted for examination by the Conference not later than next year. There can be no question of indefinite postponement of a decision on such problems as strengthening the role of the General Conference, determining the functions of the Governing Body and its composition or procedure for the preparation and approval of the I.L.O.'s programme. It is necessary to do everything so that these problems may be solved next year. Otherwise the idea of considering the body of measures for adaptation of the I.L.O. to contemporary conditions will be quite fruitless.

The Government delegation of the Ukraine would also like to draw attention to the anomalous situation whereby the Chinese People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are not represented within this Organisation.

I cannot omit some reference to the hysterical outburst by Mr. Wagner this morning. All of his, as he called it, farewell speech, was
devoted, not to the business of this Organisation, but to slandering the socialist countries and moralising to the representatives of the developing countries. This is apparently the sum of Mr. Wagner's contribution to the I.L.O.'s activities, so that it is unlikely that many tears were shed over the fact that he was addressing this assembly for the last time. His speech was a perfect demonstration of the pattern which holds of representatives of imperialistic monopolies when they witness the vast changes taking place in the world. One-third of the world has done away with domination and exploitation by monopolies, and has chosen the road to socialism. The stranglehold of the imperialists and monopolists is steadily loosening throughout the countries of Africa and Asia where most of the peoples have rejected capitalist development. The peoples of these countries are determining their own destinies and do not require the admonishments of Mr. Wagner and his like. He brandished the bogey of communism, but the peoples of all the countries about which he spoke know it is precisely the October Revolution which heralded the era of socialism and lit the torch of freedom from oppression by monopolies, from colonial domination and from exploitation of man by man. That freedom is now marching resolutely through the world. Mr. Wagner can see that light at home, when he rests in Miami, Florida, close to heroic Cuba. We can understand Mr. Wagner as a man. Some one like him must find it difficult to remain calm and collected when he sees the pattern of life he represents collapsing about him. Mr. Wagner thanked God for the freedom which he enjoys in his country. No doubt the representatives of the American monopolists do enjoy freedom. But whom should the millions of American Negroes thank who are deprived of the right to vote, who are murdered when they seek to obtain this right, whose children are not admitted to the schools? They fear not the bogey of communism but the white cloaks of the Ku-Klux-Klan, and their crosses upon which no small number of Negroes have been burned.

Mr. Wagner worries about the future of the peoples of the socialist countries and of the countries in the developing world. We can tell him straight away: it is not for you—the representative of the monopolies which are helping to strengthen the South African régime, expelled from this Organisation; which are supplying weapons and money to the Portuguese colonialists in order to stifle the freedom of Angola and Mozambique—it is not for you to worry over the future of the peoples of other countries. Those days are over when the imperialists and colonialists had such opportunities, and frequently with the help of the slave-driver's whip and gunboat fire. You, Mr. Wagner, should worry instead about the fate of the American Indians, once numerous and brave, now deprived of their rights and banished to reservations. Try to compare the freedom which you enjoy as a representative of the monopolies with the fate that has overtaken the people who were once the masters of your home country. Perhaps you will then understand what sort of freedom it is that you are here extolling. Mr. Wagner said that the same freedom is being brought to Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic with the help of American troops, their bayonets, napalm bombs and poison gas. Why is this so? Precisely because the Vietnamese and the people of the Dominican Republic do not want those freedoms which are being foisted upon them by American imperialism, and are struggling for the genuine freedom and independence of their countries. That is why we demand from this rostrum that aggression by the American imperialists in Viet-Nam and in the Dominican Republic be ended.

Mr. SHIOJI [Workers' delegate, Japan]—Fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, let me express my sincere gratitude for your kindness in permitting me to address you at this session of the Conference on behalf of the workers of Japan.

At this very moment my heart is filled with profound respect for the I.L.O., the Organisation which has been working for many decades to attain social justice, which is the basis of permanent peace among mankind by raising the standard of living of people in all the parts of the world and by encouraging sound relations between labour and management.

First of all, I have the pleasure to inform you that on 17 May of this year, the Diet of Japan ratified the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87). The ratification of this Convention was much discussed between Government and labour, particularly in view of the national legislation covering public enterprises and government employees' unions. Needless to say freedom of association is one of the fundamental principles of the I.L.O., and the Constitution of our country also guarantees this solemn right. However, a part of the laws covering the employees of public enterprises was in contradiction to Convention No. 87. Therefore, the ratification was registered after the necessary legal amendments were completed in regard to this point. I would like to express my sincere thanks for the extraordinary efforts of the I.L.O. and the I.C.F.T.U., which brought about after such a long period of time the ratification of the Convention.

We of Doomei, the Japanese Confederation of Labour, were very happy to co-operate with the I.L.O. and the members of the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association who came to Japan to discuss the problem concerning Convention No. 87, and we gave our full support to the Commission in fulfilling its task. It is therefore a most satisfactory conclusion to our efforts at co-operative participation that Convention No. 87 was ratified by the Diet in accordance with our suggestions.

As part of the process leading to the ratification of the Convention, many members of our Government, of the political party in power, and of the trade unions are beginning to realise that we should be able to deal with such problems ourselves as part of our own internal affairs, without any assistance from the I.L.O., in a country such as ours where a democratic and well-developed labour movement does exist. And I believe with satisfaction that this realisation will help the development of the
democratic labour movement and will promote better relations between government and public enterprises and their unions in Japan.

Today, trade unions, as an important element in modern society, should take responsible action, on an equal footing with the government and employers, in order to promote social welfare.

In Japan, after the Second World War, there was such a tremendous rate of economic growth that trade unions also developed very rapidly.

A free democratic labour movement made particularly substantial progress and this is one of the main sources of economic development in Japan, as a result of which working conditions are improving and wages are getting better.

Therefore, in Japan, the main stream of the labour movement is now being formed by the democratic trade unions, which are based on the belief that the improvement of the living standards of workers and the development of the national economy are inseparably connected.

In this connection, I would like to inform you, as a Vice-President of the Japanese Confederation of Labour, that my Confederation, which is the national central organization of the free democratic labour groups in Japan, and which has two million members who are mainly private industrial workers, was formed last year as a significant event in the history of the labour movement in Japan.

Now, I would like to express my support for the Director-General's Report as a whole. In particular, I am greatly interested in the proposals concerning assistance to and co-operation with the developing countries. As Workers' delegate of an Asian member country, I would like to express my opinion on this point.

We can hardly hope for everlasting peace and prosperity for people all over the world without the economic development of the developing countries. However, at present, I regret to have to say that various kinds of assistance programmes make this problem complicated, because of the self-interest of the supporting countries, which do not always aim at real prosperity of the countries which are supported.

From this point of view, I believe that if the I.L.O., which is fair to all, strengthens its initiatives in promoting effective assistance programmes for the countries which are on the way to development, it will lead us to a more prosperous world.

To that end, we propose that the I.L.O. should study the methods and means of technical co-operation applicable to each developing country; it should ask for appropriate collaboration from the highly developed industrial countries; and finally it should intensify its practical activity in advising beneficiaries to accept such assistance without reluctance. Moreover, in connection with this problem, I want to call the attention of member countries and of all the organs of the I.L.O. to the following three important points. First, in developing its activity, the I.L.O. should observe carefully the present national conditions of the beneficiaries. All the nations have their own characteristics, which are related to prevailing circumstances. And to understand these I believe that we should avoid possible prejudices about such social realities as religions, ideologies, and cultures, as well as such social realities as economic and social systems.

It is necessary to observe carefully under what circumstances these realities have come into existence and in what conditions they have been established.

This is not always easy. We cannot expect good results if we deal with this problem from an ideological viewpoint, on the basis of a one-sided understanding, or of the standards of outside countries.

Secondly, I have to point out that today we find a gap between the level at which the I.L.O. aims and actual results.

For example, in those areas which have become free from colonialism recently and have had difficulty in their construction, it is often more urgent and important to get food, clothing, housing, and a place to work, than to have merely formal discussions about problems such as freedom of association, etc. It is very difficult to deal with this situation, and it needs wisdom.

There is a saying "know thyself". If the I.L.O. had unlimited power, or if the social and economic standards of the member countries were all at the same level, there would be problems if the I.L.O. distributed its efforts equally over all aspects of its task or assisted equally all its member countries. But unfortunately reality does not admit of this assumption.

Therefore, at present, we must choose the objects and the contents of the I.L.O.'s activities, with emphasis on countries which are still on their way to development and on the areas which have not yet attained complete self-determination. It is important for the I.L.O. to know correctly what is wanted in these countries and areas, and to exercise its limited force, finding specific and concrete methods, and focusing this force on them. And to achieve success it is also important that all highly developed industrial countries should co-operate voluntarily in the establishment of international justice without overemphasising their own interests.

Thirdly, there are tendencies which try to use the unhappy political, social and economic situation still existing in the world as an instrument of political propaganda to strengthen their own position in accordance with their special political ideologies.

It is against the founding principles of the I.L.O. to use it as a place of political propaganda; it will even be harmful to the achievement of its aims.

We must realise once again the original intentions and the fundamental purposes of the I.L.O. And we must make efforts to bring about a situation in which all countries in the world are able to co-operate with full confidence in one another. In this connection I should like to emphasise our wish to support and assist our brother trade unionists belonging to the free trade union movement of South Viet-Nam. I think it is proper to express our solidarity with our trade union brothers in their struggle to maintain their free trade union movement against any kind of totalitarian
oppression. If the I.L.O. bears in mind these points, its activities will be more effective and glorious.

In conclusion, on behalf of the workers and free democratic labour organisations of Japan, I would like to say that we are convinced that our trade unions should co-operate with the I.L.O. for the proper development of its activities rather than just ask the I.L.O. to do things for us. And I want to say that Japanese workers are eagerly hoping to play an honourable and responsible part in the task of bringing about social justice in the world.

Once again I would like to express my deepest appreciation for the excellent job done by the Director-General and the I.L.O. Secretariat.

Interpretation from French: Mr. UZAMUGURA (Government delegate, Rwanda)—Mr. President, let me first add my congratulation to those already addressed to you on the occasion of your election to the presidency of the Conference. This choice recognises your humanity as well as your technical qualities. I should also like to congratulate the Director-General and all his staff on the excellent report now before us. I also bring to the Conference the fraternal greetings of the Government and people of the Republic of Rwanda and our warmest wishes for the success of the present session.

For the past two years, with the co-operation of an I.L.O. expert, Rwanda has been engaged in a task of social renewal, the two main objects of which are establishment of a labour administration adjusted at all levels to the duties which such an authority normally has to perform and possessing the necessary specialised personnel; and secondly, formulation of labour laws and regulations which will be genuinely our own. This task of social renewal is accompanied, in the Ministry of Planning and Co-operation, by preparation for general development planning, on which special committees referring to all sectors of economic activity have been working for nearly a year. One purpose of this is to permit a solution of employment problems and the raising of the skill levels of our workers, thus giving economic expansion the necessary impetus. The social policy I have described is being developed with due regard to two series of factors. First of all, local factors proper to Rwanda and stemming from ancestral habits and the customary organisation which in some fields momentarily outweigh more modern ideas. However, the real conditions of our country cannot be left out of account. We are determined to construct, and have decided that the process shall go forward harmoniously with order, peace and security for all. Secondly, we have regard to external factors and particularly to the international standards formulated by the I.L.O. These are decisive in most respects and have in particular inspired our new Labour Code. We consider that the universal standards set in all fields by the international labour Conventions andRecommendations must be a source of national labour law and therefore we have always paid the closest attention to the items placed on the agenda of this Conference.

Before dealing with the matters before us at the present session, I should like to reiterate the opposition of Rwanda to any policy of forced labour and racial segregation. We cannot approve of such policies which violate the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the I.L.O. This Constitution, given to all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, the right to pursue their material well-being, and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity. Accordingly, the Republic of Rwanda, which has already welcomed the proper reaction of the I.L.O. with regard to South Africa, will endorse any unanimous decision which may subsequently be reached condemning forced labour and racial segregation in all their forms. We are particularly disposed to support any effort to help Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to understand better the realities of Africa and the map of the world, particularly those parts of it which formerly belonged to the colonial empires.

Rwanda asks the Powers whose attitude towards relations with those countries might, for reasons which it would take too long to explain here, be interpreted as even indirect support for the South African and Portuguese Governments, to be aware of their responsibilities in these matters. The armaments race now being intensified by the Government of South Africa and the Portuguese Government's ceaseless renewal of its reserves of arms and munitions (although no one has entrusted these two Governments with exclusive responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security) are a grave threat to the sovereignty, the very existence of our States, and to peace in the world. We urge the international community represented here to have regard to the gravity of these events. In saying this our Republic is no dupe. We know that before our accession to independence on 1 July 1962 there were conventions, pacts and agreements in which Portugal and South Africa did not fail to participate. However, the situation has worsened so much that it has become urgent to review the situation. History cannot be defied any longer and the I.L.O. should—if its tripartite character enabling it to do so—bring Portugal and South Africa and Southern Rhodesia face to face with the true facts. The African Continent is no longer a mere field for adventure or a source of decorations.

As regards the technical items on the agenda of the present session, the Republic of Rwanda has not always been able to rely on specific data because some of the situations to which the reports refer do not exist in its country. However, we think it reasonable to adopt the two Conventions and two Recommendations on the employment of young persons underground in mines, in the terms of the Conclusions proposed at the end of the 48th Session as recommended by the majority of the countries. Similarily, wishing to see the establishment of more social justice, we think that the conditions of employment of working women with family responsibilities should be placed on the agenda of this Conference. It may be pointed out that the Republic of Rwanda, and particularly its Ministry of Social Affairs, now headed, incidentally, by a woman, has an office for the
emancipation and advancement of women, the object of which is to improve women's conditions of work by modifying traditional influences and giving the women of Rwanda vocational or other guidance towards the openings that the new structures of a modern economy are offering to them.

We remain persuaded that no development can be successful unless all available energies are mobilised for a common objective. We wish to ensure for every citizen of Rwanda, man or woman, the full exercise of all the fundamental rights and freedoms defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in our own national Constitution. To do this we need substantial assistance, bilateral, multilateral, or both, to train our personnel and complete the liberation of our people.

The social and employment aspects of agrarian reform, on the other hand, give rise to no immediate comment on the part of the Rwanda Government. The particular agrarian structure of our country, in which private ownership predominates, does not make the preparation and implementation of an agrarian reform plan a matter of urgency. But this has not prevented us from setting up a parliamentary committee on agrarian reform. The results of its work will soon be known. In some parts of Rwanda hundreds of hectares of land are now being worked by farmers who have the provisional status of wage earners under the supervision of technicians from some of the international agencies. These farmers will accede in a few years' time to ownership of the land they cultivate and, dropping their status as labourers, will associate in co-operatives so as to work to the greatest possible advantage. This method is employed for large-scale tea and cotton cultivation, for instance, and should permit the standard of living of the farmers to be raised considerably.

Lastly, the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries is the object of special attention on the part of specialised committees of our Ministry of Planning. Already, appreciable technical assistance has enabled co-operatives to be educated and trained and co-operative ideas to be disseminated.

I should like publicly to ask the Swiss delegation to transmit to the Federal Council a further expression of the gratitude of the Government and people of Rwanda for the aid furnished to our country. Swiss co-operation enables us to envisage the rationalisation of our production methods and better utilisation of our human and material resources. We would therefore like to thank the Federal Council once again.

We hope that the proceedings of the present session regarding the co-operative movement will produce the main lines of a clear and flexible general Recommendation, leaving the details to the sovereign discretion of each government. The problems of our countries are so diverse that any attempt to handle them in every particular would require not a three-week or a six-week session but a whole year of unanimous and implemented decisions, with each country the subject of seminars and individual sittings.

In closing I would recall that Rwanda, like other African countries, would like to see Africa given the place it merits in the I.L.O. by adjustment of the structure and activities of the Organisation to the requirements of a changing world. Particularly we think the time has come to abolish the system of permanent seats on the Governing Body. This would be replaced by a scheme of two- or three-year rotation, which would enable all the countries to be kept better informed. Comparison of their particular experience and methods would reveal the ways in which our problems could be faced and solved. The Organisation could thus more easily follow our affairs and more effectively find solutions for our problems. We think that this change would decisively improve the I.L.O. and enable it to increase still further the considerable audience it now has in the African countries.

May I, last of all, in the name of the Government and people of Rwanda, congratulate the sister countries of Zambia, Yemen, Malta and Gambia on their accession to independence and full membership of the International Labour Organisation.

Mr. TENG (Workers' delegate, China)—I feel it a great honour to represent the workers of my country in order to express their views concerning the Director-General's Report to the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. Although I did not have the opportunity to attend the last two sessions of the Conference, I have followed with great interest the progress and evolution of the reorganisation and the operational activities of the International Labour Organisation under the capable leadership of Mr. Morse, the Director-General.

The developing countries of the world have at least two things in common: they have a tremendous quantity of idle or semi-idle manpower, and a great part of their heavily endowed natural resources lies undeveloped on the earth or underground. The logical thing to do is to put these two elements together and develop them to the maximum degree for the common benefit of mankind. A time-honoured Chinese saying urges us to work diligently on the land and exploit all the resources it contains. This is the only way that will lead us to great fortune.

Following the old Chinese proverb, the way out of economic misery is to put the unemployed and underemployed people to work on the land, to produce more foodstuffs, to open up mineral resources, to establish factories and workshops, large and small. A great number of the unemployed and underemployed people in the developing countries do not know how to increase food production, or to open up mineral and other natural resources, or to set up workshops and small-scale industries and make them productive and profitable. This is where the technical assistance of the I.L.O. should come in. In short, the I.L.O. should teach the people of the developing countries the most simple and effective methods of increasing food production, mineral production, industrial production, and so on.

The present session of the International Labour Conference is at grips with practical
social and economic problems. Two committees are discussing problems of agrarian reform and co-operatives; two others are dealing with problems of young miners and women workers. These are very important problems, and I sincerely hope that the deliberations on them will lead to the adoption of appropriate and useful international instruments.

With regard to agrarian reform, the achievements of Taiwan in the past 15 or more years are worthy of our attention. The Government of the Republic of China adopted a peaceful and gradual process of agrarian reform in Taiwan, with the aid of the harsh and confiscatory methods used by the communist regime in mainland China. In Taiwan the land-to-the-tiller programme started soon after the end of the Second World War. The first step was to reduce the rent payable by tenant farmers to the landlords. The second step was to register all landowners and tenant farmers, including the location and the size of their farms. The third was the preparatory stage in which laws were promulgated, delimiting the maximum size of each farm in order to eliminate absentee landlords. The fourth was the enforcement stage in which over-size farms were sold to the Government, which pays for them in bonds or shares in certain government-owned factories, the ownership of which was thus transferred to the hands of former landowners. Cement, paper, iron and steel, coal, pineapple, tea, and other enterprises owned by the provincial government are now operated by the people who have got rid of the land that they could not till. They are making much more profit from these industries than the rent they formerly collected from the tenant farmers.

The tenant farmers in turn become independent farmers. They bought the land they till from the provincial government, after having made ten annual payments to the provincial authorities. Each annual payment was about equal in value to the annual rent a tenant farmer used to pay. The tenant farmers are the owners of the land that they now till.

As to the results of the agrarian reform programme in Taiwan, any casual visitor to a village in Taiwan will tell you that it has electricity and water services, good village schools and clinics, new houses with compost sheds and drying grounds at the side. Farmers own radio sets, electric fans, sewing machines and bicycles. Many of them even have brand-new television sets and refrigerators. The farms are well irrigated. A large amount of chemical fertilisers and insecticides is used; and the farms are closely planted with improved seeds. Double-cropping and triple-cropping are practised, and farmers are as a rule busy all day long tending crops, cultivating fruit trees and vegetables, raising poultry and pigs, and so on. Their average income increased by more than 10 per cent. last year. One of the reasons for the tremendous increase of agricultural production in Taiwan is that the agrarian reform programme made all farmers own the land they till. There is no rent to pay. Whatever they produce belongs to them, except for the tax money which every citizen has to pay to the Government.

I have dealt at some length with the agrarian reform programme of Taiwan. This is because it is the mainspring which triggers the industrialisation programme in my country. Because the farmers have grown rich in Taiwan, their purchasing power has increased so much that they demand more bicycles and sewing machines, woven goods and cosmetics, schools and hospitals, books and periodical publications, and so forth. My country is now in the fourth four-year economic development period, and our industry is growing much faster than our rural economy.

During the period of rapid economic development in my country, technical assistance from the I.L.O. is particularly important. We Chinese workers appreciate what the I.L.O. is doing in China in the training of motor mechanics and metal-trade workers. It is hoped that assistance will also be obtained in the training of instructors. In the period of rapid economic development in my country, it is extremely important that social progress should also take great strides forward. In the extension of social security coverage, the strengthening of labour union organisation, the increase of workers' education programmes, as well as the improvement of the vocational and technical training of workers, the assistance of the International Labour Organisation will be most welcomed by Chinese workers and will surely bear fruitful results.

With regard to the development of social institutions, and the improvement of labour-management relations and co-operation, Chinese workers pledge their full and hearty support to the aims and purposes of this Organisation in order to achieve 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. The number of collective agreements in my country has increased in recent years, and the sphere of their application has also widened considerably, thus furthering the development of the harmonious management relations and co-operation, offering Chinese workers a better and bigger share of the fruits of their labour. In this respect also, the rich technical experience and knowledge of I.L.O. experts will bear desirable results if they are brought into use in co-operation with the employers and workers of Taiwan.

I hope that the deliberations of the current session of the Conference will be crowned with the success they well deserve.

Mr. HARRIS (Representative of the International Council of Commerce Employers)—I am grateful for the opportunity given me here to put forward a number of the comments which the employers in commerce have found to be of importance upon studying the Report of the Director-General.

I need not emphasise to this high assembly the greatly increasing importance of trade both within individual countries and in the world economy as a whole.

The value of a commodity has always depended upon the ability of the trade to find consumers willing to purchase the commodity in question.
At the same time it also depends upon the training and skill possessed by the individual trader, and whether he is in a position to obtain the commodity at the lowest possible price.

The interests of the consumers are served in the best possible manner when the individual private trader, while constantly improving his personal training and knowledge, operates in free competition with other capable traders, who likewise strive to solve the problems of trade as a link between production and consumer in such a fashion as will be of the most benefit and least expense to both parties.

Wherever, by means of mechanisation and automation, mass production of commodities is arrived at, the importance of trade must be correspondingly enhanced. Mass production of goods will have no meaning if trade is not ready and prepared to convey the commodity from the factory via the wholesalers' stocks and the retailers' shops and out to the individual consumer, far or near.

It is the task of trade to unite towns, countries and hemispheres by locating and developing markets for the increasing production, and by acquiring, in payment, other commodities, which may in turn be sold at competitive prices.

During rapid development trade also undergoes a thorough change of structure and rationalisation. This change affects all forms of trade, from minor undertakings to large concerns with branches and subsidiaries spread all over the world; and from small shops to chain stores, supermarkets and department stores, in which sales methods are constantly being modernised and adapted to the desires and requirements of the consumers and to the ever-changing habits of consumption and purchase.

These constant changes in sales methods are again closely tied up with the migration of population from country to town, and concurrently in the large cities, from the town centre to the suburbs and environs of the city. An essential factor with which trade must reckon is the fact that employees and workers in and around towns and cities are to a greatly increasing extent motorcar owners, whereby they are enabled to make larger and more concentrated purchases. These purchases, which are frequently influenced by the fact that the wife works away from the home, again confronts trade with fresh problems. For trade must—as the faithful servant of the customers—be prepared to serve them at the times most convenient to them, that is, outside the customers' own working hours. This has the result that hours of work in commerce pose quite a different problem than do hours of work in other fields and callings. Evening hours, which are considered highly undesirable in other quarters, must to a certain extent be regarded, in commerce, as something to be desired, precisely out of regard for the employees and workers in other professions; at the same time trade will be able to ensure seeing that the working hours are not longer than elsewhere, since the trading establishments can close when others are at work.

In order to find a solution to the very difficult problem posed if we are simultaneously to benefit from the flow of commodities from the machines by finding markets near at hand and far away, while at the same time adapting ourselves to the changing desires and purchasing habits of the consumers, trade must have well-trained staff of all grades and ranks. The commerce employers have therefore studied with the utmost interest the observations of the Director-General on the question of improving the quality of the labour force by vocational education and training.

It might, however, be pointed out here that in providing training in trade and administration the theoretical side needs to be emphasised more than the practical side, in contrast to the situation obtaining as regards training for industry; in this connection it may perhaps be mentioned that the training and education of administrative personnel for industry will generally be so close to that for trade, that they may best and most conveniently be combined with it.

Apart from technical knowledge and ability which will usually be of the same relative level in all occupations, within the field of trade, owing to the personal contact with the customers, there is also a need for personal manners, deportment and culture, coupled with a knowledge of commercial languages, etc.

While there is a considerable difference between tuition in an ordinary primary school and the theoretical education imparted to technical apprentices and other young people, there exists in trade and administration no such sharp demarcation between the ordinary primary education given to the entire population and the subsequent theoretical education given to young people in trade and administration.

This state of affairs may—when it is recognised—facilitate the introduction and adoption of a system of comprehensive education in an economical manner; at the same time a basis may be created for the higher and most advanced forms of education in the field of trade, which will result in an increase of productivity of enormous value to the individual, to trade and to society.

I believe that these observations will be of immense importance in future development. For we can all see the time approaching when, in the great majority of industrialised countries, trade and administration will employ far more people than will be engaged in actually producing goods in industry.

But we can also see that rapid development of educational and training facilities could increase the productivity of the individual employee by 100 per cent.—indeed, in administration by many times over.

In countries suffering from manpower shortages in trade and administration, this shortage can be overcome by increasing the productivity of the individual by a quick build-up of education and training.

The commerce employers are very pleased to find that their view on education and training problems coincide so closely with the main points brought out in the excellent Report submitted to this Conference by the Director-General.

(The Conference adjourned at 5.30 p.m.)
TWENTY-FIFTH SITTING

Friday, 18 June 1965, 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Raza

SEVENTH REPORT
OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE
Submission and Adoption

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda is the seventh report of the Selection Committee. I call on Mr. Menon, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the report to the Conference.

Mr. MENON (Government delegate, India; Chairman of the Selection Committee)—I have the honour to present the seventh report of the Selection Committee, which has been distributed to delegates. The report recommends certain changes in the composition of committees. It also recommends the transmission of certain conclusions of the Committee on Agrarian Reform to the Committee on Co-operatives. I commend the report to the Conference for adoption.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now open for discussion. As there are no remarks I take it that the report is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We now resume discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. ARMENDARES (Government delegate, Argentina)—The Government delegation of Argentina would not have chosen to take part in the discussion on the Director-General's Report again, since the Minister of Labour and Social Security, as Minister attending the Conference, gave a detailed analysis of the Director-General's Report in the sitting of Friday, 4 June, indicating the Argentine position on this subject.

However, in this assembly, most unfortunately, expressions have been used which in no way represent the truth and in fact even further give a thoroughly distorted picture of what is actually happening in Argentina, thereby unnecessarily harming not so much my Government as my country, and I therefore feel that I have to rectify these statements.

On the pretext that the Minister in his statement slandered the trade union movement in Argentina, one delegate, completely ignoring the subject being discussed and the proper language which should have been used, took advantage of the rostrum to insult a Minister and a Government. This is an unfortunate fact, but it happened, and it distresses us as Argentinians.

The statement that the Argentine trade union movement had been attacked is totally and absolutely false, as anyone can see by reading the statement of the Minister, unless, of course, you understand that adhering to the basic principles of freedom of association proclaimed by the International Labour Organisation is tantamount to attacking the trade union movement.

An attempt is being made to give a deplorable picture of Argentina at a time when economic and financial questions closely connected with the recovery of my country are being worked out at the international level.

It is true that there was no Argentine Workers' delegation at the 48th Session of the International Labour Conference, but this was due exclusively to the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour of Argentina (C.G.T.) whom the Argentine Government had designated as those who should attend this Conference. This is not just a statement on my part. It has been confirmed by the I.L.O. The Credentials Committee of the 48th Session of the Conference considered that the Argentine Government had strictly applied the provisions of the Constitution of the I.L.O. Moreover, the Committee on Freedom of Association of the 48th Session of the Conference considered that the Argentine Government had strictly applied the provisions of the Constitution of the I.L.O. Moreover, the Committee on Freedom of Association reached the same decision in its 83rd Report to the Governing Body, which was approved by the Governing Body at its 162nd Session, by virtue of which the complaint made by the C.G.T. was rejected since it was clearly proved that the Argentine Workers' delegates were in no way prevented from leaving their country to come to the 48th Session of the International Labour Conference. It was recommended that the Governing Body should decide that there would be no point in continuing examination of the case. This is referred to in paragraphs 299 to 303 of the report of the Committee on Freedom of Association.

At this assembly the so-called "combat plan" of the Argentine C.G.T. has also been defended in terms criticising my Government

1 See Appendix I, p. 487.
for its attitude towards this plan. Fortunately, we are not alone here either. We have the authority of the Committee on Freedom of Association and the Governing Body behind us. In paragraph 290 and the following paragraphs of the 83rd Report of the Committee to which I referred a moment ago it is made quite clear that the so-called combat plan was not related to any truly occupational strike by the trade unions following the directives of the C.G.T. but that it was the result of activities extra-normal to the trade union movement, harmful to the public order and of a political character. The report further states that the action to bring pressure to bear on the authorities consisted of occupying undertakings and depriving the employees of such undertakings of their freedom, these being offences punishable under ordinary law. The report states in paragraph 297 that in view of these events—that is to say the strike, accompanied by the occupation of undertakings with a view to bringing pressure to bear on the Government in order that it should adopt measures in the economic, social and political field—the Committee did not consider that the behaviour of the trade union leaders involved made it possible to allege in this case that there had been any violation of freedom of association, in the light of the principles which have always been applied in this field.

The economic recession of the years 1962-63, for which the Government which I represent is in no way responsible, had its impact on the labour market and caused abnormal unemployment, but it did not reach the magnitude which some persons have claimed. There is no statistical basis for such claims.

To clarify this situation, very serious studies were made which showed the true extent of unemployment. Thus in July 1963 the National Development Council of my country, along with the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, completed the first manpower inquiry through the methods recommended most strongly by international bodies: by a sample survey of homes. This is a periodical study, since the first investigation was followed up in April, July and August 1964 in Buenos Aires and its suburbs. Comparing the unemployment rate in July 1963 with October 1964, the 1964 rate shows a decrease in the number of unemployed from 8.8 per cent. to 5.7 per cent., which indicates a decrease in unemployment of 37.5 per cent.

The results of these studies confirm the process of economic recovery of the country, with employment indices which are higher, greater utilisation of unemployed manpower and a higher production rate, which is reflected in the gross national product, which last year grew by more than 8 per cent. This process has been accompanied by an increase in real wages following the high rates of increase awarded to pensioners, commercial employees, workers in industry and agricultural workers. Taking the index 100 for September 1963, the date when Dr. Arturo Illia became President of the Republic, the total wage income of unemployed workers in industry increased by 86.5 per cent. and in agriculture by 166.8 per cent.; for commercial employees the increase was by 151.4 per cent. and for pensioners 148.3 per cent., whereas the cost of living measured by the same index rose by only 44.8 per cent. These figures show very clearly a definite substantial increase in real wages in my country.

It has also been alleged that the Minister of Labour of Argentina has interfered in the life of trade unions. Again this is an error, making false, empty and untrue accusations which could never be proved before the Committee on Freedom of Association. Moreover, the accuser himself can at any time appeal to Parliament, to which the Minister of Labour is responsible in the final instance—Parliament, which for the first time, thanks to the irrevo­ cable decision of my Government, represents all the sectors of national life, and in which particular there are a number of labour leaders.

The episode which obliged me to take part in the discussion in no way alters the position of my Government with respect to the trade union movement—quite the contrary. It even further strengthens it. We continue to believe, along with the Director-General, that rep­ resentative organisations of workers must play an active and constructive part in the develop­ ment of the society to which they belong.

The designation by the Argentine Government of a Workers' delegation, whose journey and expenses it paid and who came to this meeting to insult us gratuitously, speaks very clearly of our irrevo­ cable decision to respect the independence of trade unions, but it also shows how difficult it is to govern when you have to face lack of understanding or in­ tolerance.

However, nothing and no one can turn us aside from the path we have determined to follow. We are restoring the absolute in­ dependence of democratic institutions, and with them we shall continue to fight for the happiness, peace, freedom and progress of the Argentine citizens.

The President—I have received a note from the Workers' delegate of Argentina requesting that he should be allowed the floor to reply to the points which have been made by Mr. Armendares, Government delegate, Argentina, in the speech which he delivered just now. This speech which was delivered by the Government delegate of Argentina was in reply to certain points which had been made by the Workers' delegate, Argentina. If I now give him the floor I fear there may be a similar request again from the Government delegate of Argentina to reply to the points made in the Workers' delegate's speech and this will not end if I go on giving the right to reply. I therefore decide that there is no point of order and that the right of reply does not apply to the reply which has been given to a certain attack made in a certain speech.

Mr. Gibson (Employers' delegate, Australia)

—Mr. President, may I say on the occasion of my first appearance on this rostrum that I am privileged and proud to be here as the Australian Employers' delegate and, as their representative, to offer their congratulations to you on your appointment to the high office of President of this session of the Conference.
May I, at the outset, say that the employers of Australia support the searching examination which the Conference is undertaking in relation to the future programme of this institution and the areas on which it should concentrate in the future. To this end, may I direct some remarks to Chapter II of Part I of the Director-General’s Report which relates to human resources and economic development, and in particular, I would like to turn my attention to the section of the Report which deals with the development of social institutions.

After reviewing this matter in general the Director-General begins to state five principal objectives of the I.L.O. in this field. He states that: "The first of these objectives is the growth of workers' and employers' organisations which are genuinely representative and independent, organised on a solid basis and capable of playing an active part in the national effort for economic and social development."

We in Australia are wholeheartedly in support of this objective and affirm our belief in its fundamental importance. It is also true, as the Director-General states further on, that it is important in the context of each country to seek and develop appropriate institutional methods to achieve these aims. We in Australia, over the past 60 years, have applied ourselves to this important task, this task of developing strong independent organisations of workers and employers which are capable, not only of looking after the interests of their members, but of participating actively in the economic and social development of our country.

It is well known that in Australia we have adopted, for the purposes of settling industrial issues which arise between employers and the employed, the system of compulsory conciliation and arbitration. This system, of course, is not favoured in other countries, although it is being increasingly looked to in many of the developing countries, and indeed it is interesting to note that, when it was adopted in Australia, Australia was then essentially an agricultural country seeking to develop its secondary and tertiary industries.

What is generally not recognised, however, is that a fundamental prerequisite for the successful operation of the system of conciliation and arbitration is the recognition by the State and by the community of the independence of and necessity for strong trade union and employer associations. Under the Australian system both groups are encouraged to organise and, under the legislation, are given a legal status and the authority of law to pursue the legitimate interests of their members. As a result, the arbitration system in Australia has brought about an orderly development of strong unions and strong employers' associations which are recognised on all sides and which are looked to by the community and by the Government for assistance in promoting the development of the economy.

The legal status afforded to the organisations in itself protects them and their members from unwanted attacks from any side. The system itself, so far as it relates to the settlement of industrial disputes, has undoubtedly produced a code of wages and working conditions which have raised living standards to a point where they now match those of any country. It can therefore be said, whatever one's ideological attitude towards the system may be, that it has worked in the Australian context and that it has played a part in attaining the objectives referred to in the Report of the Director-General.

Important as all this may be, it is also well, I think, to reflect for a minute on the importance of these institutions—the employers' and workers' organisations—not only in the national context but also in the international context. The very basis of the I.L.O. is its tripartite structure. The existence of employers' and workers' groups is fundamental to the efficient operation of the Organisation. It is essential therefore, in the international context, that strong employers' and workers' organisations, able to act independently of each other and of their governments, should continue to exist and to be fostered, for it is only by the participation of such organisations in the international arena and in this institution that the best work can be performed. In this regard it is well for the I.L.O., when reviewing its programme and its structure for the future, to keep ever in mind the need, the basic and fundamental need, to protect the autonomy and the independence of each of these groups in the Organisation. Every time there is a breaking-down in the independence of any one of them, there is a weakening in the over-all strength of this Organisation.

Australian experience shows that the affording of legal status and national recognition to organisations of workers and employers does not mean that they should become subject to the control of the political machine. It is this particular aspect of Australian experience that we commend for examination, not only at the national level, but at the international level. We strongly support the lofty ideals which are expressed in the Report of the Director-General and trust that these aims will be achieved.

Mr. WEAVER (Government delegate, United States)—I join those who have preceded me in congratulating the President on his election. I also take this opportunity to welcome into the I.L.O. family the newest Members—Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen. As has been said, we strongly believe that this increase in membership again demonstrates the strength and validity of the ideals upon which this Organisation is built.

In his excellent Report to the Conference, the Director-General reviews the major programme areas that appear to have had the general support of the Conference. These three major programme areas—human resources development, the development of social institutions, and conditions of life and work—encompass the broad spectrum of human endeavour within the competence of the I.L.O.

The Government of the United States subscribes fully to the central thesis of the Director-General’s Report. Concern for human resources development is as pressing a factor in my country than it is in others.

During my tour of duty with the I.L.O. I have tried, and I shall continue to try, to cooperate with all groups in this Organisation...
which serves the working men and women of the world. But I hasten to remind delegates that co-operation, to be successful, has always to be a two-way street; therefore, I deeply regret that I find it impossible to discuss in the detail I had planned the Director-General's Report, in view of the provocative course of the debate during this session. Starting on 7 June, my country has been subjected to a series of distorted attacks by speakers from communist countries concerned with matters outside the competence of this Conference—matters which this Organisation cannot solve and which belong in the United Nations.

If these speakers were sincere, and not merely seeking to divert attention from the subversive activities of the international communist apparatus, they would have utilised the established machinery of the Resolutions Committee, which is designed for this purpose, to discuss the issues they raised. Instead, they sought to disrupt orderly debate in this hall by their politically motivated attacks.

While I objected to the statements of these speakers, I abided by the rulings of the President on 7 and 8 June, although I happened to have disagreed with them. I abided by those rulings because of my firm belief in the vital importance of the due process of laws as well as my deep respect for this house. I have expressed these thoughts many times from this rostrum. I am satisfied that the President has made every effort to guide the debate along appropriate lines. This effort, however, has been largely nullified by the consistent disregard of his ruling by speakers from communist countries. Therefore, I am constrained to comment on the issues involved and the policies of my Government in the manner suggested by the President on 8 June.

I think I should state at the outset that we believe that governments should derive their powers from the consent of the governed. History confirms that the American people believe in democracy—for themselves as well as for others. And by democracy we mean government by the majority; a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them, either directly or through their representatives chosen at periodic free elections where there is a choice of candidates representing varying points of view.

That is the kind of democracy in which we believe. I hasten to point out, however, that it is not the understanding of democracy by the communist countries who label themselves "democratic" and "socialist". I am convinced that they are neither. I would also propose a question at this point: why have they stopped using the word "communist" in describing themselves?

We have been reminded many times in the debate in this house that communist words often bear little resemblance to commonly accepted definitions. Such words as peace, aggression, imperialism, intervention, neo-colonialism and liberation have been sadly distorted—so distorted, in fact, that the so-called "liberators" had to build a wall to retain the "liberated" people.

The Soviet poet Evtushenko has written: "Comrades, you have to give words back their original meanings." I commend these very wise words to the attention of the communist delegates who have participated in this debate.

I might say, furthermore, in seeking to define our concept of democracy, that we do not believe that any group has the right to impose its system on others by force or by subversive techniques. But what do we see happening today? We see communist States engaged in subverting legitimate governments in Asia, Latin America and Africa. It has been said that the new imperialists of today are the Russians and the Red Chinese. Communist China's Premier, Chou En-lai, standing on African soil the other day, declared that Africa is ripe for revolution. He added that the same "exceedingly favourable situation for revolution" prevails in Asia and in Latin America.

As the Kenya Government spokesman has asked: what kind of revolution has Mr. Chou En-lai in mind? Most African States have gained their independence from foreign rule in recent years.

The only conclusion one can draw is that the revolutions Mr. Chou En-lai advocates would be aimed at existing African governments, with the aid of those whom his country has been training for years in guerrilla warfare and subversion.

Of course, the Communists do not call their actions those of subversion or aggression. In the distorted language of international communism they are "wars of liberation". They begin with infiltration, recruitment of dissidents, and propaganda and go on to guerrilla warfare, the establishment of so-called "liberation fronts" and then an outright attempt to overthrow governments by armed force.

While the communist countries pour in assistance to those subversive forces, their propaganda apparatus screeds its distortions at the intended victim and at any nation which dares to come to its help, calling them aggressors.

This is precisely what has happened in Viet-Nam. We are in Viet-Nam because we have a commitment to honour. We are not there as aggressors, but to oppose a policy of aggression from the North. We have no colonial or territorial aims there, or in any other part of the world. For the past five years, communist North Viet-Nam has sent increasing numbers of trained guerrillas into the South and, more recently, even complete units of the North Viet-Nam armed forces.

To meet this threat, 38 free nations are sending help to South Viet-Nam.

We are determined—I repeat, we are determined—to do everything necessary to preserve the right of South Viet-Nam to choose its own destiny.

We will not forfeit the battle against communist aggression in South Viet-Nam. If we did, the free world surely would soon have to face the same problem in yet another country.
The Communists already have proclaimed Thailand as their next target for guerrilla warfare in South-East Asia. The first stage is well under way with communist subversives killing Thai rural officials charged with improving the economic life of their people.

We will not quit—but we will negotiate. Since April, President Johnson has repeatedly invited unconditional discussions on Viet-Nam. Several other nations have sought consultations. Each effort has met with silence, slander, or the sound of guns.

If North Viet-Nam will cease aggression, cease subversion and accept the peace of its neighbour, the free world will be glad to pull its forces out of South Viet-Nam, because we—like most of the world—want peace in Viet-Nam. But it must be a peace which preserves the freedom of the South Vietnamese people to choose their own way of life.

Rather than wasting the time of the Conference in accusing the United States of waging a filthy war in Viet-Nam—and I would remind you that all wars are filthy, and that typical communist tactics in this one are hardly hygienic—would it not be more useful for Comrade Pimenov and his claimed 70 million Soviet workers to use their influence on North Viet-Nam to come to the Conference table?

Likewise, in the Dominican Republic a crisis arose which the Communists sought to exploit for their own purposes. When anarchy gripped the Dominican Republic last April the only apparent responsible authority asked the United States to send in armed forces. We answered the appeal. Over 6,500 persons were evacuated, and, of these, nearly two-thirds were nationals of 46 countries, from every continent, including Eastern Europeans whose delegates belabour us here.

It was an emergency action, taken to protect lives and to give the Inter-American system a chance to deal with a situation within its competence. And it is dealing with the situation now.

A cease-fire has been effected. The Secretary-General of the Organisation of American States and a three-man committee are consulting with all Dominican groups to bring about a political solution acceptable to the people as a whole. An Inter-American Peace Force has been set up, and those American troops still remaining are under its command. The O.A.S. will determine when the Peace Force will be withdrawn.

The O.A.S., I might remind you, is acting against civil disorder, and political chaos—actions incited by Communists, many of whom received guerrilla training abroad. The extent of this involvement is a matter of record in the Security Council, where it belongs, and the Organisation of American States.

Eastern European delegates have demanded the complete withdrawal of American forces from the Dominican Republic, but why have not the same delegates ever called for the withdrawal of the 80,000 Soviet troops still in Hungary nine years after the Soviet intervention that ruthlessly suppressed the aspirations of the Hungarian people?

I have sat in this hall and listened to speaker after speaker describe the needs of his country—for more rapid economic development, more industries, more training of workers, more co-operatives—all the things that the I.L.O., with the support of governments, employers and workers, can help and is helping, to provide.

I am proud—I hasten to admit—that my country has shared in the efforts at nation-building taking place around the globe, and we look forward to doing more.

We have also heard from this rostrum many delegates recite the problems they face: the population explosion, hunger, poverty, inadequate schools, etc. These are all grave impediments to progress.

But I submit that the gravest impediment to progress today is the conspiracy to subvert the developing countries, to steal their hard-won freedoms, and to take over legitimate movements of workers.

Let me ask how are we to quicken the pace of development enough to meet the needs of the emerging countries if our efforts are to be impeded by communist subversion parading as "movements of liberation"?

I think it is time that we—developing and developed countries alike—recognise communist propaganda and aggression for what they are: forces aimed at the destruction of the better standards of life in large freedom that most of us are trying to build.

For our part, our determination and commitment to freedom are without limit. This has been made amply clear by President Johnson, who, by words and deeds, has reaffirmed the concept expressed by the late President Kennedy in his inaugural address, when he stated that Americans are "unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world."

"Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

Mr. BERGENSTROM (Employers' member, Sweden)—Mr. President, on behalf of the Danish, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Employers' Confederations I would like to congratulate you most sincerely upon your election to your high post at this Conference.

We have listened to this general debate with great interest. It is with a certain regret, however, that we have found that, to some extent, the discussion has transgressed not only the limits that have been set for the debate but also the competence of our Organisation itself. In this respect I should like to refer to the pertinent remarks made by the Workers' delegate of Canada, Mr. Morris, who rightly pointed out that, with regard to the activities of the different Members of the so-called United Nations family, "there must be an orderly and clear division of labour for the achievement of the great goals of mankind ." In this context it must be recalled that purely political matters are exclusively within the sphere of competence of the United Nations and that it can serve no useful purpose to try to duplicate here what is done in the General Assembly in New York.

Unfortunately, this has not been understood by all delegates here. The Scandinavian em-
employers are sorry to note that political propaganda manoeuvres have somewhat drawn our attention away from the very important social problems which we have come here to discuss.

As I understand the situation, this debate should centre mainly around the Director-General's Report on the future activities of the I.L.O. and the report of the Governing Body Working Party on the programme and structure of the Organisation. Both these documents have been criticised in the course of the debate on the ground that the structural problems have not been sufficiently touched upon. However, this criticism is unfounded. In the period of reappraisal in which our Organisation finds itself, our first task is to reach agreement on future programmes. Only when this has been achieved will it be time for decisions with regard to instrumentalities.

Concerning the major I.L.O. programme areas as developed in Chapter II of the Director-General's Report, we are happy to support wholeheartedly the Director-General's proposals for action under the heading of human resources and economic development. In our view the activities envisaged for improving the quality of manpower and creating productive employment should be considered as having the highest priority in all the work of our Organisation.

Different questions regarding human resources development were discussed in detail by the Governing Body Working Party on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. It is a pleasure for me to say that the Scandinavian employers are in full agreement with the Working Party's conclusions.

In pursuing its human resources development programme, as in all its other activities, the I.L.O. should give the highest priority to the needs of the developing countries. Many delegates to this Conference who are familiar with the problems of those countries have expressed the view that the I.L.O. should concentrate on projects for the creation of productive employment, conducive to economic and social development. The Scandinavian employers agree with those statements. It is felt that I.L.O. activities in the fields of vocational training, management development and employment promotion can be extremely useful.

In the introduction to his Report the Director-General states his intention to deal only with general questions on which there already appears to be a clear consensus of opinion in the Conference. Having this in mind one is a little surprised when taking cognisance of the Director-General's proposals under the heading of the development of social institutions. The economic conditions as well as the social climate vary so widely, not only as between different parts of the world but also within the regions themselves, that the I.L.O. would have difficulties in reaching general conclusions. Furthermore, questions relating to the formulation of incomes policies have been taken up by competent organisations within the different regions. The activities of these organisations in the area under discussion would seem sufficient for the foreseeable future.

In the field of living and working conditions we feel that the highest priority should be given to the protection of basic human rights, whereby special emphasis would be laid on measures to combat discrimination in employment.

Before leaving the programmes of our Organisation I would recall the proposal made during this debate according to which the I.L.O. should embark on a wide programme of industrialisation. Sometimes we also hear the suggestion that the I.L.O. should take an active interest in questions relating to international trade. We do not underestimate the
importance of these questions, which are certainly of vital relevance to the welfare of mankind. But in these fields, too, there is a need to consider the distribution of responsibilities as between the international organisations, and the I.L.O. should not embark on activities already taken up by other organisations.

I would now like to comment on a few structural questions that have been touched upon by previous speakers. First of all, it has been noted that increased responsibilities and authority should be given to this Conference at the expense of the Governing Body. The four Scandinavian employers' confederations, bearing the overwhelming workload of the Conference in mind, are rather of the opinion that effective management of this huge Organisation requires a strong Governing Body, in the future as in the past.

We are pleased to see, in the Report of the Director-General, that the Office is being re-organised in such a way that the I.L.O. will be able to concentrate on essential activities and to reduce and eliminate progressively those which are less important.

A viewpoint that has been expressed by many delegates from developing countries is that the activities of the International Labour Office should be further decentralised. We think that this important point should be scrutinised thoroughly by the Governing Body Working Party, when it takes up the structural problems. At present it is sufficient just to make the general observation that administrative decentralisation should not be carried out in such a way as to threaten the universal character of the I.L.O. On central policy matters there should still be guidance from Headquarters in Geneva.

Finally, I would like to make a few comments on the ways and means of implementing the I.L.O. programme. Since the special problems of the developing countries should always receive first-hand attention within the I.L.O., technical assistance activities should have the highest priority. Besides this form of action, there also seems to be fairly general agreement that, within its sphere of competence, the I.L.O. should be active in the field of research, international exchange of experience, inter alia, at meetings of experts, and public information.

However, the four Scandinavian employers' confederations definitely disagree with the Director-General when he says in his Report that practically all speakers dealing with the standard-setting functions of the I.L.O. at the 1963 and 1964 Sessions of the Conference were agreed that international instruments were the backbone of the Organisation and that their elaboration would continue to play an essential part. The Employers have stated their thinking in this respect very clearly. The debate at this year's session of the Conference shows that the Employers' opinion is shared by representatives from other quarters. As one example out of many I will mention the statement of the Government delegate from India, Mr. Bheekhabhai, who said that, to the developing countries, adoption of international standards is naturally not of such urgent concern as assistance in the promotion of economic development, and indicated that the assistance afforded by I.L.O. standards can at best be marginal.

There are apparently widely conflicting views on the standard-setting activities of the I.L.O. The four Scandinavian employers' confederations hope sincerely that the unsolved difficulties relating thereto, as well as the remaining questions with regard to the future of our great Organisation, will find solutions that command a wide measure of agreement.

We trust that the Governing Body, at the request of the party on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. will provide constructive guidance in this respect, having special regard to the many problems of the developing countries.

Interpretation from Portuguese: Mr. LOPES SUSSEKIND (Government delegate, Brazil)—I should like first of all to transmit the congratulations of my Government to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the Conference.

At the 48th Session of the International Labour Conference I transmitted the view of the Brazilian Government that the profound economic and technological changes and the emergence of new States obliged the I.L.O. to re-examine its methods of work if it were to remain active and up-to-date in the search for its permanent objectives of social justice. Commenting on the Director-General's Report, I said that President Castelo Branco, who was elected by the National Congress after the democratic revolution of 31 March 1964, has also started reforms of the country's structure, systems and methods of action with a view to the economic recovery of the country and the effective application of standards of labour protection and social security.

Today, 12 months later, I return to this rostrum to applaud the reconstruction already effected, but regard the central organs of the I.L.O. and the efforts of the Governing Body and the Director-General for reformulation and extension of the regional activities of the Organisation on the lines set out in the resolution adopted by the Conference on 9 July 1964.

Commenting on the present Report of the Director-General, I may, as representative of the Brazilian Government, refer to the perfect agreement between his views and the directives which govern the reforms now under way in my country, reforms which, unlike previous demagogic pronouncements or revolutionary attempts, are being carried out in accordance with constitutional and democratic processes.

In the chapter on human resources and economic development, the Report stresses that plans regarding human resources must be closely related to plans for economic development. In fact, the juridical standards giving effect to the principles of social justice tend to become a dead letter if the particular economic situation in the country, instead of promoting economic development, becomes stagnant or suffers from increasing inflation. Development depends basically on the conditions of health, education and vocational training and on the juridical and administrative institutions which give the worker sufficient protection in employment and social security.
Therefore, social justice cannot be achieved without economic development, nor can economic development be achieved without social justice.

The Brazilian demographic explosion—the annual rate of increase exceeds 3 per cent.—has made the population of my country exceptionally young. Of the 82 million inhabitants, 52.86 per cent. are under 20 years of age. This circumstance increases the responsibility of our Government and of the economically active population in approaching and handling the problems of economic development and social well-being. Nevertheless, Brazil has made comforting progress in regard to the matters dealt with in this Part of the Report.

As regards education and health, it would be impossible in this short speech to enumerate all the plans and achievements of the federal Government regarding the raising of the educational and health standards of the people of Brazil. However, I should refer in this regard to the following. The intensive programme for the training of labour instituted by our Ministry of Education and Culture is in course of being carried out. Secondly, in the Ministry of Labour, by Act of 11 December 1964, we have established a National Employment and Wage Department which, apart from its other functions concerning cost of living, wages, manpower and employment, has to formulate a government policy for vocational training, making allowance for conditions on the employment market and the prospects of economic and social development, all with due regard for the powers of the Ministry of Education in all matters coming within its competence.

Thirdly, vocational training, provided by state schools and courses run by employers' organisations or apprenticeship in the undertaking supervised by the employers' organisations and by the Ministry of Labour, is making considerable progress.

Fourthly, we have medical care services under the social welfare scheme which have been considerably expanded and which spent in 1964, 112,000 million cruzeiros, the amount spent in the previous year having been 54,000 million, while 250,000 million cruzeiros has been earmarked under this heading in the budget for 1965.

The social welfare scheme has 23 hospitals of its own, with another five nearing completion, 564 outpatient departments and 1,473 private hospitals under contract to the social welfare scheme. We have 15,690 doctors who, in 1964, attended to 21.5 million cases—58,900 a day—and carried out 215,000 surgical operations—589 a day.

I should mention in this connection the Land Statute Act, No. 4504 of 30 November 1964, which covers the rights and obligations concerning rural real estate in order to carry out agrarian reform and create institutions which will put this reform and our agrarian policy into effect. As the Conference is now dealing with this important subject, I should like, as Minister of State of Brazil, to repeat what I have said last year in the plenary—namely that "The new Government will establish agrarian reform, of which much has been said for merely subversive purposes". This is now being done in a democratic and non-violent manner in accordance with the juridical system set out in the statute I have mentioned. President Castelo Branco said in this respect: "Since it took office the present Government has spared no effort to promote the growth of agriculture. At the legislative level the great achievement of the Government in this field has been the promulgation of the Land Statute—an agrarian reform elaborated on strictly technical lines which was approved in a serene atmosphere, without the agitation which surrounded this step in the pre-revolutionary period. Its main tool of action will be the rural land tax—a progressive and graduated tax which will punish severely non-productive latifundia and provide rewards for good husbandry. In addition, the tool of expropriation may be used, now authorised by law against financial compensation, in areas of greatest population pressure and greatest social tension."

In the chapter on the development of social institutions the Director-General of the I.L.O. stresses the desirability of the organised social groups concerned participating actively in the institutions responsible for labour relations and the preparation of economic and social development plans, and refers to various objectives, which I may say deserve the full support of my Government. In many cases these aims are closely correlated to conditions of work and life, which are covered in the following chapter.

In Brazil all these objectives are being respected. In fact, representatives appointed by the trade union and employers' organisations have for a long time now been participating in accordance with legal provisions in labour courts of all instances; in the superior council of the governing body of the National Department of Social Welfare; in the administrative governing bodies and fiscal bodies of the various social security institutions and other bodies lower down the scale of hierarchy. This practice has been maintained and extended through the revolutionary movement of 31 March 1964.

I should like to point in this connection to the active participation of representatives of employers' and workers' organisations in the following bodies: in the planning board, whose secretary-general is the Minister of Economic Planning and Co-ordination; in the advisory board for salaries and employment, which is a body coming under the Department of Wages and Employment; in the trade union committees collaborating with the labour inspectorate as instituted by the Labour Inspection Regulations approved on 15 March of this year.

Just as important as the Acts creating these various bodies, is the desire of the present Government to associate the various interests concerned in the preparation of the draft legislation to be sent to the National Congress—as, inter alia, was the case with the proposed legislation for the reform of social welfare and collective labour agreements. As regards the latter, in addition to the stimulus given to collective bargaining, provision is made for the creation, through collective agreements, of joint arbitration and conciliation committees at the level of the undertaking.

As regards the authentically representative character and the independence of trade union organisations, the present Government has...
been doing a good deal of revising and cleaning up and is only now beginning to be understood by the free and democratic nations. Many trade unions were bound to the Government through the Trade Union Social Fund, which ceased to exist last December. Many trade union leaders obeyed orders from government authorities, political parties or factions and even foreign groups. The present Government freed the trade union organisations from this relationship of subordination, restoring to them the independence which is a sine qua non in the defence of their interests in their respective categories. From 1 April 1964 to 31 May 1965, 1,040 trade union elections took place without any government, political party or economic influence whatsoever.

If it is true that man lives on memories of the past and hopes for the future, it is also true that human happiness is to a large extent conditioned by the idea of security with regard to the future. Therefore the present Government has given top priority to the administrative reconstruction of our welfare institutions so as to broaden the services provided by those institutions and eventually to work out legislation reformulating social welfare and extending it to cover rural and domestic workers. This reconstruction and reform has taken place and the legislation in question has already been worked out. Today social welfare covers about 6 million insured persons in addition to their dependants, which means a total of 20 million beneficiaries. With the projected reforms, its scope will be extended to the whole of the active population of the country, with all the benefits and services which make up a true system of social security.

The time limit we must observe as delegates here prevents my analysing in the light of experience in Brazil other statements and suggestions made by the Director-General concerning the measures which affect economic development and social security. However, I should not like to close my statement without referring to the importance my Government's policy places on occupational safety and health and labour statistics. It was in this spirit that it promoted the creation of the National Department of Occupational Safety and Health with services, sections or branches in all the states, and set up the Data Processing Centre of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, which is equipped with electronic computers.

It is with very great satisfaction that I tell you that this morning I delivered to the Director-General of the I.L.O. in the name of my Government the instruments of ratification of 11 international labour Conventions. This fact further strengthens the bonds between Brazil and the great work undertaken by this Organisation, and at the same time proves the decision and determination of the President of the Republic and the National Congress to apply fully all the standards adopted by this Conference.

Therefore I feel it is my duty to express my concern when I observe that every year this assembly is increasingly taking up political subjects which are quite outside its competence, to the obvious detriment of the study of the questions within its field of competence.

The I.L.O. is a legal entity in international law and, like all legal entities, it has an explicit field of competence. Article 1 of the Constitution indicates very clearly that it was founded to achieve the objectives set out in the Pre-amble to the Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia.

The agreement signed between the I.L.O. and the United Nations stipulates that this Organisation is recognised as a specialised agency of the United Nations dealing with matters falling within its own field of competence which, as a legal corollary, excludes the possibility of this assembly dealing with questions falling within the jurisdiction of other international bodies already recognised by the United Nations.

The I.L.O. survived the Second World War principally because it was a technical body which can dedicate its action to the great task of making universal labour laws and to social welfare. For this very reason I am convinced that the echoes of the lessons of its past will still resound in the conscience of those who, like the Government of Brazil, desire this Organisation to continue to be a most powerful instrument for achieving social justice for all nations and for all men.

Interpretation from German: Mr. ERDMANN (Employers' delegate, Federal Republic of Germany)—In the discussion of the Director-General's Report many speakers have referred to the diversity of conditions and problems as between the developing countries and the industrial States. There is no doubt at all about this diversity. It stems from continuing differences in economic situations. I consider it to be one of the greatest tasks, and perhaps the most important task, of the remaining decades of the twentieth century to work in fair and frank co-operation between developing countries and industrial States for the removal of these differences in conditions. The German employers will continue to do their best to contribute to this great task.

Despite all differences in initial situations, industrial States and developing countries have a common task to develop the economic strength of their countries further, and so to improve the social position and conditions of work of employed persons. At the same time, a constructive path must be found in order to develop co-operation between workers and employers. Necessary though it is for the International Labour Organisation to develop programmes of this kind which have regard to the different circumstances, one must remember also this community of interest which I believe is an essential basis for the world-wide activity of the I.L.O. The tripartite structure of the I.L.O. makes it particularly fitted for these tasks.

If we deal in the I.L.O. with problems which relate in the widest sense to relations between governments, workers and employers, unquestionably a programme for the development of social institutions is extremely important for the future activity of the I.L.O. These social institutions cannot be seen independently of the economic and social structures of the particular countries. The German employers believe in private enterprise based on recognition of
ownership and competition and in which the entrepreneur is conscious of his social responsibility. We are convinced that this system is specially able not only to satisfy the material needs of men and women, but also to provide the basis for free and satisfactory organisation of society. We are strengthened in this conviction by the development in our own country in which this form of economic organisation, which we call the social market economy, has not only led to a very high standard of living and full employment, but also permits a large measure of social peace.

Certainly not all countries in the world have the preconditions for such an organisation of the economy, and state participation in the economy is initially necessary on a wide scale. Such an organisation of the economy, however, should not be confused with a system like the communist one, in which the activity of entrepreneurs is prohibited on principle, and which has the hope that this activity will disappear altogether. Every country, of course, must have the right to determine its own social and economic organisation. However, no one should underestimate the consequences of the decision for the individual and for the country in the fields of economic, social and other policies. We are daily and painfully reminded of this truth in our divided country, and we hope particularly that this Organisation will be sympathetic to our plea for self-determination for the 18 million of our compatriots behind the Iron Curtain.

I will now come to the Director-General's Report itself. I am glad that the Director-General should consider the maintenance and growth of employers' and workers' associations as the first objective of the programme for the development of social institutions. I mentioned, in my speech last year, how decisive the existence of both the partners is for the development of an organisation based on the conciliation of mutual interests in the social field. I am therefore glad to find this objective mentioned again in the Director-General's proposals.

I should like to refer particularly to his statement that, although one must recognise the great differences between conditions in the different countries, the International Labour Organisation cannot compromise on principles. The Director-General goes on to say that there must be a frank dialogue between the State and different organised social groups, a dialogue inspired by mutual understanding, by mutual respect for each other's autonomy and freedom of action, and by a determination to reach agreement.

I believe that the achievement of this objective is one of the outstanding tasks in the future activity of the I.L.O. The German employers approve the existence of trade unions which perform their functions independently of the other partner and free from state intervention, and so represent the economic interests of their members. These trade unions require free employers' organisations for independent decisions on wages and conditions of employment. The I.L.O. should support the development of such organisations effectively in their programmes.

We insist that the State should allow for responsible activity by our organisations of workers and employers. Responsibility for the general welfare, however, can be exercised only by the constitutional bodies of the State. However much the employers' and workers' organisations in their own fields of activity are aware of the overriding needs of the community, nevertheless they cannot have a formal share in the responsibility of the organs of Government. Here we have the borderline between the tasks of the State on the one hand and those of the private organisations on the other hand. Hence, when proposals have been made in this Organisation and at this Conference to a different effect, that is that the trade unions and the employers' organisations should share in all economic decisions at all levels, I must oppose this position. The development would lead to confusion of responsibility, and this would not be acceptable as regards the functioning of the State, or the relationship between management and labour, or between both of them and the State.

In view of the proposals in different contexts with a view to working towards economic democratisation, the limits on collaboration between the three parties should be clarified. We believe in collaboration with the workers in the undertaking and we believe in co-operation with the trade unions at the higher level, but the management of an undertaking is not like the administration of a State and it cannot be democratised. Nor can the respective responsibilities of private employers and state interests at the higher level be confused.

I believe it is essential that the International Labour Organisation should also recognise and observe these limits in the application of its own programme. I am not unaware of the fact that in certain States where the government freely intervenes in economic affairs business circles are justifiably anxious to be consulted.

When we speak of the development of social institutions, we must not forget one very important fact. It is not enough to develop institutions. Much more decisive is the spirit in which people make these institutions work in practice. There are countries where there are few institutions and where, because of the general conviction and an atmosphere of good will, there is social peace and social progress. The I.L.O. should promote the possibility of stimulating this spirit of co-operation. I believe that it is the Industrial Committees more than any other body or institution of the I.L.O. that can make a valuable contribution in this field.

The determination to co-operate cannot be created by law. It can only be strengthened through determination, through promotion of free discussion and through development of the conviction that the right to have different opinions is an important criterion of a free society, but that the reconciliation of conflicting interests is also a no less important element and objective in this society.

Mr. BASFORD (Government adviser, Canada)—First, Mr. President, on behalf of Canada, I want to join with other delegations in congratulating you on your election to the office of President. I want also to associate myself with other delegations in welcoming to
resources field. As a member of the Commonwealth, Canada is particularly and especially pleased to see its new Commonwealth partners joining with us in the councils of the world. At the outset I must express the very real regret of our Minister of Labour, the Hon. Allan J. MacEachen, at being unable to attend this year's session of the Conference. He addressed the 48th Session and had hoped to address the session again this year. Unfortunately his parliamentary responsibilities at home have prevented this. I know, however, Mr. President, that he joins with me in my congratulations to you and would want me to extend on his behalf the greetings of the Government of Canada to the delegates to the 49th Session.

We are pleased that our Deputy Minister of Labour, Mr. George Haythorne, has been able to serve the I.L.O. as Chairman of the Governing Body. As a founding Member, Canada is proud that he should serve this Organisation with the enthusiasm and dedication that is characteristic of him. He has served in the same way that Canada has served the I.L.O. in the past, and, I assure you, will continue to do so in the future.

We in Canada are both impressed and encouraged by the "new look" of the I.L.O. Much of this is due to the work of the Director-General and his staff. It is essential for this, as for any other organisation, to examine periodically its basic objectives and the way these are expressed through current policies and programmes. In today's rapidly changing world, we must not be afraid to think along new lines. New programmes can encourage us to be more creative and productive in our tasks.

One evidence of new vitality, I am pleased to learn, is the recent decision of the Governing Body authorising the Director-General and his staff. It is essential for this, as for any other organisation, to examine periodically its basic objectives and the way these are expressed through current policies and programmes. In today's rapidly changing world, we must not be afraid to think along new lines. New programmes can encourage us to be more creative and productive in our tasks.

As these initial statements by the Chairman of the Governing Body indicate—statements which have been supported by many delegations—our Conference is devoted to the important and specialised work of the I.L.O., to the relevant and vital issues arising out of the Director-General's Report and to the comprehensive agenda before us.

In the course of the plenary debate there has been some tendency by some member delegations to stray from the important matters immediately before us, to introduce matters which, while vitally important in themselves, are not relevant to the agenda items or to the solution of the problems facing the Conference or the I.L.O. and which, when once raised, inevitably lead to replies. It is the view of my Government that the introduction of highly controversial and extraneous political issues, unrelated to I.L.O. efforts, programmes or competence, serve only to divert us from the important work before us. Surely there are better and other forums for the consideration of major political issues. The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council are designed specifically for this purpose. Surely the work of the specialised agencies such as the I.L.O. is hampered and endangered by the developing and pursuing active manpower policies.

As people vitally concerned with this whole problem, we must realise and clearly understand that economic growth can best be advanced by a working force which, on the one hand, is fully qualified and, on the other hand, benefits from safe and agreeable working conditions as well as from a fair and equitable return for its labour.

In this last connection, I am happy to report and, as a member of the Canadian House of Commons, personally pleased, that since our Minister last spoke to you we in Canada have enacted a Canada Labour Standards Act which provides a 40-hour work-week with a maximum of eight hours overtime at time-and-a-half, basic minimum hourly wages, eight statutory holidays per year and two weeks paid vacation. We have drawn heavily on collective bargaining experience in Canada and other countries in developing what in fact is a comprehensive labour standards code.

We are also proud that we have recently enacted the Canada Pension Plan, a national contributory portable pension plan under which all workers and their employers shall jointly contribute to a pension fund and shall receive a pension based on their average lifetime earnings sufficient to allow them to retire in dignity and security. We regard this as a most progressive piece of social legislation and we acknowledge the helpfulness of the experience and advice of other nations and of the I.L.O. itself in working out this important programme. My task in participating in the plenary debate is made easier by the fact that Mr. Haythorne has already presented the broad outlines of the work facing the Conference in his initial statement made on 2 June and in the further statement which he made as Chairman of the Working Party on programmes and structure on 4 June. These statements serve to bring home the many practical tasks which the I.L.O. faces in a changing world.

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importance in most of these countries, it is all about 3 million Canadians in membership. programmes of immediate and practical benefit to fishermen. This is an example of government assistance and encouragement to co-operative development.

Another industry in Canada where co-operatives are making an important contribution is fisheries. There are over 90 fisheries co-operatives in Canada, located in eight of our ten provinces, which carried on a total business in 1963 of almost $24 million. Through the Federal Department of Fisheries, grants are made to four universities located in maritime areas for the development of extension training programmes of immediate and practical benefit to fishermen. This is an example of government assistance and encouragement to co-operative development.

Side by side with these associations are some 4,500 Caisses populaires or credit unions, counting about 3 million Canadians in membership. About 70 per cent. of these are linked with other types of co-operatives through membership in provincial central credit unions or co-operative credit societies. If anything is typical of the Canadian co-operative movement it is its wide variety. We have consumer co-operatives, housing co-operatives and electric co-operatives, as well as co-operatives for oil refining, chemical and fertiliser production, and abattoirs based on co-operative principles. At the present time the long-established grain co-operatives in our Western Provinces are developing new activities and assuming a multi-purposes character by the growth of "horizontal integration". Thus, a large grain marketing co-operative now has a livestock division, a vegetable oil plant, a flour mill, a publishing business and an insurance agency. A federation of farm supply co-operatives has developed a grain division, a poultry processing plant, an insurance company and a subsidiary organisation to provide housing for elderly people. It is not surprising then to learn that one in every seven Canadians is a member of a co-operative.

The federal Government has helped to develop production and marketing co-operatives for several groups of Eskimos in the north of Canada. This innovation has been, in some instances, responsible for saving a northern area from destitution. The programme began in 1959 and, by 1964, 24 co-operatives were operating in the north. Although from a financial viewpoint they are much less important than the larger co-operatives of southern Canada, they have proved to be valuable institutions to their members, allowing the Eskimos to retain control over their own activities, thus strengthening their traditional independence and personal pride. There are also many important examples which could be given of assistance which provincial governments in Canada have given to co-operatives.

The progress which the co-operative movement has made in Canada, however, reflects mainly on its members and its leaders. It is essentially a movement beginning at the grass roots among groups of people, with only limited government participation. This ensures a democratic approach and is, I think you will agree, a good precedent to follow. One of the basic co-operative tenets is self-help. State assistance, if not very carefully controlled and administered, can easily undermine this foundation and infringe upon the autonomy of the movement. The State can, however, provide technical training and provide advisory assistance, especially in the early stages.

As a supplement, or even alternative, to state aid, the proposal made at the 1961 F.A.O. Conference to provide assistance through the facilities of a world co-operative bank is, I think, a sound one and worthy of further serious consideration. Through an organisation of this type many of the special needs of co-operatives in developing countries could be met. Loans made under favourable conditions could assist in strengthening the agricultural economy generally and help to increase food production.

These are basic problems which many countries face in developing their primary resources and which must be solved if there is to be a sound economic and social structure. It is this challenge, the challenge to increase the worth of a people or a nation, that the co-operative movement in Canada and across the world must meet. I hope that our Canadian experience, both in the past and at the present time, will provide encouragement and provide some useful lessons to other countries.

In closing, let me once again express my deep interest in the work of the Conference, not only as regards co-operatives, but in many other fields of concern to people all around the world; and permit me to express also my sincere hope that the mutual exchange of views among Government, Workers' and Employers' delegates in this world forum will lead to lasting achievements in all member countries of the International Labour Organisation.

Mr. MISHIRO (Employers' delegate, Japan) —It gives me great pleasure to be able to congratulate the President on his election at the outset of what happens to be my tenth
speech on the annual Report of the Director-General. As to the problems in this year's Report, I have referred in my last two speeches to the points to which I attach importance. However, I wish to make a few supplementary remarks about them, with reference to this latest Report and some of the speeches made in the course of this session of the Conference.

First of all, I should like to express my agreement with the Director-General in his conclusion reached in Chapter I of his Report that a substantial measure of agreement existed among delegates on the choice of the three major I.L.O. programme areas, namely: first, human resources development; secondly, labour relations, trade union development and the growth of sound social institutions; and thirdly, conditions of life and work. I do not think it is necessary for me to elaborate further upon each of these points. But if I may say something about them, I should like to give priority to the first one. This problem of course needs fundamental research. However, as part of the programme of the I.L.O., it must also be studied from the standpoint of technical assistance to the developing countries. It is often said that some technical assistance experts desparched by international agencies have little knowledge of the actual situation in the receiving countries, which sometimes complain about the practical benefit of the assistance they receive. Any vocational and technical training should be organised and put into practice in such a way as to suit the requirements of industrial development, in order not to create underemployment or unemployment of trained workers. In this connection I would point out that workers' educational training should not put too much financial burden on the shoulders of industry, because the successful development of human resources depends very much on the sound growth of industries.

With reference to the development of human resources there is another point which should be borne in mind by the I.L.O. Any technical assistance for the development of human resources must first depend upon the fundamental principle that heaven helps only those who help themselves.

Now I should like to turn to Chapter III of the Report, on international labour standards. Many previous speakers have paid special tribute to the conciseness of the Director-General's Report. I associate myself with them on it as a whole, but I should mention that I am not convinced by the paragraph which states: "Accordingly, in the light of these new basic agreements and particularly in view of the remarkable consensus of opinion expressed at the Conference on the continuing need for new international labour standards, the Conference may feel that a further exchange of views on this subject is not necessary." In my last two speeches in 1963 and 1964 I emphasised the necessity for the I.L.O. to change from a standard-setting body to a service organisation, and even that, in a way, a moratorium should be imposed in the years ahead on standard-setting because of the change in the world situation and in the composition of the I.L.O., which accentuates the atmosphere of irresponsibility, hypocrisy, vanity and even demagogic behaviour in the discussion of international instruments, and also because of the stockpile of so many international instruments to be digested by so many new developing countries. It may be noted that there were several speakers who made remarks similar to mine last year. Those speakers may have been small in number, but this was because the Employers' delegates had arranged beforehand to avoid overlapping amongst themselves, in order to cover as many different subjects as possible. Therefore, I can assure delegates that practically all the members of the free Employers' group were in favour of my proposal.

Of course I admit that there may have been some delegates at the Conference who may have hesitated to support us, because if we restrict standard-setting in the Conference and reduce the duration and frequency of sessions of the Conference, all delegates will naturally find less opportunity to come to Geneva at the expense of their governments. But they must know how expensive the Conference is. Furthermore, I must comment on another remark in the Report, as follows: "... the I.L.O.'s operational activities could be maintained and intensified without detriment to the Conference's work in the field of international standards and, in fact, it has always been recognised that the activities in these two major fields can gain much through a co-ordinated approach." If resources were unlimited, we would, of course, be able to do everything that everyone wanted at the same time. But because our resources are limited, as everybody knows, we must choose between these two major fields of the I.L.O.'s activities. I would again like to emphasise, therefore, the necessity of cutting down upon the frequency and duration of sessions of the Conference by reducing standard-setting, simplifying the proceedings—by means, for example, of more concise speeches by the delegates—and transferring the resources thus saved to other operational activities.

As to the question of decentralisation of the I.L.O.'s activities which I mentioned in my previous speeches, I have no objection to the proposal to strengthen or expand regional conferences so that a better exchange of views on labour problems and technical assistance, based upon the conditions peculiar to each region, may be made possible. With reference to the proposal made by some other speakers, however, to transfer the job of standard-setting from the General Conference to the regional conferences, I have doubts as to its practicability, from my experience at three Asian regional conferences and one Asian maritime conference. One of the reasons is that attendance by delegates from within the region was not satisfactory in comparison with attendance by delegates from outside the region, with the result that the proceedings of the conferences were led mainly by people who were more experienced in such international meetings but who were not from the region itself. In these circumstances it makes little sense to entrust the regional conferences with the task of standard-setting. The second reason is that it is not desirable to have labour standards differing from region to region.
In my speech at the last session of the Conference I emphasised the necessity of establishing a special committee to carry out the revision of the existing instruments in such a way as to make them applicable to a large majority of the member States. This was because most of the existing instruments have so far achieved very little in the way of ratifications or application mainly owing to their high standards applicable only to advanced countries. My proposal was then that this committee should be composed of experts or tripartite members coming from developing countries, instead of those from developed countries who might be inclined to alter the instruments concerned in the light of their own high standards. I am glad that, as is mentioned in Chapter III of the Director-General’s Report, the question of establishing such a committee was referred by the Director-General to the Governing Body and approved by it at its session in March this year, and the committee will probably be set up at the 1966 Session of the Conference. I am hoping that this special committee will be composed along the lines that I have suggested.

Experts or delegates from the advanced countries would, of course, participate in the activities of this committee but only in the sense of catalysts and without voting rights. In this connection I must frankly confess, however, that the proposal that I have just referred to is appropriate only on condition that the delegates from developing countries are determined to deal with this problem with a strong sense of responsibility and full consciousness of the actual situation in their own countries. Standard-setting is not simply a diplomatic or social function.

Now I would like to refer to a remark by the Workers’ delegate of Czechoslovakia. That delegate said: “I should like to stress the ever-growing need to revise the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98). These Conventions do not contain any provisions for protecting workers against attacks and manoeuvres on the part of the capitalist employers.”

It seems to me very curious that a delegate from a communist country where there is no freedom of association should have stressed the necessity for strengthening Convention No. 87.

In this connection delegates may be aware that a few years ago, when the Governing Body requested the Czechoslovak Government to allow the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association to make an independent on-the-spot investigation, the said Government refused the request. I would like to add that this attitude of the Czechoslovak Government is in sharp contrast to that of my Government towards a similar request. I hope that the time will come when the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association will be received even by the communist countries and will be able to celebrate the successful fulfilment of its responsibilities without any hindrance.

As the Minister of Labour of Japan announced in his speech on 15 June, Convention No. 87 has been ratified by the Japanese Diet. I am sure all of the delegates have also learned of this through the press release which was issued by the Office on 14 June regarding the ceremony at which the instrument of ratification was deposited with the Director-General by the Japanese Ambassador. Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to give you some supplementary information without which some of the paragraphs in the press release may mislead you. One of them contains part of the Director-General’s speech at the ceremony. He said: “I believe that this ratification will also be of far-reaching significance in the history of industrial relations in Japan.”

These two remarks, I am afraid, will give you an impression that freedom of association was not enjoyed by all of the Japanese trade unions until the Convention was ratified. But this is not the case, because the principle of freedom of association is guaranteed by the Japanese Constitution and also by the trade union laws which were promulgated some 20 years ago so far as employers and workers in private industry are concerned. That is one of the reasons why private employers and workers in Japan were not involved in the complaint lodged by some trade unions of the public sectors against the Japanese Government and in the discussions that took place with the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association either in Geneva or Tokyo. But as far as workers of the public sector, namely employees of the Government and the three public corporations, are concerned, freedom of association had been slightly restricted by special legislation in the public interest. It is only in respect of workers and employers in the public sector that labour relations will be influenced by the ratification of Convention No. 87 and a change in the relevant laws. The employers and workers in the private sector, which constitutes the great majority of the industry, will not be influenced, since they have been and still are enjoying freedom of association.

In these circumstances the Japanese employers have maintained a neutral position towards the activities of both the Governing Body Committee on Freedom of Association and the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission. Some employers, however, as supporters of our Government, were very much interested in the matter and have raised questions or made comments upon the competence or activity of those bodies. Some of the questions are difficult ones for me to answer, and seem to need some official clarification not only for Japan but in the interests of all other member States as well as of the I.L.O. itself. But, since the report of the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association has not yet been presented to the Governing Body, I think it is premature for us to discuss those questions in detail at this Conference. I would like simply to pay a warm tribute to the strenuous efforts
made for the settlement of this case by the bodies and personnel concerned.

Interpretation from German: Mr. Clausen (Government delegate, Federal Republic of Germany)—Mr. President, may I first of all, in the name of my delegation, congratulate you on your election to the high duty of directing this Conference. We hope that you will bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. I should also like to greet the new member States.

I will now turn to the Director-General's Report, which largely deals with problems of the developing countries. It is only if we, too, concern ourselves with the problems of these countries and help them to construct a social organisation which corresponds to their conditions that there can be a balanced social relationship between member States of the Organisation. The discussion so far, however, justifies the fear that we fail to recognise what spiritual forces are on the move now. We do not perhaps understand that it is not only a question of social and economic problems. Of course, we, in the I.L.O. must deal above all with social problems, but these are only part of the problems in the new countries which seek new forms of expression.

We should, therefore, think more about the contribution which the African States can make here if we are not to run the risk that the one side will regard itself as the receiving end and the other side as mere providers. That cannot lead to the aim of peaceful integration of these States in the present-day world for which we all hope.

One of the most distinguished living Africans, Léopold Sedar Senghor, President and Prime Minister of Senegal, recently reminded us that the cultures of Africa are very old and merely different from those of European States. President Senghor praises the contribution of the African ethnologist and philosopher Leo Frobenius who has explored the pre-history of the African Continent and explained the special characteristics of African culture to Europeans. President Senghor referred to a statement by Frobenius that in the future a culture cannot play a leading part in the pre-history of the African Continent and by means of it the Government intends to give good and appropriate vocational training. We have such a programme, and by means of it the Government has enabled all workers who have completed vocational training and done well in the same occupation for two years to train for higher levels of employment with better wages and more responsibility. During this continued training, the cost of the worker's and his family's maintenance, as well as the cost of the training, is paid from public funds. This programme has been extremely successful.

We also have an Efficiency Promotion Act which aims at enabling each worker in the light of his aptitudes to reach a maximum of economic success in his job. This is intended also for women workers who, after a long interruption when their main task was to look after their families and bring up their children, return to occupational life. In this connection I should like to object to an allegation made by several speakers here stating, as if it were an accepted fact, that there is unemployment in the countries which they describe as capitalist. I must insist that my country be excepted from the scope of this summary opinion. Although we too started at zero, not only have we had full employment for the last ten years but overemployment, and we are glad that over a million, and in 1964 to DM3,000 million. These amounts are far greater than the contributions of those who have sought to tell the Conference that they are the only ones who truly support the new African States. In the last year, all the Western countries together paid $62,000 million in development assistance, whereas the East bloc States paid in the same period only $2,000 million. I say this not to boast on behalf of the West or my own country, but to establish a true relationship between words and facts. It seems to me it is a tradition to urge promotion of the developing countries and to reject the budget of the I.L.O.

The Director-General said in his Report that industrial countries and developing countries must strive equally to give workers as good a vocational training as possible so that they can meet the practical requirements of changing conditions. Although in our country we have many and various kinds of occupations in which the workers are trained, it is significant that 75 per cent. of all apprentices are trained in only 11 occupations. This trend gives them such a broad basis that later they can do all sorts of different jobs and always have good opportunities for finding a new job even when conditions are changing.

We are glad, therefore, that in the long term the I.L.O. intends to give good and appropriate vocational training a high priority in its programme. One should stress in this connection that manual labour has its value and its dignity. It is not what a man does but how he does it which determines the level of his personality. One should therefore oppose the view that manual workers are socially degraded; nor is it at all true that operatives only work with their hands.

We know from our experience that in an industrial society based on division of labour, where the value of the worker is determined by his performance, one-time vocational training is not sufficient. We must seek further vocational training. We have such a programme, and by means of it the Government has enabled all workers who have completed vocational training and done well in the same occupation for two years to train for higher levels of employment with better wages and more responsibility. During this continued training, the cost of the worker's and his family's maintenance, as well as the cost of the training, is paid from public funds. This programme has been extremely successful.
million workers from other countries have entered our country where they work under the same conditions as the German workers. Statistics on the number of employed persons seem to me—I may be wrong, and I am always prepared to learn—to show clearly that in many countries which describe themselves as socialist there may be no statistical unemploy ment but there is evidence of underemployment. That means that the same performance can only be reached with many more workers than elsewhere. It would be a good thing if the I.L.O. were to clarify this situation and put the statistics on the same footing so that the positions in the employment markets in all countries can be properly evaluated.

It is often assumed that more manpower can only be brought on to the employment market and all reserves can only be fully used if there is over-all economic planning. The Director-General also speaks of this. Perhaps it is true of countries which have centrally directed economies, but we think that maximum economic efficiency can only be reached if the under taking has the right of disposal over private property and the worker can choose his occupation and his job and freely negotiate the conditions on which he will work. In this way the worker receives much more personal freedom than if a centrally directed economic bureaucracy tells him where he has to work and on what conditions. Therefore, I really do not understand—and I must urge previous speakers not to be resentful—why they should pontificate here to the effect that the so-called socialist form of economy—which, incidentally, representatives of socialist, Marxist and Leninist theory and practice are in no way agreed—is superior to other forms. This is a matter of extreme importance, particularly in the I.L.O. This assertion is proved by no facts at all. I am prepared to be converted, but only by facts. What are the facts? From this platform three years ago I said that the yield per unit of area in the collective agriculture of the Soviet Union is no higher than it was in the time of the Czars. Events have since proved this. The statistics on the same footing show that in the Federal Republic of Germany, yields have increased in the last 15 years by 40 per cent. per acre and by 250 per cent. per person employed.

Let me give you another example. In a newspaper of a so-called socialist country, some ten thousand workers from which are employed in our country, and to which German workers annually bring over DM200 million worth of foreign exchange as tourists and holiday makers, I read that the Deutschmark is circulating to the exclusion of the domestic currency, that local authorities finance electrification and replace oil lamps by electric bulbs with emigrant workers' marks, the workers can buy land and build houses with the money they have earned in Germany, they take cars, television sets, refrigerators, radios and cash home to their own country, and they have over DM150 million in German savings banks. This newspaper—I repeat, a newspaper in a socialist country—says that it would be a better thing if the workers could receive as much at home as they do in Germany where the average wage is five or six times as high as it is in their home country.

My last objection is one on which the facts can be checked by anybody. We have been able to see in our country both experiences—the so-called socialist paradise of folly and cruelty by barbed wire and masonry. As long as the migration of workers is not from the Federal Republic of Germany to the socialist countries, as long as the workers—to use Lenin's phrase—vote with their feet against the socialist countries, then facts will continue to speak against them, and they have no right to say from this platform that their system is better than ours.

If they would merely say it is different, then there would be no objection. It would, I believe, make our discussions far more objective in this Conference if, in future, we were not merely to make assertions but also to provide evidence. Otherwise the discussion of the Director-General's Report is a series of disjointed monologues instead of being a lively and genuine exchange of opinion to the advantage of all the workers of the world.

Mr. NASR (Employers' delegate, Lebanon)—May I begin by expressing through you, Sir, to the Director-General, Mr. David Morse, my warmest congratulations for this concise yet comprehensive and clear report.

Of the different activities of the I.L.O., its programmes in the field of human resources ought to be given the highest priority. Among these programmes, those dealing with improving the quality of the labour force and the development of social institutions should in my opinion, receive top priority.

In carrying out its programmes of improving the quality of the labour force, the I.L.O. disposes of two unique bodies—the International Institute for Labour Studies and the International Institute for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training at Turin. Efforts therefore should go to strengthen these two I.L.O. organs and to make the fullest possible use of their programmes and facilities.

These two bodies can and should become, along with I.L.O. Headquarters in Geneva, an international brain centre, where standard programmes are drawn up and applied for vocational guidance, vocational training, management development and the promotion of small industries.

These programmes may include such things as standard up-to-date methods as well as manuals, teaching materials and typical courses that take into account the material, moral and mental conditions of the students and trainees and the peculiarities of the national, political, economic and social conditions under which these activities are promoted.

For the development of social institutions we need, besides the international brain centre, an expert presence at the local level which can apply a basically sound programme with care and understanding.
This expert presence of the I.L.O. can be provided by its regional and subregional offices. The more we have of them, the better.

These offices may be entrusted with all the phases of the execution of I.L.O. programmes. But that should be only the simplest and apparent part of their job. The other part, and the most difficult part, is to make the I.L.O. ideals and objectives present, in living persons, in the different regions.

We in the Lebanon have been hearing and reading about I.L.O. programmes in the field of industrial relations and collective bargaining, but the impact in our country of a visit by an I.L.O. tripartite delegation was incomparably greater though they stayed only a fortnight.

I.L.O. resources are so small and the task of eliminating social evils so enormous that we shall be squandering our efforts to no avail if I.L.O. action is not directed towards the creation, in every country, of institutions, programmes and agencies that serve, because they implement the much-desired technical assistance programmes, because they are near the countries they serve, because they are manned mainly by people from the region and, above all, because they can give an impartial and learned opinion on social questions—for all these reasons they should become the most effective instruments for spreading I.L.O. ideals and objectives in all those parts of the world which are far away from Geneva in distance, outlook and social heritage. In addition, the first-hand information which they gather can serve the brain-centre of the I.L.O. and make it possible to formulate and plan its basic programmes with greater precision.

I am not in a position now to enumerate the various means by which the I.L.O. arms, as I call them, can penetrate the social strata of every benefiting country, but I submit that all methods should be tried. Chiefly, however, I would suggest personal contacts through regular visits to government, employers' and workers' circles. Seminars at the level of industry might be another useful method, or seminars to discuss a selected subject—such as collective bargaining, methods of vocational training, pension schemes, management problems in the small undertaking, etc. By bringing together government officials and employers' and workers' representatives, the meetings sponsored by I.L.O. officials will serve to inform the participants concerning the problems which are the subject of discussion. They will serve to train them in the methods of attacking such problems and, in the meantime, will create a stir in the whole community about the issues concerned.

In conclusion, I should like to assure those of our friends who have been showing some anxiety about the future of the I.L.O. and its universal character that the I.L.O. will become stronger and its universality will be more completely ensured if its work becomes more effective and its programmes are established in accordance with the priorities of need. And if, quantitatively speaking, the poorer countries benefit relatively more from I.L.O. activities, qualitatively speaking, the richer countries benefit enough.

I had intended to end my speech here but I should like to add a few words. In all the history I have studied never has human society been able to achieve unity in any form whatsoever; the prophets failed, the social theorists failed, the generals failed, the politicians failed. I think we have to accept the fact that there are divisions and differences and that we should work together so that these differences may just be an incentive for us to compete and rival one another in the promotion of social justice, the promotion of the development of human society, and try to minimise the chances of those rifts which are increasing everywhere, becoming one day, unfortunately, a nuclear rift into which this poor planet of ours disappears altogether.

I listened with enthusiasm yesterday to the plea made by my dear friend Mr. Wagner. Like him, I thank God for the opportunities He has given me which have enabled me to reach the point where I can speak to this august body. I humbly submit that we should all think of our children so that they may be given a chance to grow up as we have.

I am flattered and honoured that I have been able to speak to this assembly while you, Sir, occupy the Chair and preside so efficiently and with so much dignity and justice over our work.
crime against humanity and a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles which are the basis of the Constitution of the I.L.O., the Declaration of Philadelphia and the Charter of the United Nations. Notwithstanding the discussion on this most important subject at the 1963 Session of the Conference which culminated in the Declaration adopted by the 48th Session, the Government of the Republic of South Africa not only maintains complete independence with regard to that Declaration but openly defies world public opinion by continuing brutally to increase its crimes, and has in fact adopted new legislation and administrative measures to strengthen and maintain the practice of 

apartheid.

Last year when we voted in the plenary the Declaration on the policy of 
apartheid
of the Republic of South Africa we said in the name of the Cuban Workers' Union that the I.L.O. must adopt a more energetic attitude and should call on States Members to apply the provisions of resolution No. 1761 of the General Assembly of the United Nations. A year has passed and when we look at the Special Report of the Director-General on the policy of 
apartheid
in South Africa we see with indignation that the situation has become even worse. Therefore we reiterate our plea that the I.L.O. can and must act in accordance with the United Nations resolutions to which I have just referred.

As regards the programme and structure of the Organisation, we have been talking about the necessity for adapting these to a changing world for three years now, but so far no such measures have in fact been put into practice. The Governing Body must be transformed into a fully representative body, as proposed to the Conference in the resolution submitted by Mr. Chajn and Mr. Polyanchikho, the Government delegates of Poland and the Ukraine respectively.

If we analyse the present composition of the Governing Body we see that there is not a single representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which groups more than 120 million workers in all the geographical regions of the world. The Governing Body has privileged representation for the unions affiliated to a single organisation; also, no proportional representation is given to the trade unions of Latin America, Africa and Asia, so as to provide equitable participation for all the geographical regions of the world.

For that reason, we feel that measures must be taken straight away so that when a new Governing Body is elected next year this abnormal situation may be corrected. With respect to the agenda of this session of the Conference, we note with satisfaction the inclusion of agrarian reform as the sixth item. This is a subject which we consider of outstanding importance, since the Cuban workers have rich and recent experience in regard to this most important aspect of economic and social development in underdeveloped countries. Cuba has carried out its radical and far-reaching agrarian reform and has eliminated illiteracy. The peasant masses have been freed for ever from the landlords, from the position of being share-croppers or tenant farmers and from the unfair bargains in which the lion's share always went to the landowners and which were typical of the feudal relations that exist in agriculture in many Latin American countries. At present there is no foreign monopoly operating in Cuba or holding a single inch of our land.

The Agrarian Reform Act signed in Sierra Maestra on 17 May 1959 made a radical transformation in Cuban agriculture. Its point of departure was the liquidation of the latifundia in the hands of the Yankee imperialists and South American imperialists—the latter possessed 25 per cent. of the best land in the country. The Act's social objectives were just: it provided, on the one hand, for the State to take over all land which was not directly cultivated by farmers; and, on the other hand it granted the status of ownership to all small and medium-scale farmers who had been working land without being the owners of it. Agrarian reform also had an economic objective—to create the domestic market required for industry—by raising the standard of living of the people in the rural areas.

Six years after the adoption of this energetic measure, the workers of Cuba can show with pride the following result: the total disappearance of unemployment, which previously affected 600,000 persons, as well as of the under-employment which, during the dead season, was the curse of the countryside of Cuba. Indeed, the shortage of manpower is now so great in our rural area that this year more than 50,000 urban volunteer workers have helped to harvest the sugar cane crop, the production of which has reached 6,040,000 tons of sugar and represents an unquestionable success for our people and at the same time a mortal blow to the Yankee imperialists and their lackeys who prophesied disaster for our socialist economy. With respect to illiteracy, Cuban agrarian reform has made it possible to develop simultaneously in the country and the cities, a national mass literacy campaign which is without precedent in the whole Latin American Continent and which has defeated in their most secure strongholds the forces of ignorance and weeded out the roots of backwardness and poverty. Thousands of classrooms have been built throughout the length and breadth of our island. More than 100,000 scholarships at all levels of instruction have been granted by the Revolutionary Government to the children of peasants and workers for their education and training in all fields of activity, in accordance with the economic plans of our country. Medical services and medicine are provided free of charge in the most isolated zones of the countryside. Thousands of houses are being built by workers with corresponding services and the agricultural workers now have full social security protection against the risk of sickness, disability, old age and death on a footing of equality with other workers in industry, commerce and the public services; maternity insurance is also provided for the wives of workers.

In our country women have achieved complete emancipation, and they now have free access to employment in industry and agriculture. There are 27,000 women teachers. But this is very important: in accordance with the sixth item on our agenda we must ensure that the type of agrarian reform we
endorse at this Conference is such that its prac-
tical application will not leave untouched the base of latifundismo. We ask: To whom must the
land belong? Who should have the right of
the land? The latifundia holders and foreign companies which exploited the best
lands of our continent? The landholders? The
exploitors and parasites? To all these
questions we answer no, a thousand times no.
The land must belong to the man who works it,
and it is on this principle that we have de-
volved agrarian reform in our country. Now
to accomplish everything that I have just men-
tioned has not been an easy task. As is well
known to the delegates, Cuba has had to face on
innumerable occasions all types of aggression,
from the violation of our air space and our ter-
ritorial waters to infiltration of C.I.A. agents,
who on more than one occasion have carried
out acts of sabotage against the Cuban eco-
nomy and horrifying crimes against our work-
ing and peasant masses. There have been
armed invasions of the national territory such
as the one repulsed at the Bay of Pigs in 1961,
which was the first great defeat of Yankee
imperialism in America. We have also had to
face up to a policy of isolation and to a criminal
and illegal economic blockade which it was
attempted to impose on our country in order to
destroy our social revolution. We have shown in
the development and broadening of our international trade, not only for this reason I should like to
answer the delegate to come to his other points.

I ask, how is it possible to devote ourselves
to the development of human resources, as the
Director-General requests in his Report, when
there is a Government which assumes the right
of dictating standards of living to all other
countries? Cuba has developed human re-
sources because our people with their courage
and spirit of sacrifice have overcome and will
continue to overcome all these obstacles, as has
been shown in the development and broadening
of our international trade, not only with socialist countries but with almost all the
countries of Western Europe and other areas of
the world, such as the United Kingdom, France,
Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Japan, Morocco,
and other countries which would make an inter-
mimable list if I detailed them.

We believe the development of human re-
sources and labour relations, the promotion of
the trade union movement and sound social
institutions and standards of living and work-
ing conditions, to which the Director-General
calls attention in his Report, are not possible as
long as there are aggressions and assasinations,
and trade unions are dissolved by military
juntas promoted, supported and directed by
Yankee imperialism, as occurred recently in
Bolivia.

It is strange that at this Conference no one
so far has denounced the critical situation of
the Bolivian workers, whose leaders are expelled
en masse from the country, and whose work-
places and mines are machine-gunned and
bombed by military aviation. At present in this
sister Republic there is no vestige left of trade
union organisation. We take this opportunity
in the name of the Cuban Workers' Union to
pay tribute to the heroic fighting trade union
movement of Bolivia, to whom we send a
message of solidarity, and we urge this Con-
ference to condemn the authors of these
monstrous acts.

How is it possible to develop human resources
and sound social institutions when we are faced
with aggression such as we see in the Congo,
and in the criminal bombing of North Viet-
Nam, and military intervention in South Viet-
Nam? Can you improve the social con-
ditions of life, as the Director-General asks in
his Report, at a time when a sister republic of
the Caribbean . . .

The PRESIDENT—The honourable dele-
gate has used the word "criminal" in one
place, and I had appealed to the delegates not
to use unparliamentary language. The second
point I would like to bring to his notice is that
I have said reference should not be made to
theatres of war. South Viet-Nam is a theatre
of war. I would therefore ask the delegate to
come to his other points.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. CARBO-
NEIL HERRUTINER—I can understand
the concern of the President with regard to
peace, but you all understand how difficult it is
for me to talk about activities directed towards
peace, as the Cuban workers desire, if I do not
refer to the guilty parties who provoke war.

How can we do what the Director-General
asks in his Report at a time when a sister republic of the Caribbean has to watch in
anguish the assassination of more than 2,000
workers in the industrial zone of its capital by
foreign troops, the destruction of its institu-
tions, and see an attempt being made to impose
governors who are unanimously rejected by the
people. It is in order to defend and to struggle
for peace that we fulfil our duty of denouncing
the aggressors of the Dominican people and
condemn the author of all this vandalism,
which is none other than the imperialist
Government of the United States.

Mr. President, in accordance with the
standards laid down, I have 15 minutes given
to me for comment on the Director-General's
Report. I think I still have a minute left, and
only for this reason I should like to answer
something said by the representative of the
workers of British Guiana. It is a pity he does
not give all his energy to working towards the
independence of his country, which the Cuban
workers have always favoured. I think the
millions of dollars which he himself said have
been received from the United States reflect his
attitude towards our revolution.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)
The President—We now resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Mr. KOÇATOPÇU (Employers’ delegate, Turkey)—Although delayed, it being the last day of the debate on the Director-General’s Report, it still gives me great pleasure to convey to you, Mr. President, warmest congratulations, on behalf of the Turkish employers, on your election to this high office and mostly on the magnificent way in which you have carried out this great task. I also take this opportunity to welcome the delegates of Malawi, Malta, Yemen and Zambia.

We are in a period of dynamic change and swift evolution towards an industrial society. In this process of evolution the standard structure of an undeveloped society, in which 80 per cent. of the working force is living by agriculture, 10 per cent. is in industry and the remainder in other services, is changing towards the structure of an industrial society, with only 10 per cent. of the working force in agriculture, another 10 per cent. in industry and the remaining 80 per cent. in various services, including research.

A global picture for all the developing world is too much of an abstraction. It is necessary to enter more fully into a regional, sub-regional and even into an individual country approach in order to be able to present a very clear picture of the diversity of the situations facing developing countries. Various regions or nations are at a different stage of evolution towards an industrial society. Certain parts of the world are developing faster than others.

In the industrialised countries economic growth has provided greater prosperity for growing populations. It is impossible to slow down this dynamic pace of evolution. As for the other parts of the world, society is suffering from the handicap of greater problems to overcome and lack of sufficient momentum in its race towards a more prosperous society. Yet a changing attitude, aimed at a transition from an underdeveloped or stagnant economy to a phase in which economic growth begins to take place, is observed all around the world. Significant political, social and economic changes are taking place. These may be characterised as being a search for freedom for mankind and better living conditions.

Many nations have obtained or defended their independence during the last decades. Freedom and independence become dearest assets and very closely linked to each other. While the world is faced with the contrast of industrialised and underdeveloped regions, the developing countries are faced with the desire for and objective of speedy development in freedom and independence.

Representing the employers of one of the developing countries on the march along the hard road towards economic and social development in freedom, I would like to take the liberty of analysing our contrasting dilemmas and comparing the responsibilities of both parts of the free world, so distinctly separated today.

We are primarily concerned with full employment, not only for the huge number of existing unemployed people, but also for the newcomers to our society through the increase in population, which is greater than that in other parts of the world. This full employment is desired, together with higher productivity, in order to obtain a higher per head income. This great task requires a large part of the national income to be saved in order to secure not only new investments for the provision of new jobs, but also for the education and training of human resources not to mention research.

Another feature is that, despite insufficient savings in the country, either privately or through the state budget, there is a general attitude of reserve towards foreign investments and participation. In this transitory period of speedy economic evolution, it is of the utmost importance to utilise all possible sources of investment, know-how and education, whether they come from the private sector, from state savings or from foreign participation.

Furthermore, along with the freedom of mankind which is so dear to all of us, certain developing countries attempt to set up more rigid economic and political structures in the hope of speeding up economic and social development. It is a fact that dynamic change requires voluntary and mature sacrifices from free individuals and from the various groups of society. The post-war examples of such voluntary sacrifices and self-discipline which engendered miracles in various European countries are very inspiring. But when such sacrifices are required in a rigid political structure,
without any choice but to obey, the conflict with freedom of mankind becomes apparent.

Another characteristic feature of the differences between the industrialised and the developing regions of the world is that while, for example, European nations are trying to unite themselves in larger communities, there is still a continuous dissemination of developing areas on the part of newly emerging nations. This could be attributed to the search for freedom and independence in the developing areas, while the industrialised nations are already aware that freedom can only be retained by carrying more responsibilities and that independence can be better ensured through interdependence.

During this session of the Conference, representatives of governments, employers and workers of many developing countries have bitterly criticised most of the industrial nations as being imperialists, colonialists, exploiters and so on. And yet there have been a desire to achieve the same industrial society. They have even urged that those industrially advanced countries should assist the developing areas to attain world-wide social peace. Is not this another contrast which is mainly due to the happenings of the past and the feelings of separation between the two areas? Yet the prospect of the realisation of world-wide social peace and prosperity urges and challenges all of us to share our resources, to respect each other, to defend our freedom by undertaking further responsibility, to ensure our independence through interdependence, co-operation and mutual confidence and, finally, to accept the voluntary sacrifice of our own individual direct interests by giving gradually higher priorities to the interests of our communities, our associations, our country, our region and, above all, of the world. The value to be given to these priorities by the leaders of workers and employers in order to create and maintain a free society is self-evident.

The leaders of the industrialised societies cannot, on the other hand, afford to forget that many countries look to them for guidance. The examples they set and the things they teach will influence the future of large numbers of people. In the techniques of management that they are developing, which will inevitably be followed by many growing economies, the challenge is to ensure that industry, like any other activity, becomes an instrument for the social good. The emphasis on profit is wholly right, and efficiency is the only way to get it. These two objectives of profit and efficiency should be harmonised with social well-being.

The developing countries, when beginning to industrialise, will have to start mainly with labour-intensive light industries. By definition they are low-wage countries. Their productivity is low. Here is the challenge for the industrialised countries to accept willingly the competition of these new producers and to assist them in their development, in individual freedom. One thing is certain: as prospects for the industrialised trade will increase in all sorts of goods and will provide one of the most effective uniting forces between the two parts of the free world.

In this concept of speedy development, together with the freedom of the individual, our great task is to explore human resources. I was very pleased to notice in the Director-General's Report that a great variety of activity and elaborate services are suggested for the use of the developing countries. These services may be different in nature, according to the type, importance and urgency and of the need they have to meet.

I should like to stress at this point the prime importance to be given to the education and formation of intellectual elites, entrepreneurial and managerial resources.

A dynamic change in economic conditions and in human resources, despite the complex problems of full employment, increased productivity, higher per head income and lack of sufficient investment potential, will greatly depend upon the responsibility of managers towards industrial society. The managers must carry the important responsibility of balancing the interests of employers, workers, consumers and the State. Their training, along with the urge for dynamic change, integrity and a sincere belief in creating mutual confidence within this environment, must thus have its deserved place in the activities of the I.L.O.

In conclusion, it could be stressed that the technological and scientific development of industrial society is widening the gap between the two parts of the world. Whilst the moon is being explored, today the great majority of the inhabitants of this world still have not enough food to eat, not enough clothes to wear, and not enough freedom in which to breathe. This picture characterises a world of contrast. These hard facts are setting the greatest challenge to the leaders of both developing and industrialised countries. These leaders include leaders in politics, of employers, of workers and managers; in other words, this is a challenge to all of us. Are we ready for it?

Interpretation from French: Mr. BOULAOUX (Workers' delegate, France)—I should like first of all to thank the Director-General for his mastery contribution to the formulation and application of I.L.O. programmes. I am in entire agreement with the priorities he suggests but would like to stress one essential point—the importance of restating the basic principles to which all I.L.O. activity must have regard.

In previous Reports the Director-General has often recalled these principles and drawn our attention to a risk that we run: their neglect would lead the Organisation to consider efficiency as an end in itself, modestly concealing the means used when these depart from the principles defined in the Declaration of Philadelphia.

It must therefore be clear to all that the principles on which the I.L.O. was founded are not out of date and that no pretext of more rapid economic expansion leading to social progress can be used to give priority to technology, finance or economic machinery if these were such as to restrict liberty and deny the dignity of man.

Of course, without efficient means any theoretical demand for social progress is senti-
mental and naïve, more like a tranquilliser than an effective lasting remedy for an evil which is incredible at a time when science is taming natural forces and starting the conquest of space and the stars. The temptation to stop short and to relieve our present difficulties by distributing fairly and without discrimination. The evil to which I refer is social injustice, which condemns millions of people to physical and moral misery or oppression. A natural sense of personal and collective responsibility for the most unfortunate men and peoples should not lead us to forget, in our desire to go fast and far, that all means are not acceptable and that if we abolish certain national, class or racial privileges it should not be in order to transfer them to others but so that all natural, material and moral goods may be distributed fairly and without discrimination.

It is easy to understand the temptation of States facing the hard economic and financial pressures involved in the full achievement of their independence. They are tempted, in the search for efficiency, to suspend—in the hope that it will be for a time only—certain rights, particularly those deriving from the I.L.O. Conventions on freedom of association and collective bargaining. Step by step we see States setting up, or trying to set up, by constitution, law or regulation a unified trade union movement in the first stage, and, in the second, eliminating the representative organisations and even persecuting and imprisoning the leaders whose only crime is to have believed in the value of international Conventions ratified by their countries and in protection from the I.L.O.

All this is to convey my disquiet at hearing the accredited representatives of some governments calling for the revision of Conventions Nos. 87 and 98. I do not mean to ignore the difficulties which these countries have to face, but I believe that the Director-General will assure us that there must be no question of allowing the foundations on which the I.L.O. was built to be shaken. Trade union unity is no doubt desirable but it can only be achieved by the workers themselves, not by their governments. The whole I.L.O. should rise to defend that essential right of the working class—the right of association. It should be possible to preserve trade union freedom by making fuller use of the work performed and the opportunities offered by the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. This Committee, stimulated by the Workers' group and its active leader, my friend Mr. Cool, is really effective, as witness the ratification by Japan and Chile of Conventions Nos. 87 and 98. No doubt joint international trade union action has been useful, but this success is certainly due to the perseverance of our Committee. Would it not be possible, in the future, to instruct a tripartite delegation of this Committee to undertake certain missions of investigation on the main Conventions, particularly those relating to freedom of association. I think that this method would usefully supplement the work of the experts, to whom, of course, I must pay a tribute.

Our desire to preserve the universal character of the I.L.O. regarding trade union matters, also requires us to struggle with perseverance to eliminate such situations. However, as long as a certain conception of trade union freedom, different from our own, still exists, our concern for the satisfactory operation of the I.L.O. must induce us to seek practical formulas for co-operation without denying any principle. The solution no doubt lies in serious reflection on what tripartism means.

I should like here to remove any misunderstanding: there is no question of infringing tripartism, however slightly, for this is just as essential to the I.L.O. as universality. The trade union movement has given its enthusiastic support to the Organisation for this essential reason. But is it not possible to contemplate some kind of arrangement within the framework of tripartism without affecting the independence of the three groups? I am thinking in particular of subdividing the Employers' group having regard to the structural differences within certain groups of States.

I think it is easy to formulate a programme and not impossible to set up, even if only provisionally, structures acceptable to each party so that each party would feel that it is taking a full part in the common work. However, I think the most difficult and urgent thing is to find ways and means of proceeding on these lines.

One essential function of the I.L.O. has always been its standard-setting activities. But it requires adaptation. In the first place there is the situation of the developing countries, most of which have joined the I.L.O. in recent years. In the second place rapid technical advance has raised problems in industrial and in developing countries, but this does not mean that in all cases the solution must be the same. There are also particular problems to be taken into consideration, such as those affecting non-manual workers, public servants and women workers. The tendency towards economic integration of groups of countries, such as the Common Market in Europe, also raises a new type of problem.

Several possibilities arise in the situation I have briefly analysed. First of all, there is the systematic revision of the Conventions, which seems the simplest operation and which the Governing Body has outlined. However, it cannot solve the whole problem because, although it enables instruments to be cleaned up, it preserves their original vices. I think it is an illusion to believe that one can now adopt Conventions suited for application in all States Members—for all sorts of reasons relating to their political régimes, their economic and social structures, their degree of industrialisation and their traditions and their particular needs. I would therefore suggest a regionalisation of the standard-setting activity of the Organisation.

This idea has been supported at several of our regional conferences, and this year it has been advocated in the General Conference, particularly by Mr. Grandval, the Minister of Labour of my country. But it has not yet been effectively supported, particularly by the Governing Body. The principal criticism is that it will unduly affect the principle of universality and
the necessary solidarity between nations. It is also claimed that there are almost as many differences within each geographical region as at the world level.

It is to reply to the above objections, which I do not think are well founded, that I would make the following suggestion. The General Conference should first of all formulate model Conventions of world scope, which would on each subject first determine the points on which there should be legislation, then lay down a few essential principles which would in any case have to be respected, and some basic standards to which there could be no exception, and also provide for a procedure for supervision.

These model Conventions would then be submitted to the regional conferences which would be expected, on the basis provided by the General Conference, to formulate particular Conventions adjusted to the special conditions and needs of the particular region. I would add that the very idea of a region should be re-examined. Although the I.L.O. should not doubt maintain permanent machinery for each of the continents, the regional conferences would not necessarily correspond to the whole I.L.O. membership in the continent concerned. The regions should be conceived rather as groups of States with comparable structures or political, economic and social situations.

To meet another difficulty which may arise with regard to the impossibility of applying certain provisions to a given economic or occupational sector, it should be possible for the Industrial Committees to propose to the Conference, on different points, appendices to the Conventions. Here again a multiplication of committees would be necessary so that groups of States would be able to study jointly the problems which concerned them having regard to their structure or the degree of development in the sector concerned.

In any case, in order to safeguard the authority of the Conference and to ensure that the regionalisation of standard-setting activities would not hold up progress or create any anarchy, it would be necessary to study a procedure enabling the Governing Body to submit to the Conference in an appropriate form the texts of Conventions and appendices, etc. adopted by regional conferences or Industrial Committees for examination by the Conference, which would give them legal value by adding them to the existing model Conventions.

If no reform is made regarding the regionalisation of standard-setting activities, it is evident that co-operative activities will suffer. On the other hand, as we hope, standard-setting activities can be intensified on a reformed basis, these would inspire other activities which are subsidiary, such as helping States to apply the Conventions. In any case, this co-operative work must be conceived in a certain spirit.

The projects regarding co-operation must pass through the governments. However, they should not be decided without the consent of, or at least without consultation with, employers' and workers' organisations.

Furthermore, closer co-ordination should be provided for with the United Nations and its various specialised agencies in order to avoid overlapping and to give projects a greater scope.

However, the tripartite character of the I.L.O. requires the experts to be chosen in the three constituent groups in equal numbers. The argument that a choice should be made only on the basis of competence is only an excuse. In the three groups there are persons able to act as experts in an efficient manner.

Lastly, no scheme should be undertaken with a State which does not ratify and does not respect the main Conventions, that is those relating to human rights. I make these reflections in a constructive spirit, brutally perhaps but with conviction, because the organisation to which I belong, the French Democratic Confederation of Labour, is attached to the I.L.O. and desires that the Organisation should be better able to perform its indispensable task.

'Mr. AMPAH (Workers' adviser, Ghana)—I wish first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference, on behalf of the working people of Ghana whom I have the great honour of representing here.

The Conferences of the I.L.O. each year have not only afforded us the opportunity of reviewing the work of this very vital organ of social justice in the world today, but have also served as a stimulus to further action in our determined struggle to eliminate ignorance, squalor, disease and poverty, in order to make this turbulent world of ours a better place for all of us and to use the accumulated knowledge of science and technology to the benefit of mankind.

It was with considerable interest that the Ghana Trades Union Congress received the Director-General's Report in order to analyse and appraise its contents. The whole tenor of the Report, connected with human resources and economic development, is indicative of the growing realisation by the I.L.O. that we have rationally to plan our way ahead. Undoubtedly, in this process, we have to create higher levels of productive employment and improve the quality of our labour force, and at the same time develop various social institutions, which, from our trade union point of view, will, amongst other things, secure satisfactory relations with the Government and employers for our workers.

But whilst various development plans are instituted, we have to ensure that intensification of exploitation of our workers, of our mineral and agricultural resources, which is the interests of the imperialist Powers, does not take place. It is precisely against those countries which attempt to prevent the intensification of exploitation of the African people and thereby ensure their economic emancipation that attacks are continuously directed, and attempts are made to undermine them.

Undoubtedly, since the beginning of the African revolution, the I.L.O. has been made more aware of Africa and has had to take her people into serious consideration. In one respect, for example, greater awareness is reflected in the increasing expenditure on
technical co-operation programmes, and it is hoped that the attention being paid to Africa in this respect and in others will not wane but grow. Much more could be done for the developing nations.

If the huge sums of money spent by the developed nations on armaments were to be given instead as aid—without strings attached, of course—to the developing countries, many of our problems would be alleviated. Witness, for example, the utter waste poured out in the form of bombs, etc. in the Viet-Nam war in order to crush people who are struggling to set up their Government in order to solve their problems in their own way.

Africa has many difficulties and problems to overcome, and many of these are implicit in the Director-General's Report. These difficulties and problems are principally not of our own making but are the result of the brutal carve-up by the capitalist Powers of our continent, the subjugation of our people, the indignity heaped upon the African, the outright theft of much of our land, the exploitation of our mineral and agricultural resources and the utilisation of cheap African labour. Those of us who have won independence are now faced with the formidable task of breaking away from the colonial economy by rapidly developing our resources and laying the foundations of an industrialised economy. This will ensure better living conditions for our people and thereby overcome the despicable conditions bequeathed upon us by the imperialist Powers.

As representatives of the workers, we are very conscious of the fact that the working and living conditions of our workers should not be neglected. Far from it; we want to see their continued improvement. But this is a difficult task when our economies are so closely interwoven with the Western world and are geared to production for export of one or two raw materials. To ensure satisfactory living and working conditions it is necessary to overcome the control of our economy by the imperialist Powers, and rapidly move away from a state of mono-culture, and to stop the drain of our wealth out of Africa. In simple terms, we have to get away from being mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.

There is no doubt that the solution to the whole problem of Africa is the establishment of an effective all-African government. This will ensure isolation and defeat of the neo-colonialists. It is precisely because the imperialists recognise African unity as their greatest danger that they are doing everything in their power to prevent it and ensure the continued existence of a balkanised Africa.

African unity is the way to ensure rapid African economic development and an all-round improvement in the living conditions of the African people.

African unity is one of the pre-conditions for the defeat of the imperialist forces in the Congo and the liberation of Africans still suffering under colonial rule. It will be an important factor in our struggle against the fascist Government of the Union of South Africa and its apartheid policy being put where it justly belongs—on the rubbish dump of history.

Fortunately for us workers in Ghana, our Government is a progressive and popular one, and is fully alive to the dangers facing us and Africa. It has taken up the cudgels against the imperialist Powers: hence the vilification and decrying of my country in some sections of the Western press. A country such as mine, because of the stand it has irrevocably taken, expects misrepresentation of facts in order to mislead the unwary. In spite of all our difficulties we have built in Ghana, under the able leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, a one-party State with socialism as the objective and dedicated to African unity. A seven-year development plan has been launched, which will lay the foundations of our industrialised State. We have paid particular attention to the development of our human resources—for example there is free education from primary school to university, there is a nation-wide workers' educational system, and vocational training schools have been established. We fully realise that we cannot effectively develop our economic resources without, at the same time, developing our human resources.

In the Statute Book there is an Act which satisfactorily governs industrial relations, whilst recently our Parliament adopted a Social Security Act which ensures social security for our workers.

The organisation which I represent regards the changes that have been wrought in the I.L.O.'s administrative machinery in order to reflect the changes that have taken place in the world as of some significance and we will carefully scrutinise their operation to see if they work satisfactorily. The decentralisation that has already been effected to meet the requirements of the three regions may well augur a new era in the history of the I.L.O. but, of course, the proof of the pudding is in the eating! One hopes that this decentralisation will make the I.L.O. more efficient in the sense that the views of the regions will be taken more into account and their problems will be more closely felt.

It is the opinion of my organisation that the work of the I.L.O. in Africa, and the work of Headquarters for that matter, would benefit from the I.L.O.'s co-operating fully with the All-African Trade Union Federation (A.A.T.U.F.). At the second African Regional Conference held in Addis Ababa towards the end of last year, the only organisation that truly represents the African worker, A.A.T.U.F., in spite of the pressure exerted upon the I.L.O., was only able to obtain more regional consultative status. We regard this as grossly insulting to the African trade union movement and this situation should be rectified. As I stated at that Conference: "The All-African Trade Union Federation represents the only effective and popular voice of the masses of the working people of Africa. It is the spokesman for African labour and it should be given its rightful position as the representative body of the trade union movement. It cannot have a substitute. It cannot co-exist with the Internationalist sponsored organisations which only serve to undermine the wishes and aspirations of the African workers... failure to recognise this position is to neglect the most important trade union body in Africa. It is wise to recognise it now rather than to do so later under pressure.
from its supporters all over Africa." A.A.T.U.F. must receive the recognition from the I.L.O. that it rightly deserves. It must be given Category "A" consultative status.

Further, on the point of decentralisation, the establishment of a Field Department may very well prove to be a useful step and careful attention will be paid to the contribution it makes in Africa. This applies equally to the step taken to head the regional branches by a regional co-ordinator who will spend a substantial portion of his time in his region at the scene of operations. One hopes this will assist in creating a better understanding by the I.L.O. of Africa's situation and enable it to feel constantly and correctly the throbbing, vibrant pulse of the African revolution. The extent to which Africans are recruited to the regional branches will certainly be watched closely by my organisation and, I am sure, by trade unions in other African countries.

I have, in my address, touched briefly upon many important questions concerning Africa, but I must state quite categorically that, in general, we are dissatisfied with the I.L.O. It is true that decentralisation has occurred and we were entitled to hope it would be in practice during the next few years, but this is no palliative for overcoming or diverting our attention from the basic issues facing the I.L.O. today.

In spite of the fact that the I.L.O. has been in existence for 46 years, there is still discrimination in its machinery and this should be overcome.

The I.L.O. should, and necessarily must, be reformed so that it satisfactorily reflects the world of today.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. FUGARDO SANZ (Workers' delegate, Spain)—I have the honour once more to appear at the International Labour Conference, and first of all I should like to ask you, Mr. President, to accept my congratulations on having been elected to direct our proceedings.

I congratulate the Director-General on the Report which he has submitted to us, which I consider worthy of praise because of the manner in which it handles the great social problems of our time and the wisdom with which it determines the attitude of the I.L.O. regarding its organisation, objectives and means of action.

The objective spirit of the Report is particularly clear when it deals in a realistic manner with social questions and their possible solutions. This objectively may be summarised in the phrase applied by the Report to a particular I.L.O. activity, when it indicates that the I.L.O. has to be not a judge but a guide. Those words, high-minded and prudent, at the same time deserve to be the slogan of the I.L.O., for they reflect an approach which, unfortunately, is not that of certain sectors represented at the Conference. The idea that the I.L.O. has to be the lighthouse which lights the way to social justice, the basis of peace among men, contrasts with the conduct of some in the Conference who think that the I.L.O. is a judge to apply to us a code of trade union organisation which they have invented.

And then there are others who would convert the I.L.O. into a policing apparatus to give effect to their lying designs. Some serve doctrinaire immobile trade unionism anchored to its old forms and ignore many of the new things which have happened in the past 25 years; others, cunning strategists, faithful to certain social and political principles, try to forge alliances when discussing trade union matters in our country, of which they have no real knowledge.

All are guilty of ignorance regarding the situation of other countries, young or old, south or east, where there is no trade union diversity. However much it may hurt the feelings of some people there is no doubt that trade union diversity weakens the power of the unions to defend the working class. Let me remind you on this occasion that the representation of a great Power in the Governing Body, in a letter to the Director-General dated 25 February 1958 which has been published in the Official Bulletin of the I.L.O., states that the establishment of rival organisations weakens the workers' movement.

I know what has been said in this hall and repeated in the Governing Body—namely that trade union unity is an ideal objective for the working class but must be reached voluntarily and not by legislative imperative.

I am not a lawyer; I am only a worker who has been sent to the Conference with thousands of votes from the Spanish workers and with the support also of the Congress of my country, but I ask you all, is a law which has the general support of the working class and reflects a permanent ideal to be condemned because of some more or less theoretical prejudice?

If this were a general judgment it would be wrong because it would lack any logical basis. But if one bears in mind that it is pronounced against only one country, we must resent and reject it absolutely. Some of the delegates seem to lack the power of reflection which would reveal to them the decadence of trade union plurality and the general recognition of that phenomenon. Instead all they do is, as usual, to attack the representatives of the Spanish workers who have honoured me by sending me here.

One previous speaker, giving rein to his political fanaticism and falling in the mutual respect which those attending international meetings owe one another, has insulted and calumniated us in the coarsest language. His insults have hurt as much as words can, but do not affect the system he is trying to attack; the insult is to impute to us the cowardice and servility which would induce us meekly to endure the oppression and criminal acts he alleges, but which exist only in the minds of those who wish for reasons of propaganda to circulate disgusting lies in order to conceal the criminal conditions in which they themselves live. Remember that truth and justice always go together, that injustice gives birth to more injustice and that if you hypocritically close your eyes to the gradual disappearance of trade union diversity, a phenomenon now occurring in many States Members of the I.L.O., while declaring it hateful only when it occurs in my country, you are prejudicing the future of the I.L.O. and converting yourselves into a machine oppressing the free will of the peoples.
Such arbitrary action will only serve to precipitate the crisis in the I.L.O. of which various symptoms have warned us; to these we would like to add the fact that the Conference is being converted into a desert of incomprehension in which we speak in vain, those of us who put first of all the task of improving the conditions of life and work of the proletarist in all countries and declare that the work of the I.L.O. will be damaged if it concentrates on political problems, which, if they exist, should be dealt with by other international agencies.

There is further evidence of the wisdom of the Report in its statement of the principle that the work of the I.L.O. must have regard to the great diversity of national situations. In this connection I should like to make a few observations on what is happening in my country in the field of social policy.

We are accused of having trade unions closely linked to the State. There is certainly a close connection, due to our direct and active participation in the legislative work of many public organs, the free election of very many trade union representatives to Parliament, provincial assemblies, local governments, social security institutions, economic and social development planning boards, banks, nationalised industries, etc.

It is said that our unions are influenced by the Government. Here again we can reply yes, and the unions also have an influence on the Government. We maintain with the relevant Ministries relations which are not always particularly good, so they may know and respect the actions and reactions of the people. Apart from this the co-operation between State and unions in my country extends mainly to particular definite aspects of social policy, where there is mutual assistance in creating employment, fighting unemployment, improving skills, enstraining the advancement of workers, providing accelerated and standard vocational training, improving social security, etc. In this way, thanks largely to the work of our unions, Spain occupies a leading place among European countries for its achievements regarding housing, vocational education, health facilities, etc. We are doing what others do not dare to do, engaging in a social revolution by and for the workers.

It is alleged that we are minority unions. I only need reply that the percentage of workers affiliated to the trade unions in many countries of Western Europe is very much exceeded by the number of our members. Hundreds of thousands of workers animate the life of our unions, either as rank-and-file or holding posts in an extensive network covering the whole territory and all activities, ranging from works committees to the governing bodies of the big national unions.

We have been accused also on the grounds of the political pressure which our trade union organisations have to suffer. I may say that in fact the trade unions of Spain are working in accordance with a political sense resulting from the fact that they have in their midst representatives of the new generation along with many old fighters of all tendencies of the Spanish trade union movement of the past, whose wounds have been healed during long years of social peace and tranquillity in their homes and in whom the flame of new dreams and hopes has been fanned into life on the ashes of a fatherland in ruins—a legacy of those who criticise us today.

We are accused of not appointing democratically the leaders of our trade union organisations. It may be true that the electoral methods which exist do not perhaps incorporate all the electoral tricks which are so current in other democratic organisations, such as voting by show of hands on surprise motions planned in advance, or voting on the basis of a single list of candidates prepared in advance by a political bureau foreign to the trade union movement.

These are some of the characteristics of our trade union movement, which of course has imperfections, as any human activity has, but which also has great hopes for the future.

We are quite unimpressed by the fact that our situation is looked down upon with contempt by our attackers, but it is paradoxical and particularly revealing that these verbal attacks are intensified today, at the moment when, thanks to our efforts, my country's policy is making noteworthy progress in fields so closely connected with the constitutional principles of the I.L.O. The constant increase in effective union representation, governing conditions of work, the abolition of legislation prohibiting the right to strike, and the constitution of councils composed of freely elected employers' and workers' representatives, which are true federations, are highlights of the representative labour system in Spain.

I beg your pardon and apologise if I have gone into too many details in giving this political panorama of the trade union situation in my country.

Now I should like to turn my attention to another equally important question and urge the I.L.O. to give priority consideration to one of the the most important social questions of our time, that of hours of work. Today when the world is so far advanced technically, when there is so much talk of automation, it is an anachronism that a worker should have to work a 40-hour week or more, and it must be overcome. No one is better placed than the I.L.O. to establish the necessary standards which would show the way to meeting the very human and justifiable claims of the workers in this connection. The lack of the necessary quorum when we discussed the question last year was a lamentable experience on which we should reflect and try to find some way of achieving this aim.

Another matter engaging our attention is the change in Spain which has occurred in the emigration of workers.

You all know that the traditional concept of emigration has changed, but perhaps you do not know that the treatment which a migrant worker receives in certain countries does not correspond to that afforded to national workers. In this connection I have the honour to announce that the problem will be considered shortly by the National Council of Workers in Spain, which will union all unions and by its reach to ensure that the I.L.O. analyses and solves this problem equitably and rapidly.

Finally, the respect and consideration inspired in me by the existence of the I.L.O.,
for whose proper operation we are all responsible, leads me to speak of article 17 of the Standing Orders of the Conference. The revision of this article is urgent because this year has shown that the maintenance of the present text will leave a loophole through which, at successive sessions of the Conference, attacks may be made against nations and against the unity of thought and action which should govern the work and aims of the Organisation itself. To keep the Standing Orders as they are will convert our Conference into a battlefield where attacks of all sorts fail to conform to the requirements of the world. The I.L.O. can give is the maintenance of its faith—good sense will continue. The best proof the I.L.O. can give is the maintenance of its faithfulness to the principle of universality of the Organisation which must survive all crises, as happened ten years ago in the case of the conflict in the heart of Europe which led to a clash of two great political systems which today are trying to coexist. For my part, when I look at the realities and the peace of my country, I am reminded of an old Spanish proverb: “The dogs bark—that shows we are on the road.”

Let the dogs bark, as far as I am concerned.

Interpretation from French: Mr. GHAYOUR (Employers’ delegate, Iran)—First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, as a citizen of a country which is a close friend of Pakistan, on your election and on the impartial manner in which you preside over our discussions with such authority.

For more than three years now the I.L.O., on the initial impulse of the Employers’ members of the Governing Body, has been giving its attention to its own renovation. This was inevitable, for an Organisation which is world-wide in its extent, passing over national frontiers to bring progress and encouragement to development and to the economic and social advancement of countries, cannot remain static, shut up inside itself, and cannot fail to conform to the requirements of the world today.

For the last two years we have been discussing from this rostrum the objectives and the structure and methods which the I.L.O. must adopt in the future. I shall not repeat what I said in 1963 and 1964, because the two Reports of the Director-General give me relative satisfaction on the points which I have already put forward, and I would like to thank the Director-General for his attention. But since we are requested once again to submit our observations on the programme and structure of the I.L.O., I shall endeavour to make a sincere and fair contribution.

Before we speak of objectives, I think we must speak of basic principles. The I.L.O. is a universal institution, tripartite and specialised in social problems. The universality of the I.L.O. is a matter of fact; it exists, and sometimes in this field it even goes beyond the United Nations. The tripartism of the I.L.O., which is the specific characteristic of our Organisation, is not as real as we think it is. The I.L.O., because of its budget, depends exclusively on the governments. The representatives of employers and workers who attend the meetings of the I.L.O. are put forward by the governments, and their travelling and subsistence expenses are paid by their governments. The I.L.O. often does not even come into contact with the organisations of employers and workers except through the governments. Because of these facts, the preponderance of the governments within this tripartite Organisation is a reality we cannot deny. Moreover, in recent years, other problems, equally serious, have been added to those already facing us, and have given rise to difficulties which have taken up a great deal of time in the meetings, in discussions which led to no concrete results. All these difficulties give food for thought to those delegates truly interested in the work of the I.L.O. Is it possible to have a truly tripartite Organisation, or must we be satisfied with an apparently tripartite Organisation, or, again, must we openly transform it into a governmental organisation like the other specialised agencies of the United Nations? The first and the best-qualified person to consider this question of principle is the Director-General of the I.L.O.

The I.L.O. is a specialised agency for social questions. I can remember the days when a clear distinction was made between social and economic problems, whereas at present we cannot speak of social questions without at the same time, and perhaps even before, looking at these problems from their economic aspect. In any case, for the developing countries economic development is the basis for social progress, and you cannot do it otherwise.

Consequently, we have of necessity to study and find a solution to social and economic questions in a single context. At present there are other agencies of the United Nations dealing with economic problems which have relations with the I.L.O., but these relations, and all the operations of correlation and reciprocal representation and so on, as they exist at present, are not sufficient to give a guarantee that socioeconomic problems, will be studied and considered together in a positive way in the same context. Here I think it would be desirable for relations with the United Nations, particularly the agencies dealing with economic problems, to be revised, and that we consider procedures whereby the economic aspect of the problem will be studied before, or at the same time, as the social aspects.

Another point is that, in the matter of technical co-operation, the I.L.O. depends ten times more on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance of the United Nations and on the Special Fund than it does on its own budget. In the case of these two organs, the I.L.O. is considered as an agent for the execution of projects and is allocated 10 per cent. of the total amount of the credit together with responsibility for execution. The influence which can be exercised by the I.L.O. is insufficient in the stages which precede

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supervision and re-evaluation of the work after the project has been started.

During execution of the project the team of I.L.O. experts is at the orders of the resident representative of the Technical Assistance Board. In spite of the fact that the appointment of this person must be made with the consent of the I.L.O. and the I.L.O., according to a resolution adopted by the Conference, is required to assure itself of the competence and impartiality of the representatives, nevertheless the I.L.O. never had anything to say about these appointments.

Moreover, in all the procedures which must follow a project, the desirable degree of rapidity is lacking. This is very serious, and something must be done about the procedures which are at present in force.

I come now to the objectives of the I.L.O. Evolution is an instinct which is part of human nature. Development is one means of achieving evolution. In the post-war years economic development is considered as basic to all development. Moreover, it has taken on a much broader meaning than in the past. But economic development is not the end in itself. It is not the final goal. It must be considered as a means of reaching the noblest ends, which will mean a happier life and greater dignity for man.

In spite of this, we must bear in mind that the social objectives must follow economic objectives, and never take precedence over them. Resolution No. 984 of the Economic and Social Council asks the specialised agencies, in the planning of their work, to bear in mind the following points: the development of international trade as a primary instrument of development; industrial development, followed by the development of human resources, the development of agricultural production, and the development of natural resources.

On the basis of this resolution the I.L.O. has set itself the following objectives (a) the development of human resources by means of manpower planning and organisation, employment, training and retraining of supervisory classes, vocational training, vocational counselling, classification of occupations and occupational readaptation; (b) the development of social institutions concerned with labour law and administration, labour relations, participation of workers’ and employers’ organisations in planning political, social and economic developments; workers’ education; rural institutes and community development; agrarian reform and co-operatives; (c) the development of living and working conditions covering general conditions of work, hours of work, weekly rest, holidays, wages, protection of wages, working and living conditions of non-manual workers and rural workers, and so on; discrimination in the field of employment, occupational safety and hygiene, social security and welfare of the workers.

I observe that all these traditional activities of the I.L.O. are grouped in three big departments. There is only one thing I would like to say in connection with workers’ education—it would have been placed in the Resources Department rather than, as at present, in the Social Institutions Development Department.

These objectives are based on resolution No. 984 of the Economic and Social Council, this resolution being in turn based principally on the industrialisation and development of agricultural production, without which economic development would not be viable and social development, of course, would be impossible. Among the objectives which I referred to above, the development of human resources is of the greatest importance because we must appreciate that the gap existing between the developed countries and the developing countries is particularly great in this field.

It is quite correct to say that if all the machinery and equipment existing in the world were to disappear, if science and technique were to remain it would be quite easy to replace them, and it would not take long.

The I.L.O. has great perseverance in its long-standing tradition of international standard-setting. In this connection I should like to make a few comments. The written law, whether a national law or an international Convention, must be positive and creative. A law must grow out of existing needs, and it would be illogical to adopt a law or Convention for probable needs which we think we may have in the future. In a word, a law must be applicable today.

The frontiers of social laws and Labour Codes are not very well defined. In any case they are very fragile, and when we prepare Conventions on labour problems we must give great attention to the existing social situations in the various countries as well as to the differences in the economic régimes of the countries. Laws in general must lend stability and assurance to the factors influencing the development of the country. Labour laws and social laws must not create obstacles or slow down economic development.

The I.L.O., more than any other agency of the United Nations, has prepared international Conventions and Recommendations, and it requires all the member States, whether they are highly advanced or in the very first stages of development, to apply them in the same way. Now this is not possible. Apart from Conventions respecting certain basic principles such as human rights, forced labour and freedom of association and a few others, the rest will have to be revised, or else the whole process of procedure of ratification will have to be made easier and more flexible.

Delegates meeting in this beautiful Palace on the shores of Lake Geneva must know that in the world there are people who prefer to have a key to a storehouse with a little bit more food in it than the backbone of the I.L.O., or the various epithets applied to international labour standards.

I understand by the "structure of the I.L.O." the Conference, the Governing Body, the Industrial Committees and the other organs of the I.L.O. I agree with other speakers that they should have fewer conferences and fewer meetings. I feel the distribution of seats should be revised on solid criteria, having regard to the advances made by developing countries in human capital.

The change in the structure of the I.L.O. was indispensable. It must be made in a rational way: a simple regrouping would not
be sufficient. It is to be hoped that the com-
petent I.L.O. services in the field of vocational
retraining and advanced training of supervisory
staff may do a good job for their own Or-
ganisation.

Beside the three departments of the I.L.O.,
the research and information services could
also be very helpful to the developing countries.

If a large department could deal with the
development plans implemented in the past
or under way or projected for the future, or
bring them together to study them and see
why they succeeded or why they failed so
that all could benefit from the experience of
the one or the other to the great benefit to
the States Members and the I.L.O. This
department could be put in charge of intro-
ducing I.L.O. assistance within the frame-
work of development plans of countries.

Decentralisation of the various activities of
the I.L.O. would be a very desirable policy,
but here we must walk very prudently. There
are many systems of decentralisation. I think
the combined central and regional system, or
one based on co-operation between head-
quarters and regional institutions would be
best for the future activities of the I.L.O.

The staff chosen for these centres, apart
from their technical and scientific competence,
which would be appropriate to their own task,
must have sufficiently profound knowledge
and general training and at the same time must
be positive and have a very broad and open-
minded way of approaching matters, so that
they can best serve the regions where they
will be working. Moreover, this is true for
the experts chosen for the I.L.O. The staff
for the regional offices must be chosen very
carefully from the point of view of politics
and from morals, before being assigned, because
afterwards it would be impossible to ask them
not to deal with questions of politics or change
their outlook or look at problems in a different
way, because that which evolves most slowly
in man is his moral outlook.

We must have confidence in our Director-
General so that he can try to carry out the
difficult task which is his. We wish him every
success.

In spite of the efforts of the United Nations
agencies, every country can make progress only
by the efforts of its people. You need the
efforts of the whole people for the develop-
ment of the country.

In Iran, the employers in the private sector
are doing all they can to industrialise the
country and create suitable and profitable
work. The Government intervenes only to
encourage us. We depend on our own strength,
with the help of God.

Interpretation from Russian : Mr. SHELDOV
(Government delegate, Byelorussia)—Today we
end the discussion of the Director-General’s
Report, in the course of which, as in the past
two years, a wide range of problems were raised
relating to the programme, structure and activi-
ties of the I.L.O. Our delegation, having closely
studied the Report of the Director-General and
having followed with great attention the dis-
cussion at the present session, fully shares the
conclusion at which many earlier speakers
have arrived that no serious practical steps
have been taken towards reorientating the activities of the I.L.O. in those areas on which
at earlier sessions there was a substantial
degree of agreement. Nor has the Director-
General fulfilled his promise “to provide some
fresh proposals and fresh ideas on those points
which clearly still require some further ex-
amination”. Nor have any real results been
forthcoming from the Working Party of the
Governing Body. The question arises as to the
reason for this situation. We believe the
reason is that certain circles in the I.L.O. which
refuse to recognise the demands of our time
ing obstinately to the great benefit to
the States Members and the I.L.O. This
department could be put in charge of intro-
ducing I.L.O. assistance within the frame-
work of development plans of countries.

The Byelorussian delegation considers this
situation anomalous, and we believe that it is
necessary to take effective steps to ensure a
genuine revision of the programme and struc-
ture of the I.L.O., bearing in mind both earlier
proposals and those made at this year’s Con-
ference.

As regards the three basic programme areas
of the I.L.O. which have been suggested by the
Director-General, namely development of man-
power resources, development of social institu-
tions, and living and working conditions,
agreeing with the need to stimulate the work of
the I.L.O. in these directions, the Byelorussian
delegation considers it of primary importance
that the activity of the Organisation in the field
of labour relations and the development of
social institutions should base itself, as laid
down in the Constitution, on the interests of
the workers and should serve those purposes except upholding the rights and
interests of the workers. Alongside this, I.L.O.
action in these fields must stem from the need
for immediate and final liquidation of colonial-
ism and all its consequences which hamper the
social and economic progress of the countries of
Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The I.L.O. must actively struggle against the
policy of apartheid of the Republic of South
Africa, the rulers of which shamelessly ignore
the decisions of the United Nations and the
requirements of the Declaration adopted at the
48th Session of the Conference.

It is the duty of this Organisation to con-
demn racial discrimination, and it must urgently
ly demand an end to forced labour imposed by the
colonialists in the enslaved territories. Our
delegation proclaims its support of the resolu-
tion submitted by the Government delegation
of the United Arab Republic condemning the
Government of Portugal for this policy.

It is necessary to refer also to the abnormal
position whereby the Special Report of the
Director-General on the Application of the
Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid
of the Republic of South Africa does not
mention the implementation of the most
important provisions of this Declaration by
States Members although the Declaration calls
upon governments, employers and workers to
take every step in order to compel the Government of the Republic of South Africa to re­nounce its apartheid policy. In the next reports of the Director-General on this subject there should be appropriate information on the measures taken or being taken by member States in response to this request of the I.L.O. Conference and also as regards the effect given by member States to the appeal to prevent emigration to South Africa made by the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

It is very important that the I.L.O., particip­ating in various seminars and conferences in the Western countries, should not allow the prestige of the I.L.O. to be used to cover up the attempts of the colonialists, neo-colonialists and their groupings to enslave the peoples of the newly independent countries or to continue to exploit the natural and human resources of developing countries in the interests of the foreign monopolists. Today, Mr. Clausen at­tempted to compare the scale of assistance provided by socialist States to the developing countries with that provided by the Western countries, but, in quoting, he deliberately forgot to mention that the very same Western coun­tries, according to United Nations information, pump out $20,000 million each year from the developing countries. Thus, they are giving with one hand and taking away with the other.

We consider that in carrying out the I.L.O. programmes, the International Labour Office must make full use of the advanced experience of the socialist countries in the solution of various economic and social problems men­tioned in the Constitution.

I will not speak about the passive attitude of the Office towards appropriate measures in this connection in the socialist countries. I will quote only one example. In August 1964, in the capital of Byelorussia, Minsk, there was a United Nations inter-regional seminar on the social aspects of industrialisation, in which more than 40 representatives of Asian, African and Latin American countries took part. It was also attended by representatives of the Social Affairs Department of the United Nations and the United Nations Centre on Industrial Development, the W.H.O., and all the United Nations regional commissions. The I.L.O., how­ever, refused to participate in this seminar, important from the viewpoint of the activities of the Organisation, and the work of which was highly praised by all participants.

Nor is the situation concerning the rendering of service by the socialist countries in the technical assistance programme satisfactory. From Byelorussia, for instance, during the ten years of our membership in the I.L.O., not one expert has been called to participate in this programme even though the Office assigned 784 experts in 1964. Not a single visiting fellow from the developing countries was sent to Byelorussia, even though the I.L.O. awarded 984 fellowships during the same year. We have not received a single order for equipment. Yet Byelorussia has acquired considerable experience in overcoming economic and social backwardness, in re-establishing the national economy that was almost entirely destroyed by the Hitlerites in the Second World War. To give an illustration, I need only say that our fac­tories now produce in less than eight days as much as the total industrial production of pre-Revolutionary Byelorussia in a whole year. The power plants of Byelorussia supply in less than one hour more electric power than was produced in a whole year before the Revolution. These data show the colossal benefits of the socialist economic system.

We have acquired considerable experience also in training national personnel in solving practically every social problem relating to youth, women, old persons, the redistribution of income, the liquidation of unemployment, etc. We are prepared to share this experience with the developing countries and we are doing a lot in this direction, both on a bilateral basis and also through participation in United Nations and specialised agency programmes.

An important element in the radical improve­ment of the work of the I.L.O. is the problem of the revision of the structure, and the democra­tisation of the methods of work of the Organisa­tion, so as to enhance the role of the General Conference. In this connection we have already made a number of proposals at earlier sessions. Without wishing to repeat itself, the Byelorussian delegation feels that it is necessary to stress once again the need to revise the composition of the Governing Body and of other elective organs of the I.L.O., the legitimate interests of the socialist and developing countries in all three groups being fully respected. In this connection, we entirely support the resolution on this question submitted by the Government delegates of Poland and the Ukraine at this session.

The Office is carrying out certain reorgan­i­sation of its machinery and new responsible posts, departments and services are being set up. All this is supposed to reflect sub­stantial attention to the changing situation and the interests of the various groups of coun­tries. But, unfortunately, we do not find any responsible posts being granted to the citi­zens of socialist or developing countries. If such a policy is to continue, it will be difficult to reckon on a radical improvement in the pro­gramme and structure of the I.L.O., improve­ment of its methods of work or implementa­tion of decisions by the General Conference.

We are convinced that it is the duty and re­sponsibility of the I.L.O. to contribute by its activities to the practical consolidation of peace, peaceful coexistence and co-operation. The I.L.O. must contribute actively to total and complete disarmament and it must strengthen its practical activities in the study of the eco­nomic and social consequences of disarmament. Without stable peace, there cannot be social or economic progress.

With regard to the statement of the Director­General that the I.L.O. is prepared to play its part in the attainment of co-operation between all nations in the maintenance of peace and in the promotion of economic and social advancement for all people, and the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, we consider that the I.L.O. has no right to ignore aggression, military adventure, or the cruel oppression of national liberation move­ments. We protest vehemently against the systematic, piratical bombing of the Demo-
cratic Republic of South Viet-Nam by American aircraft, the increasing aggression by the United States in South Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic.

No calumny or insinuation from this platform can save the aggressive neo-colonialist policy of the American ruling circles . . .

The PRESIDENT.—I would remind the speaker that references to theatres of war have been considered to be out of order in this Conference. I would therefore request him to refer to other points.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. SHELDOV—This policy has not brought and it will not bring them anything but defeat and shame.

Today we heard the Government delegate of the United States of America, Mr. Weaver, attempt to justify these government policies. We understand what a difficult task faced you, Mr. Weaver, for you spoke about democracy, but perhaps you read today in the New York Herald Tribune an article by Walter Lippmann, headed "Whom We Support". In this article, Lippmann justly points out that in South Viet-Nam, in the Dominican Republic and in many other parts of the world the United States is supporting the most reactionary regimes and forces that enjoy absolutely no popular support. What democracy are you talking about? You cannot speak sincerely about loyalty to the ideals of freedom if the bayonets of your army are prop­ ping up the most reactionary governments of the world. How can you speak in favour of complete freedom throughout Africa if the monopolists of your country are bosom friends of the colonialists in South Africa and Angola and if in the United States itself Negroes have no freedom and the Ku-Klux-Klan terror reigns supreme? How is it possible to speak about peace, to don the toga of a peacemaker if in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic United States soldiers, whom nobody invited here, are shedding the blood of peaceful citizens and are demonstrating to the whole world, with the aid of napalm, that an American way of liberty offers no calumny or insinuation from this plat­ form . . .

I am sure that the Working Party of the Governing Body will not fail to study this idea, which was already discussed a few years ago in a committee of the Governing Body, presided over by Mr. Agó, whose function was to seek means of improving the practical methods of working of the Conference.

The same applies, I am sure, to other sug­ gestions made by Mr. Grandval and repeated by other speakers, such as the development of confer­ ences and meetings at the regional level, which seem to me to be quite desirable for the big, non-European regions which have their own problems; and also measures which might no doubt be taken at the Conference to organise on a more rational basis the exchange of views on the Director-General's Report.

I have just listened with very great interest to the speech by Mr. Bouladoux, and I hope that his suggestions will also be the subject of careful examination by the Working Party of the Governing Body.

Having unfortunately had to go to Paris the day before yesterday, at the time of the discussion here on the budget of the Organisa­ tion, when we examined the reports of our committees, I intend to refer to certain statements made on Wednesday which really concern the work of some of these committees. However, I should like now to state that I associate myself entirely with what was said by my colleague, the Chairman of the Workers' group, Mr. Mórí, in reply to the speeches made by the Government delegates of Poland and of the Soviet Union.

Reiterating the complaints of the Employers' members of their delegations, the governments of the communist countries of Eastern Europe this year have criticised almost daily the very great majority of my group, who are accused by them of not treating the Employers' delegates of these countries on an equal footing —and I quote Mr. Goroshkin—by "neglecting their right to hold elective posts".

You all know very well that all delegates to the Conference and their advisers are perfectly entitled to take part in the work of the com­ mittees, that is to say to put in their names to speak and even to vote, either as titular members, provided they are elected by their groups, or as deputies for absent titular members.

As regards the Resolutions Committee, the absence of communist Employers in the list appended to the second report of the Selection Committee is due, first of all, to the fact that not one of them was a candidate for a seat on that Committee and, for the other committees, Employers from those countries figure on the list either as deputy members or as titular practical activities of the Organisation on behalf of developing countries or certain measures which might lighten the work of the Conference.

It is naturally a pleasure for me to support the suggestion made by the Minister of Labour of my country, Mr. Grandval, to find a means of having this expensive meeting—and particularly so to those States Members far from Geneva—meet every two years. The expense is so great that they find it difficult to do what is eminently desirable—that is, to send delega­ tions large enough to enable them to play their part to the full.
members placed on the committee at their request, despite us, by the Appeals Board.

The only fact of which these delegates can complain is that they were not elected as titular members when the Employers' group proceeded to the election by secret ballot, and not one of the delegates has challenged the propriety of the vote, either before or afterwards.

These Employers complain only of the result of these votes, claiming that they were victims of discrimination, as if the fact that they were not elected is a discrimination—as Mr. Goroshkin appears to believe when he says that they had the "right" to be elected.

The truth is that these delegates feel themselves isolated in our group because they are very clearly different from ourselves. Whatever their personal qualities, they are not and cannot be, at least at present, the representatives of organisations of employers independent of their governments. They could be experts, and no doubt they would be very good experts, in many international delegations. They cannot expect from us, who are free to criticise our own governments and to oppose them, that we give them our confidence in this tripartite Conference, when they are closely linked to the political authorities of their countries. I add that these authorities themselves are, moreover, dominated by a political party which we all know and to which the term "monopoly", which they apply so often to us, could well, in its turn, be applied.

You must believe that all that I have said is without bitterness and in full awareness of the qualities of the colleagues I have mentioned.

Let me now do what many speakers have done at the beginning of their speeches, Sir—congratulate you on your election.

As we approach the end of this Conference, we find that too many delegates have spoken of purely political matters, which are better handled in the United Nations, and have made remarks which, since they call for a reply from the countries in question, might open passionate debates which would trouble the atmosphere of this Conference which is supposed to deal with labour problems.

But we have found also, Mr. President, that you have been able to combine freedom of speech with a concern to avoid excessive abuse as far as possible, and, personally, I am grateful to you for it.

Interpretation from French: Mr. TARCICI (Government delegate, Yemen)—Mr. President, I would have liked to be the first to take the floor in order to congratulate you; I am not the last, but I am one of the last on the list of speakers, and therefore I am bound to repeat what has already been said. May I therefore merely endorse all the words of greeting that were addressed to you by the eloquent speakers who came before me on this rostrum, and may I add also that I will join in what will be said after me?

I should like to stress, however, the additional factors that bring our two countries and out two peoples closer together. These factors include not only culture and religion but also the monsoon winds of the Indian Ocean which sweep our shores, thus facilitating our contacts since ancient times.

I should like to congratulate also the Vice-Presidents.

My country is a newcomer to this Organisation. As such, it was warmly welcomed by you, Mr. President, and by our senior brothers and sisters in this Organisation. To you and all those who greeted us I should like to say, on behalf of the people of Yemen, its Government and all its social groups: thank you.

As the first spokesman for the Yemen I will not direct my remarks to the Director-General's Report; not having participated in the drafting of the resolutions which have guided him in his activities, I could hardly do so. Nevertheless, I should like to tell him that I have read his excellent Report and that I have learned much.

First of all, I have been very well informed about the activities of the last year and I dwelt especially on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, where I gladly noted the considerable progress. It is also a source of joy for all to know that the I.L.O. has been appointed as executing agency for 49 Special Fund projects.

As regards the problem of human resources, I was glad—indeed relieved—to hear that the Director-General has devoted so much attention to a problem that is of crucial concern to us in the Yemen. As regards the proper utilisation of our manpower resources, we do indeed rely on the co-operation and assistance of the International Labour Office. My Government is glad to read in the Report, the following: "The need to integrate a policy for imparting skills in over-all development planning is equally obvious, since projects in each plan period will have to take into account the availability of manpower in various categories of skills." I will not quote this paragraph to the end, but anyway it shows a real understanding of the problem which we have to face. This understanding makes us hope much from the assistance of this Organisation.

I read with particular interest that part of the Report which says that two pilot projects in the field of rural employment have been started, one in India in 1963 and the other in Nigeria in 1964.

In this connection, I should like to thank the F.A.O. for its assistance in these two pilot projects. I note with satisfaction the assurance that the knowledge acquired in these two countries will be duly noted and used on a broader plane. I am sure my country and the whole region will not fail to benefit from such projects.

As for vocational training, which is yet another source of concern to us—one we share with all the developing countries—it is encouraging to note that the Director-General has devoted so much attention to it. We appreciate the useful co-operation of our Organisation with the Special Fund, which will no doubt facilitate the implementation of our economic projects in this field. It is noteworthy that 31 of the 49 projects being undertaken by the Special Fund relate to vocational training. Is it too much to ask the Director-General that the fiftieth project should relate to the Yemen, or if not that the project on Yemen should come soon afterwards?
I know that Mr. Morse and his immediate assistants are prepared to help us regain some of the lost time, and I should like to take this opportunity to thank them for their warm feelings towards my country and their complete understanding of our problems.

In his Report, the Director-General tells us about the advanced training programmes for supervisory personnel and those relating to increased productivity. I am glad to note that the Special Fund has approved 18 training programmes. Yemen hopes for much assistance from the Special Fund and the expanded programme of the United Nations in this field. In the case of my country, the words "advanced training" can better be translated by the concept of training of supervisory personnel, since the latter are almost completely lacking.

We are glad to learn in this connection that the Turin Centre, the establishment of which was decided in 1963 and adopted in May 1963, will open in the country. This rapid achievement should be greatly appreciated by the Conference. I should like to join those who have thanked the Italian Government for its generous contribution of more than $7 million in order to facilitate the realisation of this project. We also thank them for their additional commitment to finance scholarships which will benefit the developing countries. Thus, Rome is once again extending the rays of its influence for the greater benefit of a new world.

We are glad to hear also that our Organisation is expanding its activities in the field of small industries and cottage industries, and that this assistance is helping new areas of development.

Finally, in the field of conditions of life and work, the problems of social security and those of security and hygiene have been given due attention. We note with satisfaction that handbooks on the medical inspection of worksites and on nursing care are well advanced. The World Health Organisation has participated fully in these activities which fall within its competence.

As a new member of the Executive Board of the W.H.O., I should like to say how much we appreciate the close technical collaboration between the W.H.O. and the I.L.O. in the field of hygiene, social security and labour security.

As I said at the beginning of my remarks, I am not debating the Director-General's Report but wish to tell him of my great respect for the activities which he describes, and I should also like to tell him that, as a new member, I have learned a lot and benefited a lot. I am also convinced that the services of the I.L.O. have learned how to adapt themselves to the needs of the developing countries. I congratulate them warmly on this highly important and commendable adaptation. I too have benefited because I know now how to profit from the previous experience gained by the Office and its services. I know now how I can benefit from the very warm approach of the Director-General as far as close co-operation between Yemen and I.L.O. is concerned. I hope the Director-General, who is such a devoted servant of this Organisation, will not be too apprehensive as regards my future requests for technical assistance. I promise they will all be realistic and well motivated.

Interpretation from French: Mr. PONGAULT (Representative of the African Trade Union Confederation)—In the name of the African Trade Union Confederation and on my own behalf, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for having made it possible for me to speak here, and I am very glad thus to be able to associate myself with the speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum in congratulating you on your brilliant election to the presidency of this session of the Conference.

This election is, for us, more than a mere symbol; it is a concrete manifestation of the growing role which the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America are playing within the I.L.O.

The evolution which this illustrates also explains the fact that the Governing Body of the I.L.O. has decided to extend to the African Trade Union Confederation regional advisory status, and has invited it to share in the work of this session.

The A.T.U.C. feels called upon to thank the Governing Body for this decision which revolutionises, to a certain extent, the well-established traditions of the Organisation which were characterised by a paralysing legalism, the only effect of which was to deprive the I.L.O. of the concerted, dynamic and valuable contribution of the African trade union movement.

This is an opportunity for the A.T.U.C. to stress once again the fact that the trade union movement intends to build up is not and will not be an instrument of demagogy and sterile agitation at the service of any imported ideological quarrels. It is aware of the important fact which has been played and will be played by the workers in the struggle for total liberation of the continent from colonial domination and all forms of imperialism.

Thus, intending to remain the true and faithful expression of the profound and legitimate aspirations of the immense majority of African workers, we could not enrol in the service of one imperialism with the pretext of combating another imperialism. That is why, at the Constituent Conference in January 1962 at Dakar, we rejected the capitalist system, which is a new and oppressive and exploiting colonialism, and communism because it is totalitarian and, as such, is contrary to the will of freedom which has raised and is still raising the masses of the African peoples against colonial domination.

On the basis of that position, the A.T.U.C. has worked out a programme of action, with the guiding principles of which are: African unity as an effective means towards the liberation and emancipation of the African peoples; democratic planning and economic democracy guaranteeing the independent participation of the trade union movement in the conception, preparation and application of the objectives of economic and social development; the co-ordination and harmonisation of economic development plans and social legislation with a view to promoting the prosperity of the whole continent and to raising the standard of living by concerted action.

Thus, while working for a broader consulta-
tive status, we are seeking closer collaboration with the I.L.O. This is because we are convinced that the action of the I.L.O. coincides with the principles and aims of the A.T.U.C. as we have just outlined them and because we are convinced that the I.L.O. can help our countries to achieve those objectives.

We have the firm hope that the Governing Body, taking into account the special aspects of the organisation and action of the trade union movement in Africa, will examine realistically the problems thus raised, all of this within the framework of what might be called the reorganisation and rejuvenation of the structures and activities of the International Labour Organisation.

Basically, it is this last subject which constituted the centre of interest of the 47th and 48th Sessions of the Conference and also dominates this session. For three years now, in fact, the Director-General of the I.L.O. has been asking the Conference for its opinions and advice on the way to go for the sequence of this phenomenon is the creation of a new field of social tension—no longer that of a new field of social tension in the world—the social tension which opposes them to the industrialised countries, most of which were the unexpected beneficiaries of the Treaty of Versailles (Part XIII) assigned to the I.L.O. practically only standard-setting, essentially juridical, tasks, with a view to improving working conditions of wage earners, protecting their human dignity and ensuring their economic and social promotion. However, since that time, the I.L.O. has had its membership increased by the people's democracies with totally planned economies, where social tension placed the workers in opposition to a wealthy class.

The Treaty of Versailles (Part XIII) assigned to the I.L.O. practically only standard-setting, essentially juridical, tasks, with a view to improving working conditions of wage earners, protecting their human dignity and ensuring their economic and social promotion. However, since that time, the I.L.O. has had its membership increased by the people's democracies with totally planned economies, where social tension placed the workers in opposition to a wealthy class.

The I.L.O. must devote most of its resources and give first place in its programme of activities to research and the achievement of a balance between the have and have-not countries. Structures will also have to be amended in the light of this new requirement. That is why we continue to urge that wider representation of these countries, particularly the African countries, should be ensured constitutionally at the level of the upper echelons of the I.L.O., as well as at the levels of the various administrative and technical departments, a greater number of African officials should be engaged; that the number of branch offices should be increased and that when they are set up attention should be given to the need of serving the different zones; that a regional office should be installed in Africa to assume responsibility for co-ordinating the activities of these branch offices, under the responsibility of the central departments; that the responsibility of the central departments; that African officials should be associated in the direction and in the staffing of these branch offices and the regional office.

In the field of practical activities, the Reports of the Director-General and the discussions at the 47th, 48th and 49th Sessions of the Conference and at the regional conferences held in Lagos and Addis Ababa stressed the immensity and diversity of the needs, the multiplicity and the complexity of the problems which have arisen. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964 also showed the extreme seriousness of the situation in our countries, particularly in the rural sector.

It is therefore urgent that the I.L.O. should prepare, on the basis of practical field investigations made in co-operation with the governments and employers' and workers' organisations, a serious study on the conditions of work
and life of wage earners, the employment level, the comparative state of social legislation, and the living standards of the peasants as compared with the fluctuations of world market prices for raw materials.

This last part of the study will I think unquestionably bring out the need to continue the work begun at Geneva by the Conference on Trade and Development and will show the urgent need for finding solutions to the problems of marketing and the prices of raw materials. It will stress the need for international social justice leading to proper remuneration for all producers so that they may have a normal life for themselves and their families.

The Governing Body of the I.L.O. should place on the agenda of a future session of the Conference the examination of the conclusions of this study so that agreement may be reached on priorities for the future action of the I.L.O. in Africa in the field of its specific activities as well as in the more general field of technical assistance.

The I.L.O. can and must play a very important part in Africa, but all the States which make up this Organisation must agree to fling themselves into the great battle of the century—the complete decolonisation of Africa—without which it is pointless to speak of social justice and peace. It is deplorable that, faced with the problem of decolonisation, the I.L.O., forgetting the Declaration of Philadelphia, the United Nations Charter and the United Nations resolution on decolonisation, shelters behind the outdated terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

How can the I.L.O. justify the confidence which Africans would like to place in it when within the Organisation, through practices and procedures which are definitely opportunist and partisan, a cover continues to be supplied for Portuguese colonialism; when it recognises that, in order to maintain its colonial system in Angola, Mozambique, Bissao Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, Portugal is massacring African patriots, carrying out arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, composing forced labour and following a policy of racial discrimination closely resembling apartheid; but while recognising these barbaric acts, the I.L.O. refuses to condemn Portugal and to exclude it from the family of those who wish to build true social justice on the basis of respect for the dignity of peoples and of mankind?

Why do we not adopt as regards Portugal the same solemn sanction of exclusion and isolation which has been adopted in respect of the Republic of South Africa, since both practice a common doctrine of the total denial of human rights—a doctrine at once philosophical, religious, economic and social, based on a different valuation of men according to their race and continent?

In this particular case we cannot be answered by arguments based on the independence of States because it is not an act of interference in the so-called domestic affairs of a State to prevent the maintenance or propagation of a doctrine capable of undermining the very foundations of international life since it applies in practice the antithesis of the principles which bring us together.

On the answer to these questions will depend the success of the I.L.O. in Africa.

The President—The discussion of the Director-General’s Report is now closed. Two hundred and one speakers have taken part in this discussion. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to thank all the speakers for the consideration they have shown to me. To those delegates who feel that subjects not relevant to the Director-General’s Report have been introduced into this discussion I would say, please forgive and forget, and utilise the remaining working days to take decisions which will enhance the prestige and reputation of the I.L.O. in the comity of nations.

(The Conference adjourned at 5.15 p.m.)
TWENTY-SEVENTH SITTING

Monday, 21 June 1965, 10 a.m.

President : Mr. Sánchez Madariaga

RATIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS BY BRAZIL

Interpretation from Spanish : The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—Before we start with this morning’s agenda, I have the pleasure of informing the Conference that the Director-General of the International Labour Office has registered, on 18 June 1965, the ratification by Brazil of the following Conventions:

- Inspection of Emigrants Convention, 1926;
- Seamen’s Articles of Agreement Convention, 1926;
- Paid Vacations (Seafarers) Convention (Revised), 1949;
- Wages, Hours of Work and Manning (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1949;
- Labour Clauses (Public Contracts) Convention, 1949;
- Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949;
- Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952;
- Abolition of Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1955;
- Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957;
- Weekly Rest (Commerce and Offices) Convention, 1957;
- Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WOMEN WORKERS : SUBMISSION, DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION

Interpretation from Spanish : The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—We now come to the report of the Committee on Women Workers. I would ask Mrs. Gatti Caporaso, Chairman of the Committee, and Miss Jedidi, Reporter, to be good enough to come to the platform. Miss Jedidi will submit the report.

Interpretation from French : Miss JEDIDI (Government adviser, Tunisia ; Reporter of the Committee on Women Workers)—I should like to start by stressing that I feel it is a great honour for my country and for myself that I was chosen as Reporter of the Committee on Women Workers and that I have the opportunity of submitting for your approval the report of the Committee, the text of which has been circulated to delegates.

The employment of women, which has been taking on a constantly growing importance in the industrialised countries as well as in the developing countries, has been the subject of particular attention by the I.L.O. in the last few years. At the 48th Session the International Labour Conference included on its agenda the item of women workers in a changing world, and in addition adopted Proposed Conclusions with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities, upon which we have had a second discussion this year and also four resolutions.

At the Second African Regional Conference, which was held in Addis Ababa in November and December 1964, women’s work was one of the items on the agenda and two resolutions were adopted in this connection: one on the employment and conditions of work of women in African countries, and the other on I.L.O. action to advance the economic and social status of women in African countries.

Earlier, as you know, the Conference adopted a number of instruments concerning various aspects of women’s work, in particular maternity protection, and prohibition or regulation of the employment of women in dangerous or unhealthy work. Moreover, a number of instruments concerning non-discrimination in employment and occupation stipulate that sex may not be a cause for discrimination as concerns either wages or any aspects of employment and vocational training policies.

The Committee adopted this year, as a basis for its discussions, the proposed Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities, which appears in Report V (2).

May I stress that the discussions in the Committee were carried out in an atmosphere of great cordiality; all the members showed the keenest interest in the questions. At no time did we have the impression that any differences in viewpoint which may have appeared in the Committee constituted any true divergence as far as the principles were concerned.

1 See Appendix VII, p. 638.
We had about ten sittings for constructive examination of about 40 amendments which had been proposed. Often the identity of viewpoints on problems, and the spirit of collaboration which inspired the three groups, led to the combination or withdrawal of amendments.

Before I go on to present the report itself, I should like to lay stress on the decisive role played by Mrs. Gatti Caporaso, the Chairman of our Committee, who presided over our discussions most competently, with great grace and deep understanding.

We also feel that we owe the success of our work to the understanding and the spirit of collaboration of our two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Anderson, Employers' adviser, Australia, and Mrs. Weber, Workers' adviser, Austria.

I should like to congratulate the I.L.O. on the excellent preparatory work which it has done. As spokesman for all the members of the Committee, I should like to thank most warmly Mrs. Johnstone, representative of the Secretary-General and all her colleagues, whose efforts to meet the needs of our work contributed to a very large extent to the success of our work.

I should also like to thank the members of the Drafting Committee for their collaboration. I should certainly not like to forget the active and skilled participation, understanding and collaboration of all members of the Committee.

I now have the honour and pleasure of submitting to the Conference the report of the Committee on Women Workers for adoption.

During the general discussion some Government members expressed certain reservations as far as concerns the desirability of adopting an instrument devoted particularly to the employment of women because they feared that special measures in favour of women might in fact harm equal opportunity in the employment market.

However, a number of other speakers felt that it was only normal that special measures should be adopted to facilitate the task of working women with family responsibilities since society expects them to play the triple role of workers, mothers and housewives. Some members stressed the fact that the work of women outside their own homes meets an economic necessity at the national level and makes it possible to raise the standards of living and productivity of the various countries; it was therefore only just that women should be helped to solve the problems which make their broad participation in active economic life difficult; these special measures should not be considered as a privilege but as a right arising out of the social function of motherhood.

As regards the form to be given to the instrument, certain members, while recognising that a Recommendation would have a considerable moral weight, felt that a Convention would be an instrument which would count more and extent more weight in the defence of the rights of working women. The Committee finally decided unanimously in favour of a Recommendation. I think I can state here that the Committee was in favour of the most flexible instrument, best adapted to the present situation, in view of the different conditions and different levels of development of the countries concerned. This instrument, I feel quite certain, could be adopted by all governments.

The general principle underlying the text of the Recommendation was discussed and adopted unanimously. It encourages the pursuit of a suitable policy to make it possible for women with family responsibilities, working outside their own homes, to exercise their right to do so without being exposed to any discrimination, and in accordance with the principles laid down in the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958, as well as in the other international standards adopted by the International Labour Conference which are of particular concern to women.

The text contains a number of measures and principles concerning, in particular, public information and education, child-care services and facilities, and entry and re-entry into employment. It appeals to the competent authorities to take, in collaboration with the public and private organisations concerned, appropriate measures with a view, in particular, to giving the necessary key attention to the problems of women with family responsibilities in order to enable them to become integrated effectively in the employed population on an equal footing, without detriment to the equi­rium and health of their families.

During the course of the discussion, and consequently in the text, considerable attention was given to entry and re-entry into employment. In particular it is recommended that the competent authorities should take all measures in accordance with the Employment Policy Convention and Recommendation, 1964, with a view to making it possible for women with family responsibilities to become or to remain integrated in the labour force as well as to re-enter the labour force.

The text is supplemented by a resolution concerning the periodic review of the effects of the Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities. I should like to stress the importance of this resolution, which was most favourably welcomed by the Committee, which in fact adopted it unanimously.

Finally I should like to take this opportunity to express a strong hope that we shall see women participate more and more in the work of the Conference. As a worker, a woman is not only concerned with the special measures protecting working women; the various aspects of employment policy concern women as much as they concern men. Their participation in this field at national level is growing every day in the industrialised countries, as well as in the developing countries, and I have every hope of seeing this participation extend to the international field as well.

By taking up the study of employment of women with family responsibilities, the I.L.O. is extending the action which it has taken in the past with respect to the special protection for working women and unquestionably in the present instrument we have gone beyond the tasks which we have set ourselves in the past. I hope, most sincerely, that our work at this session will contribute to the creation of conditions which will lead to a true integration of
women in the working populations of their countries; it is this true integration on an equal footing which is our objective. This objective will be reached when we no longer need to work out special standards for women. It will be reached on the day when economic and social conditions and the evolution of the mentality of the people is such that every citizen will be able to work according to his means and his needs, in accordance with the needs of society.

In conclusion, until we reach that happy state, I should like to express a most sincere hope that the Committee will adopt the texts which we are now proposing to the Conference as a whole.

Interpretation from French: Mrs. GATTI CAPORASO (Government adviser, Italy; Chairman of the Committee on Women Workers)—I have to express my warmest thanks to this Conference for the honour which has been done to my country and to myself in being elected Chairman of the Committee on Women Workers. I do so not for formal reasons, but because of a profound and sincere feeling which the work done in the Committee has only strengthened.

The friendly atmosphere of our sittings, the kindness and co-operation of all members of the Committee, rendered my task less difficult and most agreeable. My gratitude goes therefore to the representatives of the various countries who contributed their experience, their abilities and enthusiasm to the service of this very important cause. I am particularly grateful to the two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Anderson and Mrs. Weber, who with great goodwill and success sought positive solutions which could be accepted by most delegates. I thank Miss Jedidi, the author of such an objective report that it was unanimously accepted. I thank the representative of the Secretary-General, Mrs. Johnstone, and her staff for their remarkable preparatory studies and for the assistance which they so generously gave to us all, and particularly to me. It is thanks to these factors that we come to the plenary meeting with a proposed Recommendation, supplemented by a resolution, which were voted unanimously in the Committee and which I hope will be confirmed unanimously today. This document, if approved, will be a really noble, rich and humane page in the history of the I.L.O. It will be added to the vast structure built by the I.L.O. to enable women to make an effective contribution, with all the other workers, to the social and economic development of modern society.

The principles of equal remuneration, the protection of motherhood, and non-discrimination to the progress of which in the world the I.L.O. has contributed so much, will be supplemented by a general, organic and complete policy regarding women with family responsibilities. This policy will finally open the path to real equality and will enable them in the interests of themselves, their families and of society, to organise their life in a harmonious way.

In our days it has been established that work for women no longer constitutes a transitional or secondary factor, solely determined by economic necessity, but is becoming increasingly a permanent interest, a factor in the development of their personality. The statistics published by the International Labour Office last year in its report Women Workers in a Changing World, on the percentage of women workers, wives or mothers, in economic activity in different countries shows that we are faced with an established fact, characteristic of our time, which we cannot ignore. The statistics also show that modern economies are placing an emphasis on the work of women workers, a contribution which should become more and more skilled.

As a result of this understanding, it follows that the public authorities should take on the responsibility of providing women—particularly those who have family responsibilities—with opportunities for effectively exercising their right to work without discrimination and in the full understanding, assistance and sympathy of society as a whole. This is achieved not only by declarations of principle or by laws which theoretically guarantee equality, but in particular by a series of specific measures, that is, by adapting the social organisation to the problems and exigencies peculiar to the personality of women and by assisting the woman worker effectively to become integrated in the working population on an equal footing.

This is what we are called upon to do today, and it marks a new step in the policy of the International Labour organisation, of governments and trade union organisations, in the field of women's work. From this point of view, which is clarified in greater detail in the instrument which we are discussing, it is particularly necessary, I feel, to emphasise the policy of employment, vocational training and social services.

In this respect I am proud to be able to state today that in my country, Italy, the situation is changing in the same direction as that indicated in the Recommendation. Legal obstacles which in the past have limited the opportunities for women workers have finally been overcome, thanks to a series of laws which provide equal rights in the field of labour, whilst vigorous collective negotiations, with the assistance of the Government, have resulted almost in the realisation of equal remuneration for equal work.

It is necessary to add to this rapid sketch the proposal of a new Bill, at the initiative of the Government, intended to modify certain provisions of the Italian Civil Code relating to marriage, in order to ensure the full equality, both legal and moral, of husband and wife, as asserted in the Constitution of the Italian Republic. This will have important repercussions on the conditions of women in her work. But I should like to emphasise another point, viz. as it is a new aspect of public action, that the draft five-year economic plan in Italy, formulated to eliminate by a comprehensive approach the imbalance which still exists, has given decisive priority to the question of the development of public education and vocational training, which as we know is the fundamental prerequisite for the progress of all workers—women workers in particular. Moreover, the
Mr. ANDERSON (Employers’ adviser, Australia; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Women Workers)—First of all, I should like to pay a very warm tribute to the sterling efforts which were accomplished in this Committee by our Chairman, Mrs. Gatti Caporaso and our Reporter, Miss Jedidi, and, of course, by the I.L.O. officials and members of the secretariat, who worked long and hard in preparing our documents and putting down on paper our thoughts, in many cases more clearly than we were able to do ourselves.

Committee reports have often been described as the committee’s memory versus the imagination of the International Labour Office, but in this case the report you have before you is a true reflection of the tripartite discussions and decisions, and I have no hesitation in warmly recommending the Conference to adopt it.

This, I believe, is the first time in the long history of the I.L.O. that the problems of women workers have been discussed by this Conference in their own right. It has been a unique experience for me, but a very pleasant one, and I should like to place on record the appreciation of the Employers’ members of this Committee of the excellent spirit of co-operation and comprehension that prevailed throughout our discussions and by grace of which many points of some difficulty could be ironed out.

As we stated last year when this item first came up for discussion, the Bureau of the Employers’ Technical Section of this Committee believed that the varying circumstances in different countries made it essential—in fact, made it very essential—that any standards adopted should be as flexible as possible. We believed that rigid standards would only defeat the objective of our discussions.

As has been rightly said on a number of occasions throughout the work of this Committee, it is difficult to discriminate in favour of one group of workers without discriminating against another, and special measures passed to protect the interests of particular workers could, unless very reasonable precautions were observed, well redound against them in making their employment more difficult.

That this was recognised by the Committee is shown, we think, by the final results of our labours, and the proposed Recommendation which is now before you reflects, in our view, a very genuine attempt by the Committee to reach agreement on many points which, in the original text, had been the subject of disension.

It has produced a text sufficiently flexible, in our opinion, to meet with general approval, and the Employers, because we believe that the proceedings of the Committee have led to considerable improvements over the text proposed in Report V (2), will accordingly support in the vote the new proposed Recommendation as it is now drafted, together with the resolution calling for a future review of the effects of the Recommendation.

Interpretation from German: Mrs. WEBER (Workers’ adviser, Austria; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Women Workers)—I have the honour, as representative of the Workers in the Committee on Women Workers, to come before the Conference, and I feel that I must, first of all, thank the Reporter for her excellent report: she described the proceedings extremely well.

The work of the Committee, as you have heard from the previous speakers, was extremely successful. This is very largely due to the Chairman, Mrs. Gatti Caporaso, who directed our proceedings with tact and patience as well as energy. In the name of the Workers, I should like to thank her warmly for this.

We must also thank the International Labour Office, particularly Mrs. Johnstone and her staff. The Committee had before it a very carefully prepared document which served as a basis for our discussion. This was the product of a long consideration of the problems of women with family responsibilities.

The Conference considered the problems of working mothers as long ago as 1947. A resolution then adopted indicated that greater help should be given to women with dual obligations and that the problem of the employment of women with young children should be thoroughly studied. At the same time, the hope was expressed that this question would be placed on the agenda of a future session of the Conference. It has taken 17 years to give effect to that wish.

Meanwhile, in 1955, in a further resolution this question was again taken up, and the I.L.O. Panel of Consultants on the Problems of Women Workers examined this group of problems several times and put forward proposals for action. Similar interest was shown in various regional conferences of the I.L.O. and in meetings of U.N.E.S.C.O.

The International Labour Organisation is therefore meeting an urgent international need when it deals with this question. It was high time to produce international standards and to promote the development of the necessary
social institutions in all countries, and particularly to give an objective to this gradual development.

Report VI (1) submitted to the 1964 Session gives striking instances of the extent to which the employment of women with family responsibilities has increased. More and more countries are recognising that the economic cooperation of women is necessary. The greater the proportion of employed persons in the total population, the greater the national income and the higher the level of well-being. Therefore, society cannot do without the contribution of working children. They are the heart of the world the household can no longer be called a place of production. There is no doubt on these points today, and particularly that working women with family responsibilities need to have their heavy burden lightened. Social action is required to create the conditions which will enable women, for the good of the family and of society, to combine household tasks and employment tasks in a harmonious way. In this way, mothers will be protected from excessive burdens, and children will receive proper care and love.

The proposed Recommendation now before the Conference is based on the idea that women with family responsibilities should be able to enter into employment without being exposed to discrimination. This important principle has been strengthened by a change in wording and by a reference to the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention.

In the document now before you, explicit reference is made to the fact that the employment of women with family responsibilities is not really a women's problem in the narrow sense—it is a problem of the whole of society. In the interests of the sound future development of society, at the economic or at the family level, society is obliged to give these problems more attention than in the past. Everything must be done to mobilise public opinion regarding this subject, and to take or promote action with a view to protecting working women with family responsibilities.

In order to put this principle into effect, the Recommendation provides that information should be disseminated in order to promote a favourable climate for women combining different functions. The competent authorities are required, by systematic inquiries, to determine the need for women's employment and also to make arrangements for the due care of children, and their various needs are to be met by constructive planning. If necessary, these welfare services are to be provided without charge. They will be adjusted to a family atmosphere and to health requirements, and will have trained personnel.

Experience shows us that women with infant children, in particular, prefer to give up their employment and to look after their children themselves. This is particularly when they are not sure that the child can be looked after carefully and with love during their absence. In many countries, there is tax relief for women who look after children. This is based on the idea that institutions for small children are expensive to establish and maintain and that care by the mother herself is essential. In line with this idea, the Recommendation provides that mothers should be able to give up their employment for a longer period than the normal maternity leave without losing their jobs, and that the rights resulting from their employment should remain intact in these cases.

In the case of long absence from work, when the woman returns to her job she should be placed on the same footing as those previously dismissed at the initiative of the employer, in accordance with the Termination of Employment Recommendation, 1963 (No. 119), and she should be given preference with regard to re-engagement, as also provided for in Recommendation No. 119.

In this year's discussions a paragraph was inserted in which reference is made to last year's Recommendation concerning employment policy. Over and above the provisions of that Recommendation, women with family responsibilities should enjoy special facilities so that those who give up their work and look after their families can re-enter occupational life under satisfactory conditions.

A basic requirement is a good general education. Vocational guidance and training are also very important in the case of girls. The proposed Recommendation states that parents, teachers and young women should be made aware of the importance of training for employment. Women who want to take up their work again should have special guidance and employment services available.

Training and retraining institutions should have regard to technical and economic development, so that women may be able to re-enter employment as fully competent workers. The Recommendation also recommends action so that women workers with family responsibilities can be helped to perform their dual tasks. In this connection, particular stress is laid on the reduction of hours of work, organisation of public transport, lightening of household duties, and arrangements to harmonise hours of work with school hours, shop hours and the hours of nurseries and so on. Domestic aid services should be provided at low cost, in case of need.

The Workers' representatives at this Conference welcome the proposed Recommendation. It shows that the International Labour Organisation is aware of its responsibility to call for help for all groups of employed persons who need help. We regard this as a first step. Others must follow. Therefore we support the proposed Recommendation on the understanding that the questions at issue will have to be reviewed later. We hope that at that time it will be possible to improve the Recommendation and particularly to convert it into a Convention, which is a more binding instrument.

The Declaration of Philadelphia states that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity. The proposed Recommendation endeavours to give effect to this idea and seeks to provide women with family responsibilities with equal conditions in employment.
I would urge the Conference to accept the proposed Recommendation.

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—The report is now open for general discussion.

Mrs. GÓMÓRI (Representative of the United Nations) — On behalf of the Section on the Status of Women of the United Nations Secretariat, I should like to express our appreciation for the excellent work done by the I.L.O. in the field of the employment of women with family responsibilities.

The question of women workers with family responsibilities is one in which the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women has long been interested. Resolutions on this subject were adopted by the Commission at its eighth, tenth, 12th and 16th sessions.

At its next session, which will be held early in 1966, the Commission will consider a report to be prepared in co-operation with the I.L.O., the W.H.O. and the International Children's Centre on the most important approaches and facilities in assisting employed mothers in child care, namely home-aid services, visiting nurses, creches and day nurseries for children, and all assistance which may be given to working mothers.

I should also like to inform you that at the recent session of the Commission held in March 1965 in Teheran, members of the Commission greatly welcomed the decision of the I.L.O. to include the item on the employment of women with family responsibilities in the agenda of the 1965 Conference. The Commission discussed the conclusions reached by the International Labour Conference in June 1964 on women workers in a changing world and also considered the text of the proposed Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities. It formally expressed its appreciation to the I.L.O. for its work in a resolution. In the same resolution the Commission noted that the text adopted by the Conference in June 1964 as a basis for further consultation of governments called for the introduction of effective measures and facilities, together with adequate social adaptation, to enable women workers with family responsibilities to fulfil their heavy domestic duties alongside their other work, without prejudice to their opportunities for employment and promotion. It also expressed the hope that the I.L.O. would find it possible to report to the Commission at its next session on the work done by the International Labour Conference on this subject and the results accomplished.

During the debate on this item in the Commission, the hope was expressed that such matters as the right to work and to equal pay for equal work might be defined with greater clarity in the final text of the Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities. It was felt that, since the real problem in women's employment arose in families with small children, efforts should be concentrated on women with family responsibilities rather than on the question of women's employment in general, bearing in mind that it should be possible for both parents to continue working outside the home without lowering the standards of the care of the children. Members of the Commission expressed the hope that special care would be exercised in the drafting of all international instruments not to place female labour in such a special position on the employment market as to make equality of men and women more difficult to ensure.

As the delegates to the Conference know, the terms of reference of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women are to promote women's rights in all fields—political, civil, social and educational, as well as economic.

An important item currently under consideration by the Commission is the preparation of a draft declaration on the elimination of discrimination against women, which is being drawn up at the request of the United Nations General Assembly in 1963. A first step in drafting the declaration was to consult governments, the specialised agencies, including of course, the I.L.O., and non-governmental organisations on the principles that might be incorporated in such a draft declaration.

The replies received were taken into consideration at the recent 18th Session of the Commission when it prepared a preliminary draft. This includes an article (article 8) on economic and social rights, in which are set forth the measures considered necessary in order to enable women with family responsibilities to achieve full economic equality and the full enjoyment of the right to work. The preliminary draft of the declaration has now been sent to the members of the Commission for further study and will be taken up again when the Commission next meets in 1966.

The Commission on the Status of Women greatly appreciates the help which the I.L.O. gives it in the field of economic rights and opportunities for women and welcomes the close relationship which has developed over many years of co-operation.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasise that I am convinced that the proposed Recommendation which we are going to adopt today will contribute to the advancement of the status of women all over the world.

Interpretation from French: Mrs. JAKUBOWICZ (Government adviser, Poland)—The dynamic increase in the employment of women in a changing world and their growing participation in the economic, political, social and cultural life of their countries have been outstanding confirmation by the work of this Committee. The high level of our discussions and the sense of responsibility which characterised the statements made by delegates from the various countries—of Africa, Asia, Europe and other continents—have been proof of this. Our discussions have shown how right it was for the I.L.O. to place this item—the problem of the employment of women with family responsibilities—on our agenda. We were able to exchange experiences and to work out together the best solutions to avoid the obstacles which prevent the free exercise of a woman's right to work without any discrimina-
tion in the field of employment, wages, training or vocational guidance.

The general atmosphere of friendly collaboration and understanding in which our discussions took place was due first and foremost to our Chairman, Mrs. Gatti Caporaso, whom I should like to congratulate most warmly on behalf of the Polish delegation. She presided over our discussions with impartiality, culture, patience and feminine charm. It was thanks to the atmosphere of tranquillity and the common desire to reach successful conclusions that our international instrument was so excellently prepared.

There were four changes in the Recommendation which the Polish delegation considers to be of major importance. First of all, in the General Principle a clear formula was introduced indicating the full right of women to work even though they have family responsibilities. It would appear rather astonishing that it was necessary to have a long discussion on this, yet there are countries in Europe where women are automatically dismissed after marriage or where married women who work are required to pay extra taxes. It has also been noted that women's work should be considered not only in the social and economic context but also in the legal context, which seems to be fully justified.

Secondly, it was most satisfactorily stressed that the competent authorities are responsible for the various child-care services, and so on, with that it is sometimes impossible for women to work after the birth of their children.

Thirdly, thanks to the firm stand taken by the Workers' group, the document contains a sufficiently flexible solution to the problem of the possible extension of maternity leave and re-entry into employment after an interruption in employment owing to important reasons connected with maternity.

It may not be possible, of course, for this right to be introduced into the national legislation of certain countries at this stage, but such legislation was envisaged with a view to making it possible for women to reconcile their duties as mothers and workers in the interests of society as a whole. Fourthly, stress was also laid on the importance of public education in order to create public opinion which would contribute to the training and employment of women. Experience has shown that until prejudices concerning the employment of women are eliminated it will be difficult to combat the tendency which exists to consider women as marginal labour in the employment field.

In our opinion the most important improvement was made by the introduction, in accordance with an amendment proposed by the Austrian Government member, of a Paragraph asking the competent authorities to take into account the Employment Policy Convention and Recommendation, 1964, in order to facilitate the integration of women with family responsibilities into the active population of a country. The employment policy must be co-ordinated with economic and social policy in general and with the planning and programming in those countries where these methods are used. Through this the problem of the occupational activity of women with family responsibilities can be handled in a broader context. It is not necessarily just protection against discrimination which women are claiming but their incorporation into the employment policy and the general economic policy of the country with a view to the better utilisation of human resources. I feel that it is regrettable that this basic tenet was not introduced into the section of the instrument entitled "General Principle". We also feel it to be unfortunate that it was not decided to accept the Austrian proposal to modify the structure of the document by putting Section IV, "Entry and Re-entry into Employment", at the beginning of the Recommendation. We feel that this change would have made the text more logical and much more clear.

It is also to be regretted that it was not decided to adopt a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation, which we feel would have given greater weight and effectiveness to the document.

Nevertheless, the Polish delegation is convinced that in spite of these shortcomings the instrument will contribute most effectively to promoting the employment of women, which is part of the historical development of our modern age. The instrument gives directives and guidelines to the competent authorities, who can set goals to be reached in the future, and may be considered as a basis for claims by trade union organisations and women's organisations.

The objective of our Committee was to establish the right to work for women with family responsibilities. Among the 127 members of the Committee the great majority were women. A number of us are mothers of children, therefore we have family responsibilities. And although there are unquestionably a number of points which separate us there is one which unites us all—that is, the determination to work towards the maintenance of peace.

The principles enunciated in the Recommendation can be achieved only in an atmosphere of peaceful co-operation of all countries. I belong to a country which, during the last world war, lost 22 per cent. of its population. Because of this, as a Pole, I feel that I cannot remain silent as regards our great concern because of the wars we see in other continents, which are a threat to the peace of the world. In the summer of 1939 the atmosphere was rather similar to the atmosphere now, and that was the summer which preceded the Second World War. We should not be forgiven if from this rostrum at the International Labour Conference our voice were not raised against the threat of war while there is yet time, before it is too late. At this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference we are fighting for the right of women to work. We women who give life to our children must fight for the right to live for our children and our near and dear ones.

Miss GREEN (Government adviser, United Kingdom)—I should first of all like to pay a tribute to the Chairman and the Officers of the Committee on the excellent way in which they conducted the Committee's discussions, and also to the Director-General's staff who were attached to the Committee. Their combined
efforts enabled the Committee to get through its task speedily and in a co-operative and harmonious atmosphere.

I should also like to congratulate Miss Jedidi on her excellent presentation this morning of the Committee’s report.

The problems of working women with family responsibilities are becoming more important in the United Kingdom, and I know we are not alone in this. In my country, increasing numbers of girls, as well as boys, are prolonging their full-time education and beginning their working lives at a later date. Women are marrying and having their families at an earlier age than they used to do. At the same time, industry is becoming increasingly dependent on the contribution of women workers to our productive effort. There are thus wider opportunities for women with family responsibilities to work outside their homes. If, however, they are to take full advantage of these wider opportunities and make their full contribution to the economy, consideration must be given to the problems which arise because of their dual responsibilities, in their homes and at work.

My Government, therefore, welcomes the attention which has been given by the Conference this year and last to these problems. In its discussions, the Committee on Women Workers has had to find practical solutions to a number of difficult points. For example, at last year’s session of the Conference, the United Kingdom adviser expressed doubts, which were shared by other delegates, about the proposals then before the Conference for giving priority on re-engagement to women returning to work after extended maternity leave. In our discussions this year, we have been able to find a solution which takes account both of the claims of these and other workers.

My Government welcomes the flexibility which has been introduced into the Recommendation as a whole. Conditions, the scope of existing services, the additional resources needed to deal with the problem of facilitating the access to employment of women workers with family responsibilities, vary from country to country. Detailed measures to implement the provisions of the proposed Recommendation must be framed in the light of what is practicable and possible in particular national and local contexts.

In the United Kingdom we have very extensive public health and welfare services. This involves heavy demands upon available resources, qualified staff, buildings, and equipment, and for this reason, as I stated in the Committee, my Government cannot at present hold out the prospect of any widespread extension of existing public facilities for child care outside the home. We shall, of course, do our best within the limits imposed by competing demands for the available resources.

We can, nevertheless, readily accept the general principles of this Recommendation. It highlights problems which deserve our attention, and outlines aims to which we can subscribe. Therefore, I have pleasure in supporting the adoption of this report, and at the appropriate time will be supporting the adoption of the proposed Recommendation and the resolution.

Mrs. SEWERIN (Government delegate, Norway)—The fact that the proposed instrument was adopted unanimously by the Committee is, in my opinion, of great value. The expression of certain reservations in the Committee is not surprising, if we remember that this matter has been dealt with by a tripartite committee consisting of representatives from all parts of the world. If we further consider that the view of women’s role in the community differs widely even within individual countries, and often among our closest associates, it is all the more remarkable that our Committee reached a unanimous conclusion. At the same time as expressing my gratitude to the Reporter, Miss Jedidi, for her report, and for the way in which she presented it, I want to pay tribute to our Chairman, Mrs. Gatti Caporaso, and to the Vice-Chairmen, Mrs. Weber and Mr. Anderson, for the excellent work they have done.

What has impressed me during my participation in the Committee is that the consensus of opinion was reached in spite of all regional and cultural differences and of differences in economic development. Our discussions in the Committee have given us a deeper understanding of the differences, but they have also, and this is more important, demonstrated what we have in common.

Many nations today are on the threshold of becoming industrialised societies, and the industrially more advanced countries are also in a continuous process of change.

If in this connection I may mention the experience of my own country, Norway, which today may be classified as an industrialised country, it was the generation of our grandparents which had to face the problems of industrialisation, problems which today give rise to so much concern in many countries. It was that generation which left the land to go into factories, when not only the husbands, but also the wives and even the children had to work long hours to earn a livelihood. Since then many women with family responsibilities have worked outside their homes. Neither traditions nor moral standards prevented them from leaving their homes when want and poverty forced them to do so, and their motivation for doing so was their love for and their sense of responsibility to their children.

Members from developing countries with large-scale unemployment have raised the question whether it would not be more appropriate for women to stay at home, leaving available jobs to men. We also were up against the same problem during the period of great unemployment following the economic crisis in the 1930s.

We even discussed the question of prohibiting the employment of married women, but bitter experience has taught us that such a course would be no solution because all working men and women are contributing to national prosperity, and women do want to play an active part in developing their countries and in society as a whole.

The policy of developing employment opportunities, both for men and women, is essential. In this connection I should like to emphasise that an important part of such a policy must be to provide for better education.
and training opportunities for girls and for women.

I want to stress what has been expressed in paragraph 8 of the Committee's report, that it is necessary to make an effort to arrive at a fairer distribution of family responsibilities and child care between the father and the mother.

In conclusion, I want to associate myself with what the Norwegian Minister of Social Affairs said in his speech to this session of the Conference: "In countries at all stages of development there seems to be a need for greater effort to develop the human resources represented by the female half of the population. Thus women should be given greater opportunities to take part in national development."

I also want to underline what has been said in the Director-General's Report about women workers, i.e. that one of the greatest needs is to redefine their role and status in the world of work, in realistic relation to the changing pattern of employment opportunities of all workers, and that it is necessary to redefine the role and status of women workers in a changing world.

I hope that member States will accept the proposed Recommendation. It points out roads that may be followed. Even if nobody can look into the future, I venture to prophesy that this is not the last time that problems of working women will be dealt with by the International Labour Conference.

Mrs. KEYSERLING (Government adviser, United States)—It is an honour to speak in support of the report of the Committee on Women Workers, the proposed Recommendation and resolution. It is understandable that these texts were unanimously adopted by the Committee, for the Recommendation is based on exceedingly competent preparatory work by the Office, on extensive discussion at meetings of our Committee at the 48th Session, of further analysis by member States, and now on most constructive consideration in our Committee meetings last week. We owe a special debt of gratitude to the Chairman of the Committee, Mrs. Gatti Caporaso, whose leadership and skill were especially conducive to thoughtful and harmonious deliberation. We are grateful, too, for the excellent work of our Reporter, Miss Jedidi, and to our competent Vice-Chairmen.

One of the developments in recent years of which we can be most proud is the progress which has been made by women so widely throughout the world in every aspect of national life. While there has been a very great increase in the participation of women in gainful employment in most countries—about a third of the world's labour force is now comprised of women—there is much still to be done to assure the fuller utilisation of skills of women who are economically active, and to assure that women who are both in the labour force and have family responsibilities are not excessively burdened by their dual role, or subject to discrimination, or handicapped by inadequate labour standards. As we work towards these ends, we promote the realisation of the rights and dignity which are the birthright of all workers.

The adoption of the Recommendation before you would contribute significantly to the fulfilment of these objectives. It calls upon us to be cognizant of the problems of women with family responsibilities, to ascertain the magnitude of unmet needs and to take action to meet them.

Particularly must we be sure that adequate education, counselling, vocational training and placement are available to girls as they enter the labour force, as well as to women who re-enter the labour force after a period of absence. Adequate child-care services and facilities should be provided, household tasks should be lightened. Other essential needs should be met if the working mother is effectively to be integrated into the labour market without detriment to the welfare of her family.

We are challenged, too, to adopt new attitudes, new policies, to rise to new situations. Implicit in the reaffirmation of women's right to work and necessary to give it meaning is the commitment to redefine the role and status of women workers in a changing world.

In conclusion, I want to associate myself with what has been expressed in the words of President Lyndon Johnson: "We can waste no talent, we can frustrate no creative power, we can neglect no skill in our search for an open and just and challenging society. There is no place for discrimination of any kind, there must be places for all who can think and create and act."

One subject of great importance to many millions of working women was not included in the Committee's report, although it was discussed at some length both this year and last. This is the matter of part-time employment of women with family responsibilities, which is of growing importance in many parts of the world. While believing, of course, that we must bend every effort to assure full-time work to all people who need and wish it, we should recognise that part-time employment does make possible the utilisation of the training and skills of those who are unable to combine full-time work with family responsibilities. In some countries over one-fourth or more of all women elect to work on a part-time basis, and this is largely in the sub-professions and professions rather than in industry. I should add. It is essential not only to these part-time workers that their wage rates and conditions of employment are not inferior to those of full-time workers, but also to ensure that part-time work does not compete unfairly with full-time employment.

While these principles were widely accepted in the Committee on Women Workers, the decision was reached to recommend a comprehensive analysis of part-time employment as it relates to both men and women, rather than to deal with it in the Committee report. May I urge that this matter be systematically studied, as was agreed upon in a resolution.
adopted last year, and be placed on the agenda of can early session of the Conference.

I urge too the adoption of the resolution presented by the Committee on Women Workers calling for periodic review of the issues before the Committee. I fully express the hope that within the next few years we can meet again to consider the effect of the Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities, and also broaden the discussion to examine means by which we can speedily root out remaining employment inequalities which still are barriers to the realisation of women's aspirations—to consider the change of problems of women workers in a changing world.

I urge you to approve the Committee report, the proposed Recommendation and resolution. They are milestones along the road to women's employment progress which the I.L.O. has done so much to build. To the extent that we can enlarge the contribution of women, both to their families and to their economies, we enhance the quality of life of all our societies.

*Interpretation from French: Mrs. TROIS-GROS (Workers' adviser, France)—As a representative of French women workers, I can only give my full approval to the text of the proposed Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities submitted by the Committee on Women Workers.

As has been stated at this rostrum already, this text is the result of work spanning two years which was particularly intensive at this session of the Conference; the regular and constructive participation of all the members of the Committee—the majority were women—leads me to say that, as far as they were concerned, absenteism, which is so much emphasised, is indeed a legend.

The fact that the text of the proposed Recommendation is now before you has been voted unanimously within the tripartite Committee shows that its contents are objective and that the essential elements mentioned therein will be beneficial to all the women workers of the member countries of the I.L.O. Moreover, the recognition of the right of all to work implies granting to all women who wish it the possibility of exercising this right without discrimination whatsoever, and this is happening at a time when women workers are recognised as being of vital importance to the economy.

The various elements of the Recommendation, which are adequate to ensure that such needs as collective services, domestic appliances, crèches, etc., are met, will provide women workers, particularly those with family responsibilities, with practical solutions, and with assistance available to all and fully compatible with the notion of dignity and freedom of persons and families.

It was, however, regrettable to note in the course of the work of the Committee, that all the rights relating to maternity have not yet met with sufficient understanding and comprehension. In this connection additional guarantees should be given to women workers as regards the carrying out of their work and re-entry into employment. Society is not yet fully conscious of the responsibilities it must assume as regards maternity, which remains the most essential social function.

If maternity will always call for protection and specific rights, women who work do not claim more privileges because they know too well what it involves.

Any new form of protection, any special conditions in the course of work, are not only prejudicial to them personally but, what is more serious, are a threat to women workers as a whole.

Concerted campaigns for part-time work, set in motion for differing reasons which are often, moreover, far removed from family and social interests, have been proving extremely dangerous for women workers because of the emphasis they place upon the relief aspect of such work without providing a solution to the real problem involved.

Women workers therefore refuse to accept sentimental half-measures which would retard the possibilities of improving the working conditions of women workers who wish to have more free time and who aim at the rationalisation of work in the interests of their own health and welfare and of the well-being of the family as a whole. Thus, the rejection of the insertion in the text of the Recommendation of the question of part-time work, by 1,815 votes to 283, will increase women workers' trust in the I.L.O., while being in the interests of all workers. It is, indeed, to the credit of the objectivity of the tripartite Committee that, starting from the thesis that this type of employment is not confined to women in all countries, it decided that it should be examined in a different and broader context.

However, it is the duty of the I.L.O., and in keeping with its mission, to put on the agenda of a forthcoming session of the Conference, as has been requested ever since 1959, the problem of the vocational training of women and girls. This question is of prime importance at a time when the role of women is being discussed in all countries, when their integration on an equal footing is constantly being challenged, when the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), has not been sufficiently widely ratified, or when its application is being put off in countries that have ratified it, when technological developments and new occupational opportunities require greater skills acquired through proper vocational training and retraining accessible to all women.

This is no time for concern with the interests of particular categories of workers. The urgent problem is the need for discussion and formulation of a specific Convention on vocational training for women and girls.

The International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training at Turin, under the auspices of the I.L.O., is to undertake many counselling and advanced training courses. To what extent will women be included in them? I appeal to governments and trade unions which should be concerned with this question, and I would also like to ask the I.L.O.: When the directors of centres—both men and women—discuss counselling and vocational training for women and girls, what will be the doctrine of the Turin Centre if the I.L.O. does not prepare, in the course...
of a forthcoming session of the Conference, an international instrument in which—and apart from all the difficulties encountered more and more by women—specific questions, new opportunities and developments regarding skills have been studied and emphasised?

Having read with a good deal of interest the measures taken by the Director-General concerning the structure of the I.L.O., I learnt that the co-ordination of questions relating to women's work was being maintained and that, in view of the terms of reference, the co-ordinating body was to review periodically, in co-operation with the interested organic units, the different aspects of the programmes and activities of the I.L.O. in this field.

In order to do this, it is essential that the preliminary evaluation work be done from the ground up, starting with the women workers.

My organisation, the French Democratic Confederation of Labour, has continued, ever since 1956, to insist for the creation of a tripartite committee on women's work; such a committee is necessary, and it should hold regular meetings, like the Industrial Committees. It is inconceivable that financial considerations should continue to prevent the introduction of the methods sought to deal with the problems of women workers. A meeting of experts at six-year or even greater intervals cannot take the place of such a committee at a time when, in all countries, the progress and employment of women are ever more obvious realities.

Despite this defect, which worries the women workers of my country, the adoption of the Recommendation will show that this session of the Conference has achieved something for them, and it is to be hoped that the instrument will not remain a dead letter.

As far as I am concerned, in the work of the Committee, in which women with family responsibilities have been the object of some solicitude, I would have liked to see—apart from their family responsibilities, which should on the whole be shared with the men—more attention being given to the need for women to have more free time as human beings, for their culture, for the expression of their personalities and to enable them to participate in the economic, social, trade union and political life of their countries.

The world cannot continue to be thought of and led by one-half of humanity alone. Thus, in the fields which are of interest to the International Labour Organisation, we hope that there will be a greater participation of women in all conferences, and we shall not despair of seeing the I.L.O. consider one day that the participation of women in the Governing Body of the I.L.O. is indispensable.

Miss ROYCE (Government adviser, Canada) —I should first like to associate myself with other women who have paid tribute to the competence of our Chairman, our Reporter and to our two Vice-Chairmen. There was in our whole Committee an attitude of co-operation and sincere effort to produce a useful Recommendation, which we hope will be adopted by the Conference.

An impressive increase in the economic activity of Canadian women in recent years makes an international labour Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities particularly relevant to our situation.

We are grateful to the Office for the comprehensive report that opened up the subject of women's work in a changing world and for the initiative of the I.L.O. in proposing the adoption of a Recommendation on this hitherto almost wholly neglected aspect of women's employment.

The text submitted to the Conference in plenary sitting today will, we believe, provide a useful guide for policies and services that will facilitate the constructive development and utilisation of woman-power in the member countries of the International Labour Organisation.

Since occupational competence is the key to effective participation in the labour force, we attach most importance to those provisions of the instrument that underline the need for appropriate counselling, education and training for women who are entering or re-entering the employment market in middle life, and the importance of a realistic approach to the vocational future of the girls still in school. We welcome the emphasis on public information and education, based upon reliable research into essential aspects of women's employment. This type of work is a major preoccupation of the Women's Bureau of our Federal Department of Labour.

With respect to the development of child-care services and facilities, we should greatly have preferred a wording of the text that would have given the competent authorities freedom to choose themselves between the organising of appropriate services, and the alternative of facilitating and encouraging their establishment. We have however a more significant—from our point of view—reservation with respect to the proposed Recommendation, resulting from the omission of any reference to part-time work. The recent increase in the employment of women in Canada, as in a number of other industrialised countries, has been accompanied by an exceptional increase in the number of part-time workers. This we find not surprising, since schedules of hours enable women with family responsibilities, who would be unavailable for full-time work, to enter the labour force.

We fully realise that the subject of part-time work presents special problems from the point of view both of employers and workers and that at the present time it may be relevant to the employment situation in most or even perhaps all of the developing countries. Moreover, we recognise that part-time employment may be of interest to other workers besides those under consideration in this instrument—for instance, older people, students and handicapped persons. Nevertheless, since experience has proven that it may hold particular advantages in relation to the employment of women with family responsibilities, it is with some reluctance that we bow to the majority decision of the Committee on Women Workers that reference to the subject should be omitted from this instrument.

Our chief concern is that since the phenomenon exists and tends to increase, recognition
should be given to the need to ensure that the terms and conditions of part-time employment be such as to safeguard the position of both full-time and part-time workers.

We have noted with satisfaction, however, that the whole subject of part-time employment will receive further consideration, in line with the resolution adopted by the Conference last year. Also, we hope that the review of the effects of the Recommendation ten years hence may help to clarify aspects of this question, as of others that have particular relevance to working women with family responsibilities.

Because of the dynamic nature of the development of women's work in a continually changing world, we support wholeheartedly the proposal for periodic review of the effects of the Recommendation, which we hope may be endorsed in this session of the Conference.

Mrs. EKENDAL (Workers' adviser, Sweden)—We are in the midst of the United Nations Development Decade. We have not yet reached, by far, the goals set for this Decade, but one of the most encouraging features of our time seems to me to be that, in most countries, the decisive role of women in economic and social development has been recognised.

The international instrument that we are now about to adopt is one proof of this fact. This Recommendation has given many governments and many labour market organisations an opportunity to go into the actual situation of women, to analyse the difficulties and deficiencies in the present system, and to try and establish priorities and goals for future development.

The Swedish trade union organisation which I represent here has tried, in all modesty, to give high priority to the work of improving the status and opportunities of women. We strive for a society where men and women will have the same freedom of choice between work and family responsibilities. We believe that responsibility for the children and the family is, in general, the same for the man as for the woman. We also believe in and work for a society where women workers will be able to get the same jobs and the same conditions as men.

Of course, this is rather an ideal situation, which we have not yet reached, even in countries like Sweden, where for many years we have been pursuing a full-employment policy, which is certainly the only basis for improving the workers' situation. Without such a policy, implemented by vigorous measures for training, retraining and mobilising the whole labour force, it will be difficult for societies to establish equality between men and women.

It goes without saying that we are very much aware of the fact that many other countries, especially the developing ones, have quite a different situation, both economically, socially and culturally. The instrument now before the Conference is therefore rightly flexible and will permit countries at different stages of development to adjust themselves gradually.

We believe generally in that approach, and we are also very much in support of the idea that the industrialised countries should assist developing areas on a much larger scale, not least in the fields of education and training of women.

What I have just said also leads us to support strongly the resolution which was presented by the Scandinavian Governments in the Committee, namely that the I.L.O. should keep under constant review the status of the Recommendation and general developments, in matters concerning the working life of women. For us this resolution means that the International Labour Organisation will devote an ever-increasing part of its work to the problems which, at present, women workers in particular face but which, in the long run, must become problems for society as a whole.

Interpretation from Russian: Mrs. SMIRNOVA (Government adviser, U.S.S.R.)—Permit me to add my voice to the voices of all those who have expressed gratitude and satisfaction regarding the work done by our Chairman, Mrs. Gatti Caporaso, and our Reporter, Mrs. Jedidi. I should also like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Johnstone and all those who have worked in the unit of which she is the chief.

We were very pleased to meet here representatives of various countries and to discuss the very important problems which are of concern to working women in the society of today.

We think it most timely for the I.L.O. to work out a new international instrument directed towards the protection of the rights of working women. As rightly pointed out in the Director-General's Report, and as has already been pointed out by previous speakers, the present moment is characterised by the growth and speeding up of the process of introducing women into the economy.

If at the beginning of the century the proportion of women in production did not exceed 20 per cent., as an average, in many countries today women make up more than a third, and in the socialist countries 40 to 50 per cent., of the labour force. This is a progressive development, but it must be recognised that the introduction of women into employment gives rise to problems which have not been solved in many countries and are even perhaps becoming more acute.

New difficulties are arising connected with increasing exploitation and discrimination against women on the employment market. The position of the woman worker is harder in the sense that, coming to the factory or the office, she continues to do all her work at home and for the upbringing of her children.

Problems of women's employment give rise to new aspects, and the I.L.O. has quite correctly understood these special problems by bringing to the attention of governments, trade unions and other organisations the need for studying these problems and seeking ways and means of solving them.

Members of the Conference have before them a proposed Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities. As you have been able to see from the draft, a number of problems are handled which concern not only women themselves but the whole of society. The proposed Recommendation deals with the need to create conditions
in which women can fully enjoy their hard-won rights, particularly the right to employment. This is a positive factor.

For workers in general, and for working women in particular, the right to employment is most important, for it means the right to guaranteed work and to protection by the State and by society against unemployment; and it is correct that the proposed Recommendation should emphasise the need for action to establish child-care facilities, extended maternity leave in case of need, and aid in the household.

There is no doubt that these provisions will be warmly welcomed by working women. However, we think the Recommendation would be more significant if, in the General Principle, this international instrument were to include a provision calling on governments not only to guarantee by legislation the right to work but also to give effect to this in practice.

In the discussions on the Recommendation, we stressed this side of the question several times. We referred to the need for including in the future orientation of the I.L.O. provisions which would extend the content of the right to work so that it would comprise the right to engagement, to equal pay for equal work, and to protection against unemployment and wrongful dismissal at the initiative of the employer. The Committee had every opportunity to include such a provision at all stages of its work. I am sorry it has not been included because the Director-General's Report states that the future orientation of the I.L.O. must have regard to the need for a practical solution of the problems of women and particularly of working women.

The previous Conventions regarding working women have by no means been ratified by all countries. For instance, the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, has only been ratified by eight countries, and the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951, has been ratified by only 45 Members. In the Committee it was pointed out that, despite the proclamation by the I.L.O. of the principle of equal pay for equal work, in fact the material position of working women is becoming worse. In a number of countries women have less skilled work and are exploited even more than the male workers. In those countries women have very much less chance of receiving general and technical training, and even these limited opportunities are frequently reduced to nothing, since working women have to bear a very heavy burden. Apart from working a 40 to 48-hour week, she still has all her household chores to do and must take care of the children. The network of nurseries is not sufficiently developed, and thus the problem of implementing women's right to work has not yet been solved.

We considered, therefore, that a solution must be found for this problem that would give the new instrument greater force. That is why we insisted that a Convention was needed, in order to provide the most effective instrument.

From our experience in the U.S.S.R. in solving the problems arising in the field of women's work, we know that much effort and many resources must be devoted to making women's theoretical equality a true factual equality, and to ensuring for women full participation in the life of the community. In our country, women account for nearly 50 per cent. of the labour force. The public system in our country is such as to stimulate the interest of women in participating in social production. It creates conditions where there is no unemployment, and all those who wish to work have the right and the real possibility of getting a job.

Secondly, our State has given women every opportunity of receiving an education, including higher education, and they are able to hold the highest grades. Women farmers have graduated from agricultural institutes, women doctors have graduated from medical schools, women work alongside men as engineers, supervisors and heads of enterprises and of educational institutions, etc. Women account for 38 per cent. of our engineers, 86 per cent. of health workers, 70 per cent. of teachers and 44 per cent. of scientists and research workers.

I should like to emphasise once more that the solution of the problems which are before this Conference will require great efforts not only on the part of women workers, but also on the part of the whole of society. The work of the Committee on Women Workers at this 49th Session has shown that the I.L.O. must tackle such problems bearing in mind the special conditions of each and every country. It is necessary to continue thorough investigations into the position of women workers and to take stronger measures to eradicate discrimination against women in the labour field. From the experience of the work of the Committee on Women Workers at the 48th and 49th Sessions, it has become clear that it is necessary to draw on the international trade unions, women's organisations and social organisations as much as possible in the work of the I.L.O., and to conduct with them on an equal footing the broadest possible consultations on the problem of women's work. It is necessary to study and reflect the opinions expressed by international social organisations in this respect.

We think that the meetings of the I.L.O. Panel of Consultants on the Problems of Women Workers are a good beginning, and it would be useful for the International Labour Organisation to follow up this work in order to raise the level of research work in this field and the content of international instruments. We must recognise that international legislation reflected in the Conventions already adopted does not always correspond to the requirements and problems of women workers at the present stage. Some of the Conventions adopted in the past contain serious omissions and are outdated. Many branches of employment are not covered by the Conventions in spite of the fact that it is precisely in those areas where urgent measures are necessary.

It is important to study questions concerning the influence of technical progress, of mechanisation and automation, on conditions of production, employment, skill and vocational training of women workers; the appearance of new occupational diseases and means of protection in occupations where many women work; law and practice in the dismissal of married women; and conditions of work and social security for women workers, particularly in agriculture and on plantations. Thus an international instrument in the form of a Recom-
The Conference.

The Soviet Government delegation fully support this Recommendation, even though we continue to believe that it would be better if the Committee, following two years' work at the Conference, had been able to submit for your attention not a Recommendation but a Convention.

I would like to express my support for the point made by the representative of the United States who spoke before me and who proposed that we meet in a few years and hear progress reports on the results of the work achieved concerning the proposals contained in the Recommendation. However, I would like to go even a bit further. I would like to say from this rostrum that it is important not only to review the situation after a few years but that, starting with this year, very decisive steps should be taken in order to apply the provisions which are embodied in the proposed Recommendation now before us.

The women workers and others from the International Labour Organisation further efforts in the defence of their rights. They expect the I.L.O. to raise this problem in a broader context on a basis of the deep social and economic changes occurring in the different countries of the world.

Mrs. NELSON-COLE (Government adviser, Nigeria)—I wish to say, first, how proud and honoured I feel to stand before you today to plead the cause of women. I am appealing to you on behalf of African women to vote in favour of this Recommendation. You will, I know, agree with me when I say that it is wrong to deny fellow human beings their rights. The female labour force in the world is steadily growing. That is fact, not fiction; it can no more be stayed than holding back the tides. Men are the ones who can show that they appreciate this by their votes.

Twenty-one years ago a wonderful Scots-woman said to me on the steps of Glasgow University, "Norma, you have been born into a world that has fought for and won women's emancipation"—she had been in prison for her views—but do not take everything for granted. If you see a door left open, help to close it. If you see a door that is shut, open it."

I have never forgotten this and that is why I am standing here before you today trying to open a door, asking you, the men, to put a wrong right.

I would like to say that I am a wife, mother, and a gainfully employed person and I do believe that man is the head of the house. However, I also believe that woman is the heart and that the one cannot function without the other. I am sure you accept this and that giving woman the rights she asks for does not mean she will suddenly turn into an Amazon warrior preparing to go to war. Instead it means that it is acknowledged that she is an integral part of a world labour force receiving her just reward with dignity.

This instrument is flexible and takes into account the diversity of national conditions arising from difference in culture and level of economic development. It can therefore be accepted and implemented easily by all the countries represented here, that is over 100. We are only asking these countries to pursue an appropriate policy with a view to enabling women to work outside their homes without discrimination and to enable women to fulfil the various responsibilities in the home and at work harmoniously.

Once again, I am appealing to all the men here to vote in favour of the proposed Recommendation.

Mrs. JONSSON (Government adviser, Sweden)—In many countries there has been, in recent years, a trend towards making increased use of women workers. In spite of this, even highly industrialised countries with a shortage of manpower report unemployment or under-employment among women. Equal treatment of the two sexes as regards employment is still purely theoretical in most countries. The possibilities for women to work outside their homes are also highly limited by traditional thinking. This traditional point of view can be found among the employers and their representatives, but also to a great extent among the women themselves. Traditional patterns cannot be changed from one day to another. Such changes will take time and must be based on facts and on practical arrangements. The work done in the preparation of the instrument we are now debating has to a certain extent provided us with such facts and suggestions for practical arrangements.

Maybe I am not alone in noticing that the review of the questionnaire from the I.L.O. has compelled authorities and organisations in our countries to take decisions which otherwise would have been postponed.

Another reason for the underemployment of women workers is the lack of positive measures in the field of family policy. The measures proposed in the Recommendation with regard to the child-care services and facilities will certainly be a great help to many countries. In the Committee I have stated that the general attitude in Sweden is that women workers shall not hold a special position on the employment market, either in connection with working conditions or employment possibilities, and that it is preferable not to give them special privileges of any kind. According to our opinion, such privileges would endanger rather than promote rapid development towards real equality of men and women on the employment market. On the other hand, we have been convinced during the discussion in the Committee that special provisions may be necessary in many countries during a transitional period, owing to their tradition and their economic situation. That is why we have not opposed the special provisions, but we notice with satisfaction the unanimous acceptance by the Committee of the resolution concerning periodic review of the Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities, proposed by the Nordic countries.

With regard to the wording of the title of the Recommendation—the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965—I notice that the words "Women with Family Responsibilities" have been put...
in parentheses. We should like to look upon
the view that as long as women are regarded
primarily as mothers and brought up as if
motherhood were their main task, while men
are regarded primarily as breadwinners, we
cannot expect women to display the same ambi-
tion as men to learn a profession or trade. Nor
can we expect that they will be placed on an
equal footing men by men on the labour
equality in the employment market
presupposes equality within the family. We
must try to get rid of the traditional view that
women only are responsible for the personal
care of the family, whereas men only are res-
ponsible for the economy of the family. Shorter
working days for all workers will give the
fathers increased possibilities of sharing the
family responsibilities.

When we express our satisfaction with the
proposed Recommendation we do so in the
hope that the results of the Recommendation
will be examined and that the Recommendation
will be revised not later than 1975 in
accordance with the proposed resolution " to
redefine the role and status of women in the
world of work in realistic relation to the
changing pattern of employment opportunities
for all workers ".

It is a difficult task to get unanimous support
for an instrument. However, it is even more
difficult to apply in practice the provisions set
out in the instrument. It would be of great
help, therefore, if the I.L.O. would provide
member States with information regarding the
practical arrangements which have been undertaken in member countries with a view
to enabling women to become integrated in the
labour force.

Mrs. ASUNI (Employers' adviser, Nigeria)—
This session and last year's session of the
Conference have rightly focused attention on
the employment of women with family respons-
bilities—a problem which is by no means
new, but one which today is more universal
in all its facets than ever before. As a women
employer one plays a dual role as a woman
and as an employer and one is in a position
where it is necessary to co-ordinate one's
various sympathies. It is against this back-
ground that I would like at this stage to
express on behalf of the women Employers of
the Employers' Technical Section our deep
appreciation of the understanding and co-
operation shown by our male colleagues during
our deliberations.

We have before us a proposed Recommen-
dation concerning the employment of women
with family responsibilities which, when
adopted, will have a far-reaching influence on
decisions regarding the employment of women.
This will apply to countries in different stages
of development, not only to countries with
highly developed and stable economies but
equally to our developing countries which are
facing innumerable economic problems. In the
latter especially it would be a dangerous
procedure to create a privileged class of
workers as this would adversely affect access
to employment. There are many ways of
helping women with family responsibilities to
enable them to take their place within the
labour force. The proposed Recommendation
covers this fully in the sections dealing with
the question of education and vocational train-
ing, child-care services and other provisions.

The Recommendation states very clearly its
area of responsibility in a well-defined but
flexible manner. It is a document of under-
standing and a compromise in the best sense
of the word employed by World Employment
and Government representatives with very
different views and values. It is a document
which to some of us may fall short of expec-
tations but which happily is adaptable to any
stage of economic development and therefore
can be of universal application.

It gives me great pleasure to recommend this
instrument for the unanimous support of this
assembly.

Interpretation from French: Mrs. RADIC-
CANIN (Government adviser, Yugoslavia)—
Although in the form of a Recommendation,
the instrument now before the Conference is
nevertheless a big step forward both from the
point of view of the conditions of working
women with family responsibilities and in con-
nection with the place and role of women in
society. No one can deny today that the per-
sonal and social position of a woman is above
all a function of the socially useful work which
she does outside the narrow circle of her
individual household. Such activity is, in
accordance with the present trend of society,
guided towards intensifying production and
raising the standard of life on the basis of
increased productivity. The result is that
women's work is fully justified and that one
cannot treat it as an expression of the eco-

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nomic need and low standard of life of families
with small incomes. On the contrary, it is an
objective economic necessity of society.

In the developed countries the policy of
intensifying production favours women already
in employment, but provided there is balanced
development of productive and distributive
activities, it also provides new possibilities for
the employment of women and for freeing them
from their family and household work. In the
developing countries, where human resources
are part of the fundamental wealth, adequate
employment of women can only have a positive
effect on the achievement of the development
objectives of those countries, as pointed out by
the African Regional Conference in 1964.

It was with particular satisfaction that we
saw the inclusion in the text of the proposed
Recommendation of Section IV, and particu-
larly Paragraph 7, in which it is made clear that
the problem of the employment of women
with family responsibilities must be solved
within the framework of the employment
policy of each country and in accordance with
the Employment Policy Convention, 1964,
and the Employment Policy Recommendation,
1964, to enable women to become or to remain
integrated in the labour force as well as to re-
enter it. We have a positive attitude also as regards the other action for which provision is made in this proposed Recommendation. We regard it as indispensable both from a profoundly humanitarian point of view and from the point of view of the interests of society as a whole.

The report of the Committee contains other opinions and proposals regarding hours of work, and particularly the special privilege of shorter hours for women with family responsibilities. I should like to express some of our ideas on this subject. First of all, we like the reference to reduction of hours of work. Considering this question from an economic point of view in relation to the increase in productivity, and from the social point of view as a way of enabling the workers to participate in the fruit of their labour and as a new possibility for their more complete integration into social life, we are convinced that the question of reduction of hours of work of all workers can be solved only in the framework of general efforts made in this regard in relation to economic conditions.

As regards the shorter working day, we consider that this question has two aspects: on the one hand the protection afforded by society to certain categories of workers such as the disabled, women with very young children, and so on, and on the other hand the objective needs and opportunities for such work in certain occupations and sectors of the economy, according to the organisation and nature of the work in question.

In Yugoslavia shorter working hours are allowed for workers who are disabled as a result of employment injury and for mothers of children under 3 years old, who have the same rights regarding labour relations as full-time workers. Their income is the same as that which they would receive if they worked full time. Furthermore, it is generally possible to work shorter hours in economic sectors and occupations where the nature of the work and the objective needs permit. Decisions to this effect are taken freely by the labour collectivities themselves and are expressed in their general regulations. Persons availing themselves of these possibilities enjoy in the labour collectivities the same rights as other workers, and, if they perform two part-time jobs, enjoy the same rights in respect of their employment relationships as other persons.

We consider, however, that this is a most complex question, and we have no intention of proposing the inclusion of our regulations in international labour standards. We think, nevertheless, that, having regard to the existence of a large number of different forms of part-time work, it would be wise for the I.L.O. to pay particular attention to this problem. It should present the experience obtained hitherto in the most appropriate form and help the member States in the solution of this problem.

I should like to stress that the position of working women clearly cannot be considered separately from the position of workers in general, and the specific problems of working women which result from their functions as wives and mothers cannot be solved without due development of the social redistribution of labour, the improvement of general conditions and standard of life of the workers, and the strengthening of their social role.

The efforts of the authorities and social services in Yugoslavia are directed along these lines, and we should stress that particular efforts are being made by the social services with a view to ensuring proportional participation of women in the management and self-management bodies which directly plan the economic and social programmes of the undertakings, and the allocation and distribution of their income.

We consider that the Recommendation opens the path to further re-examination of the subject with a view to continuous social adaptation, as is expressly stated in the Preamble. There is no doubt that our Organisation should attend to the application of this Recommendation and to the effects of its application in the various countries, as is stressed in the resolution presented by the Nordic countries, which was adopted by the Committee and which we fully support. We consider, however, that it would be just as useful and indeed indispensable, for the questions relating to women's work to be included in I.L.O. programmes, particularly in the field of human resources and conditions of work.

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—There are no more speakers on my list, and therefore the discussion of the report of the Committee on Women Workers is concluded. It may be assumed from the course of the discussion that there is full support for the adoption of the report. If there is no objection, therefore, I shall declare the report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN WITH FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES, SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON WOMEN WORKERS 1:

ADOPTION

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—We will now proceed to the adoption of the proposed Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities. We shall first take the Preamble. If there is no objection, I take it that the Preamble is adopted.

(The Preamble is adopted.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—I shall now put the proposed Recommendation to the Conference, section by section. If there are no objections, I shall regard them as adopted.

(Sections I to V are adopted seriatim.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—I now put the proposed Recommendation as a whole. If there are no objections, I take it that the proposed Recommendation as a whole is adopted.

(The proposed Recommendation is adopted as a whole.)

1 See Appendix VII, p. 647.
Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Sánchez Madariaga)—In accordance with article 40, paragraph 6, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the proposed Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities will be referred to the Drafting Committee of the Conference, to prepare the final text with a view to the final record vote.

Resolution concerning periodic review of the effects of the Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities, submitted by the Committee on Women Workers: Adoption

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Sánchez Madariaga)—We now come to the resolution concerning periodic review of the effects of the Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities. If there is no objection, I take it that the resolution is adopted.

(The resolution is adopted.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Sánchez Madariaga)—Finally, I should like to thank the Chairman of the Committee and the Reporter and also all the personnel who co-operated with the Committee in producing this fine result. Our gratitude goes to all members of the Committee; they merit our congratulation for producing such a fine job, which has been acknowledged by so many speakers—and I add my own appreciation to that already expressed.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)

\[1\] See Appendix VII, p. 649 and Appendix XII, p. 697.
TWENTY-EIGHTH SITTING

Monday, 21 June 1965, 3.15 p.m.

President : Mr. Sánchez Madariaga

FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG MINERS¹:
SUBMISSION, DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION

Interpretation from Spanish : The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—Our business for this afternoon opens with the examination of the first report of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners.

I would ask the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Tokunboh, and the Reporter, Mr. Pelzl, to come to the rostrum. I call upon Mr. Pelzl to submit the report.

Interpretation from German : Mr. PELZL (Government adviser, Austria; Reporter of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners) — I have the duty and the honour to place before the Conference the reports of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners. This is the fourth item on the agenda of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

I have been asked to submit the individual reports one by one, with a view to separate discussion, so I shall now submit the first report only. It covers two instruments, a Convention and a Recommendation, both dealing with the minimum age for admission to underground work in mines. The text has been circulated to delegates.

The whole question of the employment of young persons underground in mines was already on the agenda at the last session of the Conference. The Conclusions reached at that time have in the meantime been sent to governments of member States for approval. On the basis of the discussions and positions taken by governments the Office has worked out proposed texts which our Committee accepted as a basis for the second discussion at this present session.

It was clear from the start that this would be one of the most difficult questions on the agenda of the session this year. Although the objective—that is, maximum protection for young persons working in mines—was fully recognised on all sides, the problem could not be viewed only from the medical standpoint. Due consideration had also to be given to questions of general safety in mining, the need for thorough training of future miners, psychological problems and problems of mining technique. The fact that we were nevertheless able to complete our extensive work in good time is an indication of the thorough and expert work done in the Committee. It would, however, not have been possible to do the job had not our Chairman, Mr. Tokunboh, directed the sittings with great understanding and skill, which carried us over many difficulties to a satisfactory conclusion. Our first thanks are due to him, but our gratitude should also go to the I.L.O. for its careful and comprehensive preparation of the texts. Mr. Evans, the representative of the Secretary-General on the Committee, gave us valuable advice on difficult legal matters, and we are grateful to him and to his staff for the assistance they have given to us.

I must also mention the extremely good and sensible co-operation in the Committee and in the various groups. I believe that this is due to some extent to an old mining tradition. Mining is one of the oldest industries in the world and the men who engage in it, whether employers, underground workers or others, have always carried their own particular stamp. It was early understood that the terrible forces of nature underground could only be met effectively if employers, supervisors and workers all stood side by side in the battle. Safety was therefore one of the chief considerations in mines, centuries before the attention it now so rightly receives was given to it in other industries. We have records of safety regulations in mining which go back nearly 500 years, to the days when in the Tyrol more than 30,000 miners were employed in the silver mines at Schwaz. This tradition of giving priority to safety in mining certainly played its part in the discussions at this session of the Conference.

I should now like to turn to some individual points arising in the discussion.

First of all, the Workers urged that the instrument should apply not only to conventional mining but also to persons employed underground in stone quarries. It was rightly pointed out that underground work of the latter kind, that is in stone quarries, presents similar dangers to those which arise in mining. The proposal was accepted by the other two groups and led to an amendment of the text of all the documents before the Committee.

There was a similar understanding for a

¹ See Appendix VI, p. 616.
request by the Employers that the dangers of work underground should not be unnecessarily stressed in the preambles so as not to frighten young people away from the mining occupation before they even entered it. This also led to an amendment of the texts. However, the dangers of underground mining were in no way neglected during the proceedings. The news of the serious mining disasters which shook the world at the very beginning of our proceedings was the clearest possible evidence of the existence of such dangers, despite the present advanced stage of mining techniques.

The proposed Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines is based on the principle that young persons shall not be employed underground below a certain specific age, and in no case under 16 years. The supplementary Recommendation provides that the age should be gradually raised in the light of the particular possibilities, with 18 years as the goal. After he has passed the minimum age, the young person is to be employed underground only for training purposes and with special safety arrangements. In order to avoid hardship for young persons who may complete their training under present conditions before they reach the intended higher age limit for admission, provision is made for the possibility of exceptions, but, of course, not without the special safety arrangements. With the gradual raising of the minimum age this problem will probably lose its significance in a short time.

The Committee adopted its first report unanimously. The two instruments with which it deals were adopted by a large majority and without any contrary vote. The Conference may conclude that its Committee was convinced of the need to protect young persons in mining. Underground work has always made a serious mining disasters which shook the world at the very beginning of our proceedings was the clearest possible evidence of the existence of such dangers, despite the present advanced stage of mining techniques.

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Mr. Tokunboh. If our work has been successful, we owe it in large part to him. Our appreciation also goes to Mr. Jones, the Workers' Vice-Chairman, to the Reporters of our Committee, Mr. Polzl, and to Mr. Evans and his staff.

Last year, the majority of the Employers abstained on the Conclusions which the Committee arrived at regarding the minimum age of admission to employment in underground work in mines. I am glad to inform you today that that same majority will vote in favour of the proposed Convention and Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground. It was a minority supported by the Workers' group which maintained that the proposed age of 15 for admission would not be uniform for all the States of the Union.

The instruments before us are far from perfect. A greater degree of flexibility which would have permitted a transition period for those countries where the school-leaving age is still fixed at 15 would certainly have ensured more ratifications. Nevertheless, in the light of the developments which will occur in this field in the coming years the majority of the Employers can accept the minimum age being fixed at 16.

Last year, we expressed certain doubts concerning the desirability of an international instrument laying down different standards for different countries. In other words, the obligation will not be uniform for all the States ratifying the Convention. We further pointed out that to leave it for each country to raise the minimum age at the time of ratification represented a procedure likely to create confusion whenever an attempt was made to determine what the actual international standard was in this regard. The majority of the Committee did not see fit to modify its attitude in this matter, but we still think it was wrong. Our support for this proposed Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention must not be interpreted as acceptance of this new procedure, and we shall ask the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to examine this problem, which is sure to arise in connection with other international instruments.

As Employers, we are glad to note that the Committee as a whole realised that it no longer made sense to stress the dangers to life and health inherent in underground work in mines. Of course, that work does have certain features all its own, but this does not mean that the progress accomplished in this field should be ignored. We think that the conclusions are couched in a positive spirit which is more in keeping with today's conditions.

The Committee was also able to resolve a considerable difficulty facing employers. Last year's text specified that employers should keep registers which would be available to government inspectors and to workers' representatives. We opposed this text because it called in question the integrity of the inspection service, the operation of which, we considered, should not be supervised by workers' representatives. This difficulty conditioned our attitude towards the draft Convention as a whole. A compromise has now been achieved which fully satisfies all three groups, and we wish to express our satisfaction on this account.

Thus, the great majority of us will be able to support the draft Convention, and the same goes for the draft Recommendation. Last year we pointed out that the Conclusions which the Committee had arrived at lacked realism, and again a reasonable compromise has been achieved. As a result, young people under 18 who have completed their apprenticeship or any other systematic course of vocational training will be able, under the conditions to be prescribed by the competent authority covering place of work, permitted occupations, regular medical examinations and safety measures, to be employed underground for other purposes.

We also believe the provision concerning consultation of the most representative organisations of employers and workers to be of considerable importance. A greater degree of flexibility which would have permitted a differentiation of the obligations concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground, in countries where the school-leaving age is still fixed at 15 would certainly have ensured more ratifications. It now provides for these organisations to be consulted not only in the determination of general principles but also prior to the adoption of any regulations aimed at giving effect to the proposed Recommendation.

The majority of the Employers will therefore vote in favour of the Recommendation supplementary to the Convention.

We believe that both these instruments will contribute towards protecting young workers employed underground.

The realism and flexibility which characterises them, and the clarifications concerning them which are contained in the report, will facilitate their observance in countries where the standards are lower than those which these instruments lay down.

Mr. JONES (Workers' adviser, United Kingdom; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners) — On behalf of the Workers' group, I want to ask for the unanimous endorsement by this Conference of this report, embracing as it does two proposed instruments: a Convention and a Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines.

May I say that 55 years ago I was called to work underground at the age of 14. In the intervening years we have made very little progress towards raising the age of admission of young people to work underground. It is almost three decades since we got the Convention which provided for admission to employment of this description at 15 years of age. It is right and proper, therefore, that we should take early steps to ensure that the minimum age is raised to 16 years in accordance with the terms of the proposed Convention.

I should like to say that I have never been in a Committee where I felt that we were making such good progress. Sometimes the Workers' group were able to get the support of both Governments and Employers, and very often we were sufficiently successful in getting support, even when the Employers were in opposition, to obtain substantial majorities. But the atmosphere and attitude in the Committee took a remarkable and romantic turn under the chairmanship of Mr. Tokunboh.

I have seen conciliation at work when collective bargaining has been taking place over a long process of time. I have seen conciliation effectively taking place in this Committee which has enabled us to secure the sort of support for these two instruments that the Vice-Chairman of the Committee on the Employers' side, Mr. Després, has made reference to. We had the position where the Workers...
were saying that there must be tripartite examination of records of these young people after they had been engaged; that we must know something about the date at which they had started employment underground. The Employers argued that there could be no searching of records. The matter was put to a vote. We won by a two-to-one majority and the thing was settled, but the opposition of the Employers remained. It was at this stage that we had the remarkable spectacle of the Chairman of the Committee saying that we could not have this rent in the garment that we were seeking to weave. We not only wanted a Convention and a Recommendation accepted by this 49th Session; we wanted governments and nations to ratify these instruments. In consequence of the intervention of Mr. Tokunboh we reached agreement whereby the opposition was removed and as a result, I think the workers are in as good a position at the mine as they would have been had they obtained the original text that was sought.

It would be fitting, therefore, at this particular stage, for me to pay my tribute on behalf of the Workers' group, as Mr. Després has paid his tribute, to the very, very excellent and high-minded handling of the work of the Committee by the Chairman. This work of conciliation was going on all the time. There were other occasions when there had to be conciliation and, generally speaking, a very hard-working, efficient Chairman displayed the virtue of the patience of Job, and we are grateful. We would also like to pay our tribute to the staff of the Office for their excellent help. We are grateful to Mr. Pelzi for the way in which he interested himself in the work of the Committee not only so as to get the best possible results from the work of the Committee but also so as to present in the clearest way the sort of decisions that we had reached. I think we have been very well served in these particular fields.

The terms of the proposed Recommendation provide for the age to be speedily raised where young men are in the mines under the age of 16. It also makes provision for the progressive raising of the age to 18 years. The years between 16 and 18 are to be spent in apprenticeship and systematic vocational training under approved conditions, with the highest degree of medical and safety supervision. Where training has been completed it is agreed that young persons shall be allowed to work in certain types of employment. The Workers were very concerned about the types of employment young persons should be engaged in underground. We were concerned that these young people should not work where there were hazards to safety and health. We also realised that we must be careful not to put them in jobs of responsibility that might affect the safety of others. This was a difficult matter about which to set out details, but I am very happy to say that we were able to deal with this question of the jobs concerned.

Finally, after a long discussion, we secured a text indicating that the minimum age laid down for any of the jobs we were considering must be sufficiently high to enable safety and health to be safeguarded and the well-being of everybody else employed underground in the vicinity of these young people to be maintained, and in no case must it be under 16.

I shall come to this rostrum again in connection with the presentation of our other reports. For the moment I want to claim that the proposed Convention and Recommendation are two excellent instruments worthy of the support of the whole Conference, instruments which I believe future generations of young miners are going to bless the I.L.O. for producing. I support them.
be sufficient to leave this change of the minimum age according to the national circumstances in the hands of each member State according to subparagraph (1) of Paragraph 3 of the proposed Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines, which suggests that the minimum age should be progressively raised, with a view to attaining a minimum age of 18 years.

Secondly, it is to be noted that the proposed Convention will create practical difficulties of application even in advanced countries, and perhaps even more in the developing countries, unless the school-leaving age is raised above 15 years, which I believe is common in the majority of the developed nations. I have considerable doubts as to how many member States could really ratify the proposed Convention and honestly apply it without fear of recruitment and training difficulties because there exists a gap of at least one to three years between the school-leaving age and the age of employment of young persons in underground work in mines.

Thirdly, I am in principle against the adoption of any new Convention, at least for the time being, as I declared from this rostrum in my speech on the Director-General's Report. With these reasons in mind and taking into consideration also the importance and the seriousness of the problem at issue, I am going, not to vote against, but simply to abstain from voting on this proposed Convention and, furthermore, to vote in favour of the proposed Recommendation.

Mr. DRAPER (Government adviser, United Kingdom)—The United Kingdom Government supports the adoption of this proposed Convention and Recommendation. We also support the proposed Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines and the proposed Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines, which this Conference will be considering later today. In our view they would provide a valuable addition to the international labour standards adopted by this Organisation for the protection of young workers.

I should make it clear, however, that my Government will not be able in the immediate future to implement Article 2 of the proposed Convention, which lays down a minimum age of not less than 16 for underground work in mines. At present work underground under this age is allowed in the United Kingdom, but only for training purposes and under proper supervision. However, our practice will be brought into conformity with this requirement of the Convention when our minimum school-leaving age is raised to 16. As this is the objective towards which we are working, this point need not affect our attitude to the Convention as a whole.

The United Kingdom Government delegation has pleasure in supporting the adoption of this provision, at the appropriate time, will support the adoption of these instruments.

In closing, may I add my tribute to the tireless efforts of our Chairman, Mr. Tokunbo, in guiding us so ably through our work and in enabling all three groups to reach agreement on practically every point. To our Reporter, Mr. Pelzl, the Drafting Committee, our secretaries, Mr. Evans, and all his staff—not forgetting the interpreters, without whom we would all have been lost—go our grateful thanks for the great part they played in helping us to reach a successful conclusion.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. POIDA (Workers' adviser, Ukraine)—The Conference now has before it the first report of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners. This report and the statements we have heard so far show the work that has been done in drawing up international instruments regulating the employment of young persons carrying out work which may endanger their health. The inclusion of this subject on the agenda of the Conference is, I think, a positive step. The adoption of the texts of the Convention and Recommendation prepared by the Committee will certainly help to increase the attention paid by governments and public organisations to protecting the health of young workers and safeguarding their normal physical development.

At the same time, in our view, the proposed Convention and Recommendation would have been even more valuable if the final text had included a number of provisions which were proposed, and which were very actively discussed in the course of the Committee's work. I should have to draw the attention of delegates in particular to Article 2, paragraph 3, of the proposed Convention, which states that the minimum age shall in no case be less than 16 years. Nobody objected to this provision, although in a number of countries, including the Ukrainian S.S.R., the proposed standard has long since been exceeded; but anybody who knows the work that is done in mines knows that the degree of complexity varies in underground work, and that conditions vary from one place to another.

Shot firing, for example, is very complicated and responsible work; an unskilled person may threaten not only his own safety but that of others besides. In this connection it was proposed to add a provision to the effect that no person aged under 18 should be admitted to particularly dangerous or unhealthy occupations to be determined by national legislation.

Unfortunately, this concrete and very valuable provision was not adopted, although it is obvious that no employer or manager of a mine would allow a 16-year-old youth to perform shot-firing operations, because he would not want the undertaking to be subject to the risk of accident.

In the discussion of the proposed Recommendation this provision was not corrected either. In Paragraph 4 it is stated that persons aged under 18 should be employed or work underground in mines only for purposes of vocational training provided and under conditions relating to the places of work and occupations permitted, subject to proper supervision.

Consequently, employment of young persons for purposes other than vocational training is only allowed from 18 years upwards. At the
same time, Paragraph 5 also sets the minimum age at 18 years in particularly dangerous and harmful jobs and conditions.

Thus, no guarantee is really provided for young persons working in particularly dangerous or harmful jobs as compared with those employed underground under normal conditions. The Committee did not accept the proposal that the draft Recommendation should raise the minimum age for particularly harmful or dangerous occupations to at least 20 years, although many members were strongly in favour of so doing.

I do not intend to analyse in greater detail the strong and the weak points of the instruments submitted to the plenary Conference. The desire to be objective prompted me to refer to these particularly important questions, a proper solution of which would in our view have made these instruments even more complete, and valuable, in view of the importance of their protecting these young people working underground in mines. In view of the fact that as a whole the work of the Committee improved the original texts from the point of view of protecting young miners, and that these instruments will certainly be useful in many respects, the Workers' delegation of the Ukraine will vote in favour of adopting these instruments. We shall also support the proposed Convention concerning medical examination and the Recommendation concerning conditions of employment.

Finally, I would like to express the hope that the first steps by the I.L.O. in working out international standards for protecting the rights, health and work of young workers will be a good basis for further action in applying them in practice.

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—I have no more speakers on my list and the discussion of this first report of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners is closed. If I understood correctly, the report was adopted unanimously by the Committee and I should like to ask if there are any objections to its adoption by the Conference. If there are no objections, may I take it the report is adopted?

(The report is adopted.)

PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING THE MINIMUM AGE FOR ADMISSION TO EMPLOYMENT UNDERGROUND IN MINES, SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG MINERS:

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—We now turn to the proposed Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines. The Preamble is before us for consideration.

I shall consider Paragraphs 1 to 7 as adopted.

(Paragraphs 1 to 7 are adopted seriatim.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—We will now take the proposed Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines. First, the Preamble. If there are no objections, I shall consider it adopted.

(The Preamble is adopted.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—I shall now put the proposed Convention, Article by Article. If there are no objections, I shall consider them adopted.

(Articles 1 to 5 are adopted seriatim.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—Now we turn to the proposed Convention as a whole. If there are no objections, I shall consider the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines.

(The proposed Convention as a whole is adopted.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—In accordance with article 40, paragraph 6, of the Standing Orders the proposed Convention and the proposed Recommendation will be referred to the Drafting Committee of the Conference for preparation of the final text with a view to the final record vote.

SECOND REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG MINERS:

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—Now we...
come to the second report of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners. I ask the Reporter, Mr. Pelzl, to submit the report.

Mr. MITCHELL (Employers' adviser, United Kingdom) — On behalf of the Employers' group, I should like to explain the attitude of the Employers towards the proposed Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines. I must say at the outset that most of the Employers would have preferred a Recommendation to a Convention. We were very happy to start this year, and this year again we had to stress why we felt that a Recommendation would have been more appropriate.

There were two particular factors which influenced the Employers' group in taking this view. One is that industrial medicine is a comparatively new branch of medicine; it is an evolving branch of medicine, it is a branch in which new discoveries are being made, and new techniques and new methods of looking after the health of workers in their working environment are constantly taking place. We felt, therefore, that it was unfortunate and that it was a wrong approach to try at such an early stage to consolidate in detail in a Convention precisely how the doctors working in mines, looking after the health of young workers in the mines, should carry out their medical supervision.

The other reason why we felt that a Recommendation would have been preferable to a Convention is that the working environment is being more closely controlled as a result of developments in dust control. For example, the dangers of pneumoconiosis are becoming less. Therefore the working environment is not fixed; that too is being changed for the better.

For these reasons we would have preferred a Recommendation but, in the interests of getting on with the job and having regard to the views of our Government and our Worker colleagues, we agreed to get down to the task of trying to formulate an international instrument in the form of a Convention which would not embody too much rigidity and the dangers that we feared might result from such rigidity.

I am happy, on behalf of the Employers' group, to say that we feel that the group as a whole succeeded in doing this. I must pay very great tribute to our Chairman, Mr. Tokunboh, who was really responsible for bringing the different elements together and for enabling the vote in the end to be very nearly unanimous; with nobody against it and only a few persons abstaining.

I should like to pay tribute to Mr. Pelzl, our Reporter, to Mr. Evans and the Office staff, without whose very special efforts we should not have been able to reach this agreement, and I must pay tribute particularly, I think, to my very old friend and colleague, Mr. Jones, who led the Workers. I can reiterate what he said: that the spirit in this Committee was really admirable, and we have ended up with a proposed Convention. I think I can say that we have unexpectedly ended up with a proposed Convention because it is a much better result than some of us expected when we started our work. It is a Convention which most Employers can vote in favour of. Some Employers...
will abstain; they will abstain because of the point of principle that I mentioned at the outset, i.e. because they feel that this is not an appropriate type of instrument. But apart from those abstentions on principle, most Employers will be able to give this Convention their support and will be able to vote for it. I hope that governments too will very quickly ratify it. I am sure that our Chairman must really be very proud that in getting this very great measure of support for a document which did not have much support before its notable achievements in the field of conciliation.

Mr. JONES (Workers’ adviser, United Kingdom; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners)—I suppose I ought to apologise to the President for wearing the carpet out between that seat there and this rostrum, but it is my responsibility to do this job that I am doing and, having regard to the success of the work that we have achieved in this Committee, I am deriving a great deal of pleasure from it.

First, let me thank the group in the Committee of whom I thought increasingly 12 months ago that there was little hope of their achieving the great maturity that they have developed, particularly during the course of the activities over the past 18 or 20 odd months. I thank them first of all for withdrawing the amendment which sought to make this proposed Convention that we are considering now a Recommendation. It would have been a terrible mistake had they pursued that amendment; they were gracious and sensible and I applaud and congratulate them on their action.

The Employers would have liked to have hung their hat, for the principle of this Convention, upon the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1946. That Convention makes provision for medical examination to the age of 18. Substantially, the Committee was in favour of bringing the examination up to the age of 21, and if delegates will look at the original of this text they will note that in Article 2 the provision was for an initial examination and thereafter for an annual medical examination up to the age of 21. There was a good deal of heat generated and there was a good deal of argument about this matter; in this connection the Government group substantially supported the Workers’ group. We reached a position where the Workers had won the day. But again, we had great help from their Chairman in trying to bridge this gap a second time and, in consequence, without weakening the Article at all, we put a second paragraph in addition to paragraph 1 of Article 2, which made it possible, in any country where the employers’ representatives and the workers’ representatives agreed—having taken into account all the medical advice available to them—that there was no necessity for the examination, for it to be set aside under those circumstances.

So, whilst this Article has been amended with provision for an outlet, the workers’ representatives in any country, if they disagree with the employers’ representatives, can demand that there be a medical examination. With this proposal from the Chairman, enabling such a situation to be secured, we should have been extremely foolish to have remained at variance with the employers, and I am very glad indeed that Article 2 now has the unanimous support of the Committee.

We had anxious discussions on the question of X-ray examinations of young entrants during the first four or five years of their period in the mines. Finally, it was agreed that where a young person went into a mine he would have an X-ray examination in association with the first medical examination and on every other occasion if, in the opinion of the medical representative, there ought to be an X-ray examination. In this way we believe that we have been able to build up a Convention for medical examination which ought to safeguard the well-being of young persons on entering the coal-mining profession. This is a hard and hazardous industry; it is becoming increasingly difficult to recruit young persons into the industry. This proposed Convention seeks to help and to maintain their health and their physical well-being, and on behalf of the Workers’ group I support it.

Interpretation from Spanish: The President (Mr. Sánchez Madariaga)—As I have no other speakers on my list, the discussion is closed. If there are no objections, I take it that the report is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

Proposed Convention concerning Medical Examination of Young Persons for Fitness for Employment Underground in Mines, Submitted by the Committee on Employment of Young Miners:

Adoption

Interpretation from Spanish: The President (Mr. Sánchez Madariaga)—We proceed to the text of the proposed Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines.

First, I will put the Preamble. As there are no objections, I take it that the Preamble is adopted.

(The Preamble is adopted.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The President (Mr. Sánchez Madariaga)—I will now put the proposed Convention, Article by Article. If there are no objections, I shall consider them as adopted.

(Articles 1 to 3 are adopted seriatim.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The President (Mr. Sánchez Madariaga)—A vote by show of hands has been requested on Article 4. Is there a seconder to this motion? I see that it is seconded. Therefore, we shall vote by show of hands.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. Article 4 is adopted by 230 votes in favour, none against, with 11 abstentions.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The President (Mr. Sánchez Madariaga)—We now see Appendix VI, p. 627.
come to Article 5 of the proposed Convention. As there are no objections, I take it that Article 5 is adopted.

(Article 5 is adopted.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—Now we take the proposed Convention as a whole.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The proposed Convention as a whole is adopted by 250 votes in favour, none against, with 11 abstentions.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—In accordance with article 40, paragraph 6, of the Standing Orders, the proposed Convention will now be referred to the Drafting Committee of the Conference for preparation of the final text, with a view to the final record vote.

THIRD REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG MINERS:

SUBMISSION, DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—We now come to the third report of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners. I again ask Mr. Pelzl, Reporter of the Committee, to submit the report.

Interpretation from German: Mr. PELZL (Government adviser, Austria; Reporter of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners)—May I now submit to the Conference the third report of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners.

This relates to a proposed Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines and a resolution concerning the employment of young persons on surface work in mines and quarries, which the Committee worked out and adopted at the close of its proceedings. The texts have been circulated to delegates.

The main sections of the proposed Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines are Section III, "Health, Safety and Welfare," Section IV, "Weekly Rest and Annual Holidays with Pay," and Section V, "Training."

It also contains provisions on methods of implementation and consultation of the most representative employers’ and workers’ organisations.

In the discussion of this Recommendation considerable difficulty was caused by the different stages of development of social legislation in the various countries, so that in some cases it was not possible to find common ground in the Committee as had been done on the instruments regarding which I have already reported.

In accordance with an amendment proposed by the Workers, the recommended length of the annual paid holiday, which was to have been 18 days (that is three working weeks) according to the original text, was increased to 24 days (four working weeks).

However, the Committee did not endorse another Workers’ proposal to extend the weekly rest period for young workers from 36 to 48 hours. The main objection to this was that the 48-hour rest period implied establishment of the five-day week, which has not yet been introduced in many countries.

In accordance with the proposal of several Government delegates the text was adjusted to express more clearly that greater attention should be given to the prevention or elimination of dangerous influences underground and to care for health. Other alterations in the text dealt with safety clothing and equipment, which must be provided free of charge by the employer on the engagement of the worker, and must be replaced after normal wear and tear. I refer members of the Conference to the text of the report for particulars of the discussion on these matters in which, as in other respects, the belief that young workers must have sufficient protection in their hard work underground was expressed on all sides of the Committee.

The text of the proposed Recommendation contains the most important provisions regarding the conditions of employment of young workers underground. The Committee adopted it in its present form by 1,085 votes in favour, none against, with 600 abstentions.

The resolution finally refers to the dangers for all young workers of surface work in mines and quarries, and asks that this question be studied and placed on the agenda of a future session of the International Labour Conference.

I request the Conference to adopt the third report of our Committee and the instruments to which it relates.

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—The report is open for discussion.

Interpretation from German: Mr. GOEBEL (Employers’ adviser, Federal Republic of Germany)—On behalf of the free Employers, I should like to say a few words about Section IV of the proposed Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines, dealing with weekly rest and annual holidays with pay.

Unfortunately, we do not agree with all the provisions included in this part. We greatly admire the skill and friendliness of the Chairman of the Committee, and due credit has already been paid to him. Nevertheless, for this particular part, we did not succeed in finding a text that was satisfactory to all parties including the Employers. Our doubts arise mainly, if not entirely, on paragraphs 8 and 11 of Section IV, which cannot be accepted by the majority of my colleagues. Since last year, a change has been made in this part which gives rise to numerous difficulties in many countries. Many of my colleagues consider that they have grounds for opposing the text not only because it would raise difficulties in their own countries but because too strict provisions would constitute an obstacle to the universal acceptance and application of the Recommendation.

Most of the free Employers will abstain on this point, but they appreciate the friendly spirit which was always evident in the Committee’s discussions. Everybody made a genuine effort to reach agreement, and I should...
just like to confine myself to saying that we, as a majority, were not in favour of this point.

If Mr. Jones speaks after me for a third time, I would beg him to be lenient and to try to understand our attitude. It would be a pity if a shadow were to be cast across the excellent relationships that have existed between the Workers and the Employers in our Committee meetings. I have a great respect for Mr. Jones and I would be upset if such a shadow were to be cast.

Interpretation from French: Mr. DESPRÉS (Employers' adviser, Canada; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners)—In the Committee, the overwhelming majority of the Employers' members opposed the Committee's competence to adopt a resolution dealing with a matter which did not fall within the scope of a Conference agenda item, that is to say the employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds. The resolution now before us refers to the employment of young persons on surface work in mines and quarries, and not underground work.

When it was consulted on the point the Office stated that the Committee could submit to the Conference resolutions relating only to the matters referred to it. But it was largely left to the discretion of the Committee itself to decide what came within its purview. A majority considered there was a close link between the subject of this resolution and the terms of reference of the Committee in view of the relationship between the employment of young people in mines above ground and underground.

At the time of voting, the majority of the Employers' members said that they would abstain because the Committee was not competent to express a view on this question which was not on the Conference agenda. After consultation the majority of Employers' members have decided to vote against the resolution which, they consider, does not fall within the competence of the Committee and should not be adopted by the Conference in its present form. This resolution should have been submitted to the Resolutions Committee for discussion within the time limits provided under Standing Orders. We shall therefore vote against the resolution, for the reasons I have indicated.

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—I have no further remarks on my list and accordingly I consider the discussion closed on this item.

If there are no objections, I consider the Preamble adopted.

(The Preamble is adopted.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—I will now put the proposed Recommendation, section by section. If there are no objections, I shall consider them as adopted.

(Sections I to III are adopted seriatim.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—It has been intimated that there are objections to Section IV, Weekly Rest and Annual Holidays with Pay, and we will therefore vote on this section by show of hands.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. Section IV is adopted by 199 votes, in favour, 6 against, with 47 abstentions.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—I now put Sections V and VI. If there are no objections, I shall consider them as adopted.

(Sections V and VI are adopted.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—We shall now take the proposed Recommendation as a whole.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The proposed Recommendation as a whole is adopted by 209 votes in favour, none against, with 46 abstentions.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—In accordance with article 40, paragraph 6, of the Standing Orders, the text will now be referred to the Drafting Committee of the Conference for preparation of the final text with a view to the final record vote.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS ON SURFACE WORK IN MINES AND QUARRIES, SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG MINERS:

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—I will now put the resolution concerning the employment of young persons on surface work in mines and quarries. The vote will be by show of hands.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 212 votes in favour, 33 against, with 15 abstentions.)

Interpretation from Spanish: The PRESIDENT (Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA)—Having completed this agenda item, I wish to express our gratitude to the Chairman and Reporter of the Committee and also to the members of the I.L.O. secretariat and all those who contributed to the happy outcome of this important task.

(The Conference adjourned at 5.15 p.m.)

1 See Appendix VI, p. 635.

1 See Appendix VI, p. 637 and Appendix XII, p. 697.
The PRESIDENT—Before I take up the agenda of the morning session, I should like to thank Mr. Sánchez Madariaga for presiding over the plenary meeting yesterday. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation of the assistance which my colleagues, Mr. Gurinovich, Mr. Andriantsitohaina and Mr. Sánchez Madariaga, the Vice-Presidents of the Conference, have given in the discharge of my own duties and in conducting their duties so ably in their respective turns.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATIVES

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda is the report of the Committee on Co-operatives.

I invite the Chairman, Mr. Wahid, and the Reporter of the Committee, Mr. Mathsson, to come to the rostrum.

Mr. Mathsson will submit the report.

Mr. MATHSSON (Government adviser, Sweden; Reporter of the Committee on Co-operatives) —I have the honour to submit to the Conference the report of the Committee on Co-operatives, which has been circulated to delegates. In doing so, I wish to comment briefly upon the work done by our Committee.

The co-operative movement has long been of interest to the International Labour Organisation. In fact, the Organisation has included co-operation among its various activities ever since the early twenties. I need only recall to the memory of delegates the name of Albert Thomas, known and respected to co-operators all over the world.

For the first time, however, co-operation has been included this year on the agenda of the International Labour Conference. This step has been welcomed by co-operative movements everywhere, as a reflection of the importance of co-operative action, particularly as regards the efforts to establish a more equitable social and economic order in the developing countries.

The role which the co-operatives can play, and to a considerable extent already play, in the developing countries is almost universally recognised. The co-operative movement is increasingly being accepted as one of the important tools in the efforts to achieve economic and social development. This recognition has been evident throughout the work of our Committee, which has been characterised by a remarkable degree of unanimity. All the parties represented have been in complete agreement as to the constructive role to be played by co-operatives in a number of different fields of economic activity.

The exchange of views that took place in the Committee was consequently far more concerned with methods and approaches than with the whys and wherefores of co-operation. It is an indication of the spirit within the Committee that, in spite of the fact that we had some 90 amendments to the proposed text to consider, voting was necessary on two occasions only. The fact that there is already in the developing countries a great deal of practical experience of the co-operative movement naturally helped to establish this constructive atmosphere. Practical knowledge of co-operation, of co-operative problems and of the avenues to their solution, contributed significantly to the expeditious manner in which the Committee's work was executed.

Allow me to outline a few of the areas discussed by the Committee and included in the Proposed Conclusions now submitted for the consideration of this Conference.

Broadly speaking, the Committee discussed the essential features which should find expression in a conscious policy to encourage the further growth of the co-operative movement in developing countries. The Committee thus discussed the question of legislation in the field of co-operation, the problems of education and training, the subject of administrative aid, supervision and financial aid to co-operatives, and the field of and the opportunities for further international collaboration to promote co-operatives.

In this connection the Committee arrived at several important conclusions. I wish to mention in particular the strong reaffirmation by the Committee of the fact that co-operatives can play their role in the community only where their fundamental characteristics—that is, voluntariness, independence and democratic management and administration with the active participation of the members of the co-operative societies—are upheld.

Furthermore, and as a result of this, the
The Committee firmly agrees that outside aid to co-operatives must be so conceived as neither to jeopardise their autonomy and independence nor to accord them an unfairly privileged position in comparison with other forms of enterprise. On the other hand, the Committee emphasised that there should be no unfair restrictions which would tend to diminish the potential contributions which co-operatives could make to economic and social progress.

In our view we have tried to establish a basis for the further discussions on the subject which will take place between now and next year's Conference. We have, I am convinced, arrived at agreement on the contents. What remains, I feel sure, are minor differences of detail. It is my considered opinion that if the Conference adopts our resolution to place on the agenda for next year's session of the International Labour Conference the subject of co-operatives with a view to adopting a Recommendation, the results from this first series of deliberations will provide useful material for that second session.

My task here would not be complete if I did not extend, on my own behalf and on behalf of the entire Committee, our thanks to our distinguished Chairman, Mr. Wahid, for his skilful and impartial guidance of our work. I wish to thank the two Vice-Chairmen of our Committee, Mr. Kane of the Workers' group and Mr. Rifaat of the Employers' group, for their untiring efforts and for their constructive contributions to the work of the Committee.

To my colleagues in the Drafting Committee I extend my sincere gratitude and, on behalf of the Committee as a whole, I extend our thanks to the Secretariat for their tireless work, as well as to the authors of the original text, which has served so well as the basis for our deliberations. I should like to mention in that connection that the Committee has been fortunate in having the advice and guidance of one of the authors of the original text, Mr. Colombain, and the Committee, through me, wishes to thank him most sincerely for his help.

I now submit this report to the Conference for adoption.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now before the Conference for general discussion.

Interpretation from French: Mr. WAHID (Government delegate, Lebanon; Chairman of the Committee on Co-operatives)—Now that our work is concluded, it is important, I feel, to emphasise the atmosphere which has characterised our discussions. The nature of the subject itself created this atmosphere. In speaking of co-operation, it was natural for us to implement this principle in our work, and this spirit of co-operation was set by the two Vice-Chairmen of the Committee, Mr. Kane and Mr. Rifaat, who set the example that the Committee has been fortunate in having the advice and guidance of one of the authors of the original text, Mr. Colombain, and the Committee, through me, wishes to thank him most sincerely for his help.

I now submit this report to the Conference for adoption.

The work of the Committee was made much simpler, and the outcome more fruitful, by the useful documents prepared by the Secretariat, whose members have shown untiring efforts throughout our deliberations. Mr. Orizet and his collaborators are to be congratulated on the excellent job which they have performed, and I am privileged to acknowledge this publicly.

Mr. RIFAAT (Employers' delegate, United Arab Republic; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Co-operatives)—On behalf of the Employers' members, I have great pleasure in warmly recommending for adoption by the Conference the unanimous report of the Committee on Co-operatives.

Mr. Mathsson, our gifted Reporter, has made my task extremely light by his able introductory covering the substance of the report. In making my recommendation on behalf of the Employers, I crave your indulgence, in allowing me to pay well-earned tributes to those who, by word, thought or deed, have contributed to the success which the Committee has achieved. Understandably, I can name but a few, and I am afraid the rest must remain anonymous. The truth of the matter is that the report before you is more the result of team work and discipline than of an individual contribution.

The Chairman of the Committee has briefly and yet eloquently described the atmosphere which prevailed. The setting was excellent and the climate was really favourable, and confidence and trust permeated all our deliberations. Firstly, there was the happy choice of Mr. Wahid as Chairman. He provided us with leadership which was pleasant, wise, patient, and yet very fair and understanding. From the very start he captured our affection as well as our confidence.

Also, Mr. Kane, the Workers' Vice-Chairman, was a tower of strength in the Committee. His eloquence was only matched by his clear perception of the principles. He had a quiet manner and also understanding. Although he sat opposite to me, I often felt as if we were sitting side by side. When I was invited to state the views of the Employers first, he would say that he endorsed those views on behalf of the Workers; equally often, I found it my pleasant task to reciprocate the sentiment and say that Mr. Kane had anticipated the views of the Employers. The result is, as you can see, a meaningful document, well balanced and clear.

Of course, I had with me on the Employers' benches the perfect team. Our group discussions were always frank but to the point on many of the important issues which we had to discuss, and before long we would reach complete agreement. It was really a privilege and a pleasure for me to be a member of this team.

The work of the Committee was made much simpler, and the outcome more fruitful, by the excellent documents prepared by the Secretariat, whose members have shown untiring efforts throughout our deliberations. Mr. Orizet and his collaborators are to be congratulated on the excellent job which they have performed, and I am privileged to acknowledge this publicly.
No wonder the most obvious feature of the work of our Committee was the quiet and dignified manner in which the debate was conducted. The Reporter has already told you, as an indication of the prevailing atmosphere, that out of 90 amendments only two were voted upon. Speaking of amendments tempts me to mention that the Workers and Employers submitted a joint amendment on a matter of basic importance, and yet they were ready to listen to and accept a subamendment to improve the text—and that subamendment came from the Government benches.

However, it happened that in a number of instances, after discussion, we would decide to leave the matter in the hands of a Drafting Committee. At one time I began to doubt the wisdom of this course. I feared that we might throttle the proposed Drafting Committee, but then I did not reckon with our gifted Reporter, Mr. Mathsson, the Government member for Sweden. His patience and skill in the Drafting Committee steered us clear of troubled waters. Here, also, we had the benefit of a team of experts headed by the Legal Adviser, Mr. Wolf and Miss Morgenstern. They were most helpful as well as patient with us.

I trust I have not given you a false impression of the Committee's work by painting an unusually bright, cordial and relaxed atmosphere. Cordiality and relaxed attitudes are not compatible with serious and penetrating thoughts and examination of principles and details. Far from it. The report will speak for itself. Although it is a report on a first discussion, it is comprehensive and unambiguous. I should like to draw your attention to one or two points which embody basic principles, the observance of which will prevent unnecessary and costly experiments or other avoidable errors. I would refer you in particular to paragraphs 12 and 16.

In paragraph 12, which I would like you to read carefully, there is a fair summary of the Employers' attitude, which I need not repeat, and their understanding of the two principles of co-operation to which the Reporter had drawn attention and which the Committee had endorsed.

Although the title of the report indicates the particular emphasis which it gives to developing countries, we were happy and indeed grateful for the participation of many representatives of the developed countries, with long-established experience in co-operatives. We have been able to draw on their experience and knowledge and I think the report owes as much to them as to the members representing developing countries.

There has been certain concern about matters with which the report dealt. There was some doubt about the privileged position of co-operatives in direct competition with private business, but those who still feel concerned about it should consult Points 10 (1), 12, 13 (a), 21, 22 and 23 of the Proposed Conclusions. There was also concern that too great and general tax concessions or financial aid will result in loss of revenue to the State and in consequence affect the treatment of other enterprises. But here I must be taken in conjunction with the limitation on financial aid to the preliminary stages, until the co-operatives are in a position to stand on their own feet.

I would like to reiterate the recommendation on behalf of the Employers' members for the unanimous adoption of this excellent report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. KANE (Workers' delegate, Mauritania; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Co-operatives)—I find myself in a rather embarrassing situation. I had intended to make a speech in great detail. In the light of what I have just heard it seems that my speech is hardly necessary. What I had to say in this speech has already been said so brilliantly by Mr. Mathsson and Mr. Wahid and Mr. Rifaa that after a certain moment of hesitation I decided I would not give a speech at all. But I also listened to the advice of a good friend who said that there is nothing so dangerous as holding back a speech. Therefore I find myself in a position where I think I shall have to adopt a compromise and keep my speech for a better occasion where I will not give the impression of simply repeating what others have said for my own welfare, I think I should tell you a little about what I had intended to say. I will give a few extracts from the speech I would have given you.

First of all, in the name of the Workers' group, I should like to thank most sincerely all those who collaborated with us in this Committee over a period of two weeks. Today we have brought before you this instrument in the form of Proposed Conclusions with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation. We owe a great deal to the members of this Committee, and to Mr. Wahid, who was an excellent Chairman and had all the necessary qualities. He is, first of all, a competent man in his own field. He has faith in his work and from what we were able to observe ourselves he is, as a Lebanese, a man who is well placed to understand the different positions, to reconcile opposing points of view, so as to work out a position of synthesis which would meet the main points of concern which had originally been put forward.

We also owe a great deal to Mr. Mathsson, who, as a member of the Committee, was able to make us benefit from his very long and full experience, but also as Reporter he has been able to sum up all our decisions in a report which received the unanimous support of the Committee. I would also like to add that we owe a great deal to the Secretariat as a whole, particularly Mr. Orizet, and the very good preliminary report by Mr. Colombain gave a very sound framework to our whole discussion. I should also like to thank Mr. Rifaa and Mr. Nielan, Employers' member, United States for their open-minded attitude in the discussion of such a delicate subject. We owe a great deal to the Employers' group in connection with the success that we have achieved and in connection with the report which we are submitting to you today.

The question which we had on our agenda was perhaps conducive to such an atmosphere. Our terms of reference were to help develop co-operation in the developing countries. We were perhaps affected by the magic of this word so that we ourselves co-operated sometimes in situations which were very difficult and com-
plex. A moment ago it was said—and I think this sums up very well the discussions in our meetings—that on 90 amendments we had only two votes altogether. There was one rather extraordinary moment when a very important amendment—now reproduced as Point 13 (a) of the Proposed Conclusions—was submitted by the Employers' group and the Workers' group together. I think this is a very clear example of the spirit of co-operation and unanimity which prevailed in our Committee.

The subject we discussed is not a new one for the I.L.O., since it arose for the first time in 1920 and then again in 1921. Discussion of this subject was subsequently continued in sessions of the International Labour Conference and regional conferences. The International Labour Organisation adopted a very firm position in favour of co-operation and since 1920 has shown an extraordinary spirit of perseverance, thus indicating that it thinks today—that is, that co-operation is a phenomenon of major importance in the international and social fields.

Today co-operation has gained ground and is gradually becoming a universal economic system in the developing countries as well as in the developed countries; in the countries with diversified socialist systems as well as those with various forms of capitalism. In all these countries the co-operative movement has found its place and has been integrated harmoniously into the existing system.

For co-operation—and this our Committee understood very clearly—is not merely an economic problem. It is true that it is an economic problem, a way of approaching economic problems; but it is more than that, it is better than that; it is faith in mankind, faith in the solidarity of human beings. And the message that this instrument conveys to everybody today that is, that co-operation is a phenomenon of major importance in the international and social fields.

Today co-operation has gained ground and is gradually becoming a universal economic system in the developing countries as well as in the developed countries; in the countries with diversified socialist systems as well as those with various forms of capitalism. In all these countries the co-operative movement has found its place and has been integrated harmoniously into the existing system.

That was more or less the heart of the speech I wanted to make. However, I should like to stress very rapidly some of the points to which the Committee gave particular attention and which the Workers' group considers to be of especial importance.

I should like to call attention first of all to Point 1 in Section I concerning the form of the instrument. The Workers' group thought that, even if it only referred to general principles, would include the essential elements and would provide a stronger instrument which would give greater impetus to the rapid development of the co-operative system. We thought that, to be quite logical, since these points were recognised unanimously, it would undoubtedly be more desirable to adopt not only a Recommendation but also a Convention because a Convention, even if it only referred to general principles, would include the essential elements and would provide a stronger instrument which would give greater impetus to the rapid development of the co-operative system.

Perhaps at the outset there was a certain prejudice, certain preconceived ideas, as to the form of the instrument, because the Governing Body itself had decided that the instrument should be in the form of a Recommendation, and it is quite possible that this was accepted because the other members of the Committee felt it would not be possible to take any other action. However, the Workers' group is not at all embittered by this decision of the Committee. We think that the question is not perhaps quite ripe for decision and we reserve our right, after everybody has reflected on this problem, to come back to this question during the second discussion. We feel that, even if the time is not ripe now for a decision on the form of the instrument, it may become ripe in the future.

The Workers' group therefore proposed a resolution, which you will find in paragraph 107 of the report, which requests the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to examine the possibility of putting on the agenda of a forthcoming session of the International Labour Conference the question of the role of co-operatives in economic and social development with a view to the adoption of a Convention. Such a Convention would not only help the developing
countries but would also be of universal use, for that is the role of a Convention.

The paragraph which might be taken from the Workers' side refers to the scope of the instrument. In this instrument a certain number of types of co-operatives are listed, but it was made very clear in the Committee that the list here is not to be considered as exhaustive, and that any other kind of co-operative organisation could very well be included.

We were very satisfied with the wording of Section III as now before you, because it stresses the various reasons for the development of co-operative societies, an economic reason at the outset, which rapidly widens and takes on all its full meaning in the social, economic, and cultural context. After all, the goal of co-operation, just as of the whole economy, is basically the promotion of the welfare of human beings.

We were also satisfied with a number of other points, but I shall not go into many details. There is only one other aspect to which I would like to refer briefly, and that is aid to co-operatives, as covered by Section IV, Part C of the text. Here aid to co-operatives is contemplated in its various aspects. One of the basic aspects is the financial one. Reference is made to a whole series of possible types of aid which could be given, together or separately depending on the circumstances ; among these types of aid there is aid in the form of loans, tax exemptions or grants. Where reference is made to administrative aid, however, this is closely connected with the last section, concerning international collaboration. Such aid can be either bilateral or multilateral. These are extremely important points, and the instrument as submitted to you is perhaps not perfect. Human acts can never be perfect, and in any case we cannot expect to reach perfection in the first discussion.

The Workers' group has given its unanimous approval to this instrument, but we also feel that in order that it may have its full effect in future years it should be made more concrete, that is, the importance of practical programmes which will arise out of it should be borne in mind. The aid which the governments and the international organisations will give within the framework of this instrument will have to be borne closely in mind ; although it is good to prepare texts as excellent as this one, you also have to think of the practical aspect. In this field, we representatives of workers in the developing countries are looking to the developed countries for a great deal of help. We are also looking to our own International Co-operative Alliance, to the competent organs of the I.L.O. in this and other co-operative matters.

It has been a pleasure for me, as Director of the International Co-operative Alliance, to participate throughout the Conference in the capacity of consultant and I am grateful for the courtesies which have been extended to me by both delegates and the staff of the I.L.O.

Interpretation from French : Mr. MALLET-TANI (Employers' adviser, Italy)—In the report of the Committee on Co-operatives, paragraph 84, concerning Point 23 of the Proposed Conclusions, might lead one to believe that the amendment submitted by the Employers and subsequently withdrawn sought to do away with the institution of co-operative banks, which is one of the most vital activities of the financial structure.

Now I should like to give a correct interpretation of what happened, making it quite clear that this amendment of the Employers was in full agreement with the text submitted by the Office concerning the use of a central co-operative bank for all financial support co-operative undertakings. Should these banks not exist, however, instead of turning to another central co-operative organisation,
the exact nature of which is not known, the amendment proposed that straight away we should use the existing ordinary banks, in preference the official public banks.

I repeat that this amendment was withdrawn, but I feel it is very desirable that in the final record you include the explanation which I have just given.

May I add a few more words: at a time when the Conference is dealing with the role of co-operatives in developed countries, it would seem to me timely, as an Italian adviser and particularly as President of a co-operative association, to stress with great satisfaction the thoroughness with which the Government, Employers' and Workers' representatives discussed and thrashed out the different subjects in the report at present submitted to this Conference.

This effort was all the more praiseworthy in that it overcame the traditional division into two categories and the co-operative movement was confirmed in the social role which it has to play. We should be particularly glad of the fact that co-operation has not been considered as a marginal phenomenon, as an instrumental function, but rather as a determining factor in a whole process of transformation—one which is indispensable in the developing countries.

The result obtained in the Geneva discussions and the text which is the outcome of these discussions will unquestionably receive the approval of co-operatives throughout the world, and this approval will be all the more significant in that the leaders of co-operative societies were not very numerous in the various delegations which were sent to the Conference.

I should like to thank particularly two of these gentlemen: Mr. Mathsson, Reporter of the Committee on Co-operatives, and Mr. Pedersen, Reporter of the Committee on Agrarian Reform, one section of whose report incidentally—and I may say inevitably—belongs to the field of co-operation.

Co-operation as a whole appears as a tertium quid, as a third path, to be followed in the economic perspectives of the new nations.

Co-operative undertakings, even if they are properly supported and even if they are promoted by governments, must endeavour to progress as much as possible independently and responsibly, so as to gain access to the various markets. This is necessary to defend the interests of the consumers and to guarantee a just remuneration for the associated producers.

We must never lose sight of the fact that co-operative societies seek no profit for themselves but exist in order to serve their members, in direct proportion to the members' cooperation with the productive work of the co-operative.

We must not forget, either, that co-operation requires an atmosphere of spontaneity and free choice, based on a profound conviction. This is true not only for co-operators but also for the atmosphere in which they must work.

We are convinced that the indispensable solution of certain economic problems will help create this atmosphere in the various developing countries, particularly if the governments, employers and the workers show a spirit of collaboration in their own countries as strong as the spirit which they showed at this Conference.

When I look to the future, the hope that I express, in a spirit of real solidarity and as a representative of co-operative undertakings—the hope I express to all the countries concerned—is that they may continue to benefit ever more fully from all the possibilities offered them for accelerating their development through a system of co-operative activity. Such activity is particularly fruitful since it is in this field that the human factor seems to predominate over all other elements in the economic and social structure.

**Final Record Vote on the Recommendation Concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities**

The President—As you will observe from the programme, we now have to take a final record vote on the Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities.

(A record vote is taken.)

The President—The result of the vote is as follows: 346 votes in favour, none against, with no abstentions. The Recommendation is therefore adopted unanimously.

Reply of the Director-General Following the Discussion of His Report

The President—I now give the floor to a speaker who does not need any introduction to this august audience: the Director-General of the I.L.O., Mr. David Morse, Secretary-General of the Conference.

The Secretary-General—This has been a very heavy Conference, with a lot of hard work and difficult discussions and negotiations. Many people have said that it has been a quiet Conference. It is for each one of you to judge how quiet it has been, but later in my reply I should like to comment on that point.

We have had rather a record in some respects. There are over 1,100 delegates and advisers participating in this Conference. One hundred and four States are in attendance. The President of the Central African Republic did us the honour of addressing our Conference. We have had 68 Ministers and Secretaries of State who have participated in our work. We have four new States Members—Malawi, Malta, Yemen and Zambia—which means that we now have a membership of 114 States, and we are fast closing our cycle of complete universality. To these new States I once again express my welcome and appreciation at their entrance into our Organisation, thus giving us the opportunity to strengthen our efforts for international co-operation.

There have been over 200 speeches on my

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1 See p. 387 and Appendix XIII, p. 712.
2 The detailed results of the vote will be found on p. 412.
Report, which makes it rather difficult for me to answer as completely as I would like to.

Many attending the Conference have come for the first time. In view of this I shall try to place what I have to say this morning within the context of our Organisation's developments, developments of the immediate past, so that we can more readily discern our path for the future. So I shall deal primarily with substantive matters.

You will recall that I submitted my first Report on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. to the Conference two years ago. Why did I do this? I did this because there had been certain controversy in the Conference about the I.L.O.'s structure and its future, and it seemed to me that the issues then raised could best be resolved in the light of a fresh definition of the I.L.O.'s goals and of the methods for attaining these goals in the present world situation. I felt that it was urgent, necessary, for our membership to take a new, hard look at the position of our Organisation in the changing world of today. I felt also that in certain respects the I.L.O. needed stronger support to undertake the world-wide mission that had been entrusted to it; that its programmes and methods of action should be made to correspond more intimately—more closely, if you will—to the major social needs of the modern world; and that certain adjustments were necessary if the I.L.O. was to remain in the front, in the vanguard of social progress.

So I asked the Conference to engage in a frank and open debate on the I.L.O.'s programme and structure as a whole. When I did this I fully recognised and realised that there was serious danger of opinions being so divergent that it would be impossible to reach a sufficiently clear and broadly acceptable set of conclusions for the future development of our Organisation.

But happily my apprehensions proved to be groundless, at least in respect of certain key areas of decision. At the end of last year's session of the Conference, those of you who were here will recall, it had become clear that all of the I.L.O.'s constituents were prepared to approach the many issues that had been laid before them in a spirit which transcended the many, and often deep, differences which divided them, which still remain to be solved. It was the spirit of co-operation that prevailed at last year's session of the Conference that encouraged me to submit the Report which has been before you at this session.

My main aim this year was to seek to tie down agreement on those questions where I considered agreement possible, in the hope that the impetus gained by the attainment of such agreement would assist us in reaching appropriate conclusions with respect to the other more controversial matters of programme and structure which still remain to be solved.

This, thus far, has been accomplished.

What is needed now is a genuine attempt by all the Organisation in reconciling the different points of view that have been put forward on the more controversial issues; and the Conference itself has set in motion machinery by which this process of consensus-seeking can be continued.

Let us take a look at that. As a result of the resolution unanimously adopted last year by the Conference, the Governing Body has set up a Working Party to consider the different proposals and points of view which have been stated, and I have submitted to it an analysis of the debate at the last two sessions of the Conference, together with a list of all the proposals made. I have further invited governments and employers' and workers' organisations in all member States to express their views on these proposals, and summaries of the replies subsequently received have been submitted to the Working Party. Thus, the Working Party is fully aware of the different views that are held on the questions that remain unsolved; and it is through this Working Party, through this machinery, and the Governing Body, that the process of seeking agreement must be continued. The Conference itself, of course, will be associated in this process as the reports of the Working Party and the Governing Body continue to be submitted to it at its future sessions.

The Working Party, now that it has completed its consideration in depth of the major programme of human resources, will in the same way devote its attention to the two remaining major programme areas, namely the development of social institutions, and conditions of work and life. This selective emphasis in a limited number of broad areas of action on which the I.L.O. should focus its attention will, I am certain, have some very significant and far-reaching implications concerning the nature of our action in the years to come. I would, however, like, if I may for a moment, to raise two points which seem to me particularly important in this regard.

The first is that to agree on the objectives of our programmes is not the same thing as to be in a position to put all these programmes into practical effect at once. The resources which are at the disposal of our Organisation and of its member States are rather limited in relation to what are very ambitious objectives on a national and world-wide scale. The fact that our resources are limited makes it all the more urgent that we should have a set of clearly defined priorities, which would help us to adjust our priorities, programmes and methods of action in order to meet new and emerging situations which call for action. In this way, and only in this way, can the I.L.O. draw up a total programme of activities which will produce the maximum effect with the greatest efficiency. In the contemporary world, where so much is said about so many things, where there are so many problems remaining despite the statements—problems of human misery, poverty and degradation crying out for solution—the I.L.O. will be judged by its action and not by its words. It will be judged by the practical contribution that it makes to the total effort to relieve human suffering wherever such suffering exists. This is our challenge for the future as it has been for the past.

I think that we have already come some way towards determining what our approach to priorities within each programme should be.
The discussions at this session as well as at previous sessions of the Conference have enabled me to draw some general conclusions as to the areas where principal emphases need to be placed at this stage; and the process of more detailed programme formulation and adjustment will be greatly facilitated by the new structure and the new programme cycle. Special efforts have been made in the Office. One of my current preoccupations is to find a suitable means of associating the Governing Body and the Conference with these procedures. It seems to me that perhaps one of the most effective ways of achieving this objective will be to present budget proposals in such a way as to relate financial data to the programme proposed for implementation, so that the budget is expressed in terms of the expected output of the I.L.O. instead of solely in terms of the input of staff services and equipment. I emphasise this point because I am most anxious that programme planning should result in the most effective possible allocation of our resources in those areas where they are most needed.

The second point I wished to raise was made by Mr. Grandval, the French Minister of Labour, when he said during our debate that by concentrating our activities on a limited number of specific objectives, it should be possible to improve arrangements for collaboration between the I.L.O. and other organisations in the United Nations family. Several other speakers expressed their concern over the lack of co-ordination, or over what they saw as outright competition, between international organisations. I am sure that now that we have achieved a clear formulation of the objectives and scope of I.L.O. action, we shall be able to eliminate the unclear demarcations of competence which have occasionally characterised our relations with other organisations in the United Nations family. At the same time, however, the clarification of our objectives places upon us the responsibility of ensuring that we do not stray beyond the limits that we have ourselves set to our competence. In other words, it seems to me that we must be even more conscious of our place, our role, in the United Nations system. Our fields of competence, as now defined as a result of this process of discussion, are the development and full utilisation of human resources; the development of institutions through which all sections of the working population can fully participate in and benefit from the economic growth of their countries; and the prevention and improvement of the working and living conditions of all workers. We must concentrate our efforts on the attainment of our objectives in these fields; and only if we do this can we expect other organisations to respect and recognise the I.L.O.'s primary responsibility in these fields within the total effort of the United Nations family.

The I.L.O. has an additional responsibility as a member of the United Nations family: it can and should cooperate with other organisations in projects and programmes in which it has an interest, to which it has a contribution to make but in which other organisations have the primary responsibility. I should like to mention a few examples of such activities because it is an important pattern for us to understand and, if possible, accept.

The first that I would mention relates to disarmament. This subject has been prominent in the general debate in our Conference this year and it has been among the topics under discussion in the Resolutions Committee. I entirely agree with those speakers who say that the I.L.O. is fully concerned by all measures to achieve a lasting peace through disarmament. No organisation has, in my view, a greater or a more positive interest in peace than has the International Labour Organisation. Nothing could make a greater contribution to the attainment of the I.L.O.'s objectives than the conclusion of a disarmament agreement, which is a fundamental condition, a basic condition, of lasting peace, and I believe that the I.L.O. should do everything possible to facilitate the conclusion of such an agreement.

The I.L.O., of course, has no competence with respect to the political aspects of disarmament, which as everyone here knows, are for the appropriate organs of the United Nations, but it should be able to facilitate progress towards disarmament by helping, along with other agencies, to determine the precise economic and social implications of disarmament. That is why I fully supported the decision of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, consisting of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the executive heads of the specialised agencies, to set up an inter-agency committee to prepare and co-ordinate the working programmes of the different agencies in this field; and I can only reiterate my determination as authorised by the decisions of our Governing Body to continue to associate the I.L.O. fully in this undertaking and in this challenge. We have participated in the first two meetings of this inter-agency committee; we have assisted in drawing up a framework for the development of studies and research on this question which will be submitted to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its session in Geneva next month; and we shall make every effort to ensure that our contribution to this inter-agency programme will lead to a better understanding of the different opportunities and problems which may arise as a result of disarmament.

The I.L.O.'s special interest in this subject is clear: it is concerned that any resources released as a result of disarmament should, as far as possible, be utilised to promote the I.L.O.'s objectives throughout the world; and it wishes to ensure that the transfer of resources from military to civil and social purposes may arise as a result of disarmament. The I.L.O., of course, has no competence in the field of trade and development. This, too, is a problem that has been discussed frequently in the course of the debate on my Report. It is, of course, true that the promotion of international
trade is not one of the central responsibilities of the I.L.O. Nevertheless, the I.L.O. has much to say and many very pertinent questions to ask in the specialised bodies which are dealing with questions of international trade. One of our major tasks, as confirmed by this Conference itself, is to assist the developing countries in the creation and maintenance of high levels of productive employment. But, as many delegates have pointed out, our efforts in this direction will be nullified unless there are outlets for the products of developing countries on the world market. At the same time, the I.L.O. is concerned that increased exports of manufactures from developing countries should not lead to hardship for workers in the industrialised countries. These anticipated difficulties should be met not by protective measures but by help in facilitating adjustments so that individual workers and their families find security rather than insecurity in the changes which will come about in their occupational life. Adjustments in economies will be made through the I.L.O. through its action in the three major programme areas which the Industrial Committees could play a useful role, for example, in which our Industrial Commissions are engaged in discussions relating to the ways in which the institutional machinery for industrialisation within the United Nations system can be improved and can be strengthened. The Governing Body discussed this question last November, and urged that the I.L.O. be closely associated with any new international machinery which may be set up to promote industrial development. It is, however, a question which concerns a number of other organisations as well. Delegates will be aware that the United Nations has recently been engaged in an inquiry, and the I.L.O. through its action in the three major programme areas, will help to facilitate these adjustments. Is this an area, for example, in which our Industrial Committees could play a useful role, for the simple reason that we have represented in them those who will be most directly concerned with making the adjustments necessary to expand world trade?

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and yet setting goals, targets and principles which should be pursued by all member States. The valuable work, for example, of the Committee on Agrarian Reform and the Committee on Co-operatives at this session of the Conference seems to me to bear out the wisdom of this approach.

With respect to our research activities, again some speakers have expressed reservations on the need for such an activity in the Office. They have suggested that it should be eliminated. I do not share this view. I think that this would be a mistake. Research in the I.L.O. is absolutely essential to the provision of technical support and intelligent guidance to our activities as a whole. Our research must, of course, constantly have this practical aim; but there are, I feel, vital areas where our knowledge is still inadequate, where we must gather information on the practices and experiences of different countries in order to discover useful ideas, to find our way, to establish useful leads, and indeed to break new ground.

I find too that a large number of speakers have referred in this debate to the steps that are now being taken to decentralise the I.L.O.’s activities. As a matter of fact, if you judge by the number of speakers who mentioned this question in the debate, this has become one of the major preoccupations of the Conference this year, so I think I must spend a few moments on this question. Of course, there is nothing surprising in the fact that so much attention is being paid on this question. One of the most significant trends, as we all know, in the world of the 1960s is towards regional groupings. The States in each region have become increasingly interested in finding solutions to common problems, common problems in their regions, and in developing common methods of action in their regions. It is only natural, therefore, that the I.L.O. should be responsive to this trend.

There are, as I see it, three ways in which the I.L.O. can do this.

The first is by decentralising a certain number of the functions of the Office. I have briefly outlined in my Report my thinking on this subject and the action I have taken, or am contemplating, to bring the Office into closer contact with the realities of each region; and several delegates commented favourably on my action in this respect. I have not yet finalised my plans for this decentralisation. What I am aiming at is to enable the I.L.O. to have closer and more permanent contacts, through a regional network of offices, with governments, workers and employers in different member States, so as to know better, and to deal more effectively with, the principal needs and problems of each country and each region; and, further, to make the I.L.O. — what it is, and what it does — better known in each country and in each region. In other words, this new regional structure of the Office will be an essential element for the success of the new procedures for the planning, implementation and control of programmes to which I referred earlier.

The second way in which I believe we can strengthen the I.L.O.’s contact with the regions is to assign new roles and new responsibilities to regional conferences and regional advisory committees. Opinions on this subject appear to be somewhat divided at our Conference. On the one hand there is the view that has emerged that regional conferences and regional advisory committees should have very extensive powers, including the power to direct and control the I.L.O.’s affairs in the regions concerned and, even to adopt regional instruments; on the other hand there are those who believe that these regional bodies should have a purely advisory function which they would exercise through discussion of certain technical questions. My own personal views, which I put to the African Regional Conference in Addis Ababa last December, are that attention in these regional bodies should be concentrated on assessing the priorities for action in each region; on reviewing the activities of the I.L.O. and the programmes and policies of governments in the region in the light of these priorities; and on tracing guidelines and setting targets for future action in the region. I continue to think that this approach would be the most helpful in that it would enable the I.L.O.’s representative regional bodies to be associated more closely in the formulation, evaluation and adjustment of programmes in the light of changing conditions and needs in each region.

Thirdly, the I.L.O. must establish closer working relationships with the many regional bodies and organisations which have come into existence in different parts of the world. There are the regional economic commissions and the regional development institutes of the United Nations. With these the I.L.O. is already working very closely, and our collaboration in the work of these regional bodies is based on the same principles that I have mentioned earlier with regard to the United Nations family as a whole. Then there are the regional organisations which have been set up outside the United Nations system to bring about the economic integration of a number of States in a given region. I am thinking in particular of the European Economic Community, the Organisation of Central American States and the Latin American Free Trade Area. Such organisations have expressed interest in receiving I.L.O. co-operation, since the process of economic integration raises a number of social and labour problems. I believe that we must give positive consideration to any requests of this nature. And there are other regional intergovernmental organisations which are interested in co-operating with the I.L.O. With these organisations too, the I.L.O. is prepared to work closely in the achievement of objectives which we have in common. Several African delegates, for example, spoke in favour of close ties between the I.L.O. and the Organisation of African Unity. I should mention that arrangements have already been put in motion to facilitate close co-operation between the I.L.O. and that organisation, and I eagerly look forward to an era of constructive and profitable collaboration.

It seems clear to me that if the I.L.O. is to maintain its impetus and its authority in the world at large it must get closer to the needs of each region; and this is the established policy of our Organisation. At the same time I have been happy to note that in commenting
on this need and this process the Conference has reaffirmed that this should be done in a manner which reinforces our universality and which ensures that we avoid planting seeds of possible regional segregation. In this connection Mr. Abessolo, the Government delegate of Gabon, warned us that regionalisation was first and foremost a means of action and not an end in itself; and Mr. Abebe, the Employers' delegate of Nigeria, urged that decentralisation should not involve an excessive dissipation of our energies and our resources. The Conference may be assured that these warnings will be our guidelines and will be taken to heart.

While on this subject let me mention one further important, indeed essential, function of the I.L.O. about which, I have discovered, very few of our constituents are informed—and it is a function which, it seems to me, must remain universal: I refer to the universal character of our standard-setting activities. I do not believe that responsibility for setting standards should be transferred away from the General Conference to regional conferences. Of course this can be debated, but this is the view which I present: to do this would be to call into question the essential purpose of the I.L.O., the essential mission of the I.L.O., as a universal organisation. International labour standards are the concrete practical expression of the fundamental universal principles for which the I.L.O. stands and has been consecrated. The formulation of these standards as well as the supervision of their application, must, I suggest, be entrusted only to a universal body such as this very Conference itself.

I am not by this, however, suggesting that regional conferences do not have an important key role to play in our standard-setting work; they can and they should periodically review the application and the applicability of international labour standards in the regions concerned. Nor am I suggesting that certain types of regional instruments cannot be fruitfully examined. As a matter of fact a number of regional technical agreements have been drawn up under the auspices of the I.L.O., such as the agreement concerning social security of Rhine boatmen; the agreement on conditions of employment of Rhine boatmen; and the European agreement concerning the work of crews of vehicles engaged in international road transport. Such agreements are practical measures for rationalisation of regional needs and at the same time provide valuable support to the universal standards elaborated by this Conference. We are ready and anxious to co-operate with regional organisations which request our assistance in this respect. A few months ago, for example, the European Social Charter came into effect. This Charter was drawn up by the Council of Europe, with the technical assistance of the International Labour Office. We all must welcome initiatives such as this, and I know that we are prepared to pledge the support and co-operation of the I.L.O. for any similar efforts on the part of other regional organisations any place in the world. I consider that the willingness of regional organisations to devote their own labour standards on the basis of I.L.O. standards is another proof of the continuing vitality, the continuing universality of the principles contained in the international labour Conventions and Recommendations.

As we come to the end of this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference I would like to pause, with your permission, for a moment to pay a special tribute to the Principal Deputy Director-General of the I.L.O., Mr. Jef Eens, who, as you know, has decided to resign after more than 20 years of service with the I.L.O. and will be leaving us at the end of the month. This will be the last occasion in over 17 years of close, intimate collaboration that he and I shall share this platform together.

Mr. Eens has been associated with the I.L.O. since 1938 when he attended the International Labour Conference as first technical adviser to the Belgian Workers' delegation. He was Belgian Workers' delegate to the Special Session of the Conference which was held in New York in 1941, and again attended the historic 26th Session of the Conference which was held in Philadelphia in 1944. It was at this session that he was elected as a Worker member of the Governing Body. After a distinguished career in the Belgian trade union movement and as a government official, Mr. Eens was appointed Assistant Director in November 1944 by the then Director, Mr. Edward Phelan. In 1951 I appointed Mr. Eens as my Deputy Director-General and he served in this capacity until last November, when I designated him as Principal Deputy Director-General.

Jef Eens has served the I.L.O. faithfully during two of the most important decades in the Organisation's history. His contribution to the work of the I.L.O. during this long span of time is appreciated as much by his colleagues in the Office, all of us, as by those delegates at the Conference and members of the Governing Body who have had the opportunity of being associated with him during these years in some of his manifold endeavours.

Jef Eens began his service at a time when the I.L.O. was forging itself into an effective instrument for the promotion of social justice and economic welfare in the post-war world. Since then, he has seen the I.L.O. more than double its membership and expand the scope and size of its activities in response to the new demands and new challenges presented by a rapidly developing and changing world.

Mr. Eens can take pride in having greatly helped all of us, by his energy, enthusiasm, his resourcefulness, and his devotion to the principles for which this great Organisation stands, in making this progress possible. There will be a full opportunity during the Governing Body session which follows this Conference to bid an official farewell to Mr. Eens, but I felt it only correct that the entire Conference, that this 49th Session, would want me on its behalf to thank him, to thank him again, I say, not only for myself but for it, for his public service and devotion, for his sincere devotion to the I.L.O. and to wish him good luck and continued success in the years which lie ahead.

I have tried as best I could to explain in my Report why my Report this year was a short one. I must also confess to the Conference that it has been my intention this year to be brief not only in my Report but, if possible, also in my reply. But you will have seen from the statistics I gave you at the beginning of my
reply that they did not facilitate my intention. However, I can assure each delegate who has spoken that his views and points of criticism will be examined by me and fully considered in the further development of our activities and in the preparation of proposals for action by the Governing Body.

But if I may I would like now for one moment to recapitulate. Let us take a look at how much we have achieved of what we set out to do two years ago, and let us see what remains to be done. Three sessions of Conference discussion on the programme and structure of our Organisation have yielded clear agreement on the scope and objectives of the I.L.O.'s major programme areas of action. That is now clear. Governing Body machinery has been established for the consideration and evaluation of all the proposals made at these sessions of the Conference, and this machinery will now attempt to reconcile conflicting views on the remaining outstanding issues. And that is now clear. During the same two years I have undertaken a major internal and administrative reorganisation of the Office in order to make the I.L.O. a more effective instrument in the service of its constituents. And of this everyone is aware. Finally, we are about to decentralise our activities so as to bring the I.L.O. closer to the governments, the employers and the workers for whom and with whom it must work. And this I believe is now fully understood.

As I see it, therefore, our practical task for the future is now clear: we must, in every part of the Organisation, in all our organs, concentrate on putting what we have reached agreement upon into practice. And this will be no mean feat. The machinery has been overhauled, now we must put it to work and ensure that our resources, both human and financial, are utilised with ever-increasing efficiency.

The United Nations system was never more in need of a robust, hard-hitting, efficient I.L.O. than it is at the present time. Because of the serious dissensions which exist amongst the Members of the United Nations, the last General Assembly was not able to complete its work. This casts its shadow over the work of the member organisations in the United Nations family, including the I.L.O. On Friday of this week there will be celebrated in San Francisco the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. So it seems to me, as it must to you, that this is the appropriate occasion for us, not only as representatives of governments, of employers and of workers, but also as men and women dedicated to the cause of international cooperation, to do everything that lies within our power to help restore confidence in international order, and in the international organisations which comprise the United Nations family and which together symbolise the aspirations of mankind for a better world—and which the great majority of mankind sees as a concrete commitment by nations of the world to the pursuit of peace.

I had not felt that this Conference would be a Conference of drama or crises but rather a Conference in which we could take a step forward in our continuing efforts to strengthen international co-operation and international understanding in the field of social and labour policy and through these means to strengthen men's efforts to achieve a more peaceful world. But as I come to the close of this Conference, I would be less than honest and less than frank if I did not express some uneasiness. While the level of debate on my Report has been high, there has also been a high level of political tension. I feel that there is in the Organisation a basic problem which still remains to be resolved. That is whether we are to be universal in the full sense of the word. There is outstanding, too, the problem of finding further effective methods for the universal application of I.L.O. principles. We have the issue, too, of the reconciliation of the principles of universality and tripartism. We have still outstanding the question of how and within what pattern to live with these principles. We have not yet learned to live with each other as a tripartite organisation in conditions of confidence and mutual respect.

I mention these points because this year much of this type of problem has been transferred from the Conference hall to a series of informal discussions. Tensions flowing from the political issues in the world and flowing from the difficult international situation have seeped quite heavily into many of our discussions and much of our work; happily not to the point of disruption, but, I believe, to the point of being a danger signal.

I will say no more about this subject now but I venture to express the hope that during the months which lie ahead we in this Organisation should search our hearts and minds and work hard to try to find real solutions to the problems that still divide us; to find methods and procedures for keeping bare, naked political issues out of our Conference; to find ways and means of concentrating more fully and with greater richness on the great industrial and social problems of our time to which we, and we alone, are legitimately called upon to seek solutions. The resolution of some of the political tensions arising in the world outside the framework of the I.L.O. would, of course, undoubtedly help us to achieve a more constructive and effective Organisation; but this, it seems to me, works both ways and anything we can attain here in our Organisation through greater confidence in each other will make easier the climate in which issues are faced in the United Nations, in the world and in other political forums. I hope that we shall not reach a political impasse in the I.L.O. but that we can finally emerge with a broad consensus for the full utilisation of all our resources, both material and intellectual, physical and spiritual, in our great unfinished tasks of helping mankind to find peace, to find dignity and to find happiness in our life.

The PRESIDENT—It is my very pleasant duty to express our deep appreciation of the Director-General's analysis of the speeches made in this hall and of his reply, which was both comprehensive and persuasive.

He has referred to the impending departure of Mr. Rens, and I am sure that, on behalf of delegates here on my own behalf and with Mr. Morse in wishing Mr. Rens a very contented and happy retirement. Sometimes I
wonder how a man who is so active will fare in retirement, but I hope he will also be active in retirement in some ways.

The presence of delegates, tripartite deputations from 104 countries of the world, demonstrates the universality of the I.L.O. and the presence of Mr. Morse represents the stability of the I.L.O.; so this is a happy combination of universality and stability.

As the Director-General was making the points in his speech, I was trying to jot down some notes, as I had intended to make some remarks and give a detailed comment on some of the aspects he had raised, but in view of the hour I have decided to give my detailed as well as my short comments together. I shall give my short comment first, and that is, "Thank you, Mr. Morse"; I shall give my detailed comment now: "Thank you very much, Mr. Morse".

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)
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Zambia:
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Mr. Canning-Cooke (E)
Mr. Mugala (W)

Against (0)

Abstentions (0)
THIRTIETH SITTING

Tuesday, 22 June 1965, 3 p.m.

President : Mr. Raza

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATIVES 1: DISCUSSION (cont.)

The PRESIDENT—We resume the discussion on the report of the Committee on Co-operatives.

Mr. GUNASEKERA (Government adviser, Ceylon)—I trust I shall be forgiven if, by being brief, I commit a breach of what might appear to be an unwritten convention at sessions of this Conference. In asking you to adopt the report of the Committee on Co-operatives I wish to make a few brief observations as a member of the Government group which served on this Committee.

You will notice that we, as Government members, did not speak with one voice on many of the points at issue. You will also notice that, when we did speak as a majority within the group, we were, at one time, against the Employers' group and, at another time, against the Workers' group.

For example, in paragraph 77 of the report you will find that most of us did not support the proposal of the Employers that the financial aid given to co-operatives should be on a basis of equality of treatment as between different sectors of the economy. On the other hand, in paragraph 90 of the report, you will find that we were opposed to the suggestion of the Workers that trade union organisations should be associated with the elaboration and implementation of policy concerning the co-operatives.

But underlying this changeable attitude is the persistent desire on our part to support what we honestly felt was most suitable in each instance. Nevertheless, you will perhaps note that—if you will pardon the parody—it would be true to say of us not that we loved the Employers less but that we loved the Workers more. So much for our attitude.

As regards the report itself, I think it is an outstanding one, because, for the first time, it relates co-operatives to economic development and social progress. I would, in a special way, commend to you paragraphs 101 and 102 of the report because they contain an appeal to interested international agencies for their collaboration with, and for the expansion of technical assistance to, the co-operative movements in developing countries. The appeal is an urgent one, and I am sure that it will not pass unheeded.

Before I conclude, I must join the other speakers in thanking the office-bearers of the Committee and the officials of the I.L.O. who served on it for their excellent report. I have no doubt that the report will be accepted by you.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. ČAPEK (Government adviser, Czechoslovakia)—We were very glad that the I.L.O. decided to place on the agenda of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference such an important question as the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. For this reason, it was with great pleasure that we availed ourselves of this opportunity and took part in the work of the Committee that discussed in detail the various aspects of this important topic.

We may say in all sincerity that we highly appreciate the Conclusions that are proposed by the Committee on Co-operatives, although, in view of the importance of this question, we think that certain points should have been clarified in the document which the majority of the members of the Committee have decided should be adopted as a Recommendation. However, we consider that the Proposed Conclusions may serve as a useful basis for working out the text of a Recommendation, and that governments should be able to submit their amendments or suggestions during the preparation of the documents for the next session.

Allow me to draw your attention to certain important questions which, in our view, should be formulated more specifically or should be emphasised more in the document.

First of all, I should like to refer to definition of the role of co-operatives and the position of co-operatives in the economic and social life of the various countries. We must remember that co-operation is an economic and social association of workers and performs the appropriate functions at the various stages of the development of society. An example of this can be seen in the history of the co-operative movement of the various countries. In view of the difference in the development of various countries, it is difficult to find a definition for co-operatives that would cover all their multifarious activities.

1 See p. 399 and Appendix IX, p. 663.
It is rightly stressed in the document that we have to take into account local conditions affecting co-operatives in the developing countries where their importance is particularly emphasised and that in most cases the governments of the developing countries consider co-operatives as a very important element in the economic and social development of the country.

Therefore, the attempted definition of the role of co-operatives in Point 13 (a) carries only one aspect, that is the economic aspect of the role of co-operatives, and no mention is made of the social role of co-operatives, which is just as important for the developing countries and for other countries as well. Point 3 gives a better description of the role of co-operatives, where co-operatives are considered as one of the instruments for economic, social and cultural development, "combining personal interests with those of society. In this way the resources of the community can be harnessed to social development and improvement of the economic, social and cultural level of the workers.

We think further stress should be laid on the popular character of co-operatives, which are developed through the initiative and on behalf of workers, peasants, and professional and handicraft workers. But it is also essential to protect the true character of co-operation and to prevent attempts to mask the idea of co-operation that mask the capitalistic nature of certain undertakings angling for benefits granted to co-operatives at the time of their establishment.

The Proposed Conclusions rightly point out that prospects are very great in the field of co-operation but that there are also limits. Certain countries, including my own, where the co-operative movement has developed considerably, have found by experience that co-operation may indeed further the development of society and help progress, and that it is one instrument for defending the interests of the workers, but that it is outside its scope to deal with all the problems of the development or transformation of society. The idea that co-operatives have unlimited potential does more harm than good to the movement and to its genuine contribution to the construction of society. Since this idea is unrealistic it remains a Utopian concept that cannot be put into practice.

Another thing that worries us is the so-called assistance to co-operative movements by private institutions, as mentioned in the Proposed Conclusions. There is always a danger that such outside assistance from the country concerned or from abroad may be directed not only to co-operatives but also to the pattern of government of developing countries. This question of outside private assistance is something that should be discussed in greater detail in order to preclude any possibility of abuse when such help is given from inside the country or from abroad, or to warn the competent authorities of the possibility of such abuse.

Despite these remarks which we had to make in the course of the discussion in the Committee, and which we thought necessary to repeat here in the plenary session, we regard the work done by the Committee on Co-operatives as having been fruitful, as proved by the results of the Committee's work contained in the Proposed Conclusions. I think these Conclusions can serve as a very good basis for the drafting of a Recommendation, and in years to come, if the majority so desired and thought that this would be for the good of the developing countries, we should not oppose the adoption of a more effective instrument on co-operation.

In conclusion, I should like to add that we were also satisfied with the Conclusions of the Committee on Agrarian Reform referring to the role of co-operatives. We think those Conclusions quite rightly stress the role of co-operation as one of the means to assist in accomplishing the tasks of agrarian reform in the interests of the peasants and agricultural workers. The experience acquired in this connection in Czechoslovakia, with a view to applying the principle of giving the land to those who work it, has demonstrated the importance of producers' and other co-operatives in agriculture.

*Interpretation from Russian: Mr. KHORIN (Government adviser, U.S.S.R.)—The problems connected with the economy of the developing countries are among the most important international issues of the day. Therefore, the inclusion on the agenda of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference of the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries was very desirable.

I should like to refer to the positive and useful work that was carried out by the Office in preparing the preliminary reports and the Proposed Conclusions, the adoption of which was urged by the majority of members of the Committee.

The Office reports describe the very serious economic and social condition of the workers in the developing countries. This was done most objectively.

We particularly understand the hopes of the peoples of the developing countries, since the difficulties which they are undergoing are, in many ways, similar to the difficulties that our country had to overcome in the first years after the new Soviet Republic was established. We were left a burdensome legacy of a backward economy, disease, poverty and illiteracy, but within a very short period we managed to overcome these difficulties and we achieved the economic results which are so well known.

In its development the Soviet Union has passed through various stages, and at each stage an important role has been played by the co-operative movement. We worked out a co-operative plan, the essence of which was that we had to attract the peasants through the co-operatives into building socialism, on the basis of voluntary contribution and persuasion, by introducing the principles of collective, first in marketing and supply and then in production.

The implementation of this plan led to great expansion of agricultural potential and output and improvement in the peasants' standard of living. In the present time, all peasant farms in our country are joined together in production co-operatives. The
Second World War put them to a very severe test. Despite the difficult conditions the collective farms succeeded in supplying the country with grain and with other foodstuffs and industry was kept supplied with the necessary raw materials.

In our country a great role is played also by consumer, housing, fishery and other co-operatives. Our experience clearly shows what results can be achieved in favourable circumstances by means of co-operatives. We see what an important role co-operatives may play in economic development and in improving the welfare of the people. In our country, of course, we have our difficulties as well. We have the difficulties of growth; for example, the rapid growth of retail turnover of consumer co-operatives is greater than the expansion of the material base, and there is a shortage of storage facilities.

The Committee on Co-operatives and its Chairman, Mr. Wahid, have done very useful and constructive work over the past 20 days in drawing up a proposed international instrument on the role of co-operatives in the developing countries, the aim of which is to create favourable conditions for the general development of co-operatives and to assist the construction of an independent economy. Today we are discussing the Committee's report and the Proposed Conclusions prepared by the Committee. This document will serve as a basis for the second discussion next year. While giving credit to this document, we consider, nevertheless, that it is necessary to refer in the plenary to substantial shortcomings which we have already mentioned in the Committee. First of all it seems to us that in the Recommendation there should be some reflection of the role of co-operatives in the eradication of the consequences of colonialism, and of the need to do away with the unfair terms of trade that have been practised by the capitalist monopolies vis-à-vis the developing countries. The text also gives undue attention to financial aid provided directly to co-operatives from private sources. The developing countries cannot yet do without this aid, but we think that such aid should be given to co-operatives through the national co-operative bank or, failing that, through a central co-operative organ.

In discussion on Section III on objectives of policy concerning co-operatives, where it is stated that co-operatives should be established as a means of increasing employment by a fuller utilisation of resources, for instance in the implementation of systems of agrarian reform, we proposed that it should be specified that agrarian reform should be effective and democratic in nature. It should be carried out in the interests of the toilers of the land. I dwell on these questions not because I wish to try to impose my opinions on the Committee or on the Conference but simply because I was surprised that the Committee in its majority voted against progressive agrarian reform.

Finally, in the international instrument it would be wise to stress the paramount role of producer co-operatives, as these place the means of production, the basis of every country's economy, on a socialised basis.

In conclusion I should like to emphasise once more that the proposed instrument on co-operatives is of very great interest and is an acceptable basis for further discussion and for a final decision of this important question at the 13th Conference. In common with other delegations we propose that the report of the Committee be approved. Our Government reserves the right at the next Conference to make proposals with a view to improving the text of the international instrument on the role of co-operatives in the developing countries.

**Final Record Vote on the Convention Concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines**

The President: We shall now take the final record vote on the Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines.

(A record vote is taken.)

The President: The result of the vote is as follows: 284 in favour, none against, with 20 abstentions. The Convention is therefore adopted.

**Final Record Vote on the Recommendation Concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines**

The President: We will now take the final record vote on the Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines.

(A record vote is taken.)

The President: The result of the vote is as follows: 321 votes in favour, none against, with 9 abstentions. The Recommendation is therefore adopted.

**Report of the Committee on Co-operatives**: Discussion (concl.) and Adoption

The President: We resume now the discussion on the report of the Committee on Co-operatives.

Interpretation from French: Mr. Perović (Government adviser, Yugoslavia)—I associate myself fully with the gratitude expressed by preceding speakers to the Chairman of the Committee on Co-operatives, Mr. Wahid, Government delegate, Lebanon. He directed the work of the Committee with skill and wisdom. My thanks go also to his fellow officers, who ably assisted him in carrying out his duties. I should particularly like to stress that the meetings of the Committee on Co-operatives were characterised by exceptional activity, by a
cordial atmosphere which was maintained throughout the proceedings, and above all by the success of the proceedings.

The Yugoslav members of the Committee participated actively in its work. They had two essential objectives: first of all, to contribute to the greatest possible extent in the search for the best possible solutions of the problems relating to the role of co-operatives in the economic and social progress of the developing countries, and secondly to show that co-operatives are regarded in Yugoslavia as an important instrument for the promotion of economic development, the establishment of progressive social relationships, and the raising of living standards. In this way we stressed the importance attached by Yugoslavia to the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries.

The Yugoslav delegation knew how the work of the Committee confirmed this—that the problems of co-operative development in developing countries are complex. Inevitably, therefore, these countries are faced with practical difficulties in promoting co-operatives. However, we are firmly convinced that the developing countries will be able to find solutions to all these problems, and we offer them our best wishes for success.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. BIERZA-NEK (Workers' adviser, Poland)—First, I should like to associate myself with the congratulations which have been extended to Mr. Wahid, who was so successfully Chairman of the Committee on Co-operatives, as well as to Mr. Mathsson who objectively and accurately reported on our discussions.

I should like to express my deep-felt satisfaction with all that our Committee did during this session, with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation on co-operatives at the next session. I do this with particular pleasure in view of the fact that Poland is one of those countries where co-operatives have, for many years, played a paramount role in the life of the nation and where co-operative activity is particularly extensive.

The Proposed Conclusions are worthy of the warmest support from our Conference.

I have only two brief observations to make concerning these Conclusions. The first refers to the role of workers' trade union organisations in the development of co-operatives. It is well known that close and systematic collaboration between the unions and the co-operatives is one of the most powerful factors in the development of co-operatives. In many countries the trade unions have taken the initiative in setting up new co-operatives or have given further impetus to existing ones, both in regard to consumer co-operatives and to production or service co-operatives. In fact trade unions and co-operatives are means towards the same end, which is to raise the living standards of the workers.

This sociological fact of the natural alliance between the trade unions and the co-operatives has only been vaguely alluded to in the Conclusions. Although the Workers' group, in its amendment, proposed the insertion of a new Point on collaboration by the trade unions in regard to the formulation and application of policy respecting the creation and development of co-operatives, all that we obtained, in Point 9, as the result of a compromise with the other groups, is one provision according to which the co-operative movement should be encouraged to seek the co-operation of organisations with common objectives. This ambiguous wording was put in to satisfy certain speakers who considered that if trade unions were to play a definite role in the development of co-operatives, there was no reason why other groups, such as employers' organisations, should not enjoy the same right.

The tasks and responsibilities of the trade unions in the field of co-operation certainly cannot be compared with those of the employers' organisations, which obviously have little interest in assisting organisations which represent competition for them. I think it would be wise to reconsider the wording of Point 9 at the next session, in order to find a wording which, while it might be less diplomatic, would be more consistent with social realities.

My second observation concerns scientific research in the field of co-operatives. It is thanks to the initiative of the delegates of the Scandinavian countries that our Committee rightly decided to widen the scope of international collaboration in the field of co-operation by including in Point 34 (4) (g) a clause relating to "the initiatives necessary to promote scientific research into the structure, working methods and problems of co-operative movements in developing countries". I think we should go even further and envisage the possibility of setting up, within the I.L.O., a committee to study problems of co-operation which are of special concern to our Organisation. The tasks and competence of such a committee would be the same as those of the Industrial Committees.

Co-operative problems, as pointed out by a number of delegates, have been included for the first time in the agenda of a session of the International Labour Conference. For the first time in the history of co-operation, co-operative problems are being discussed in this large forum comprising over 100 countries. Many reasons lead us to foresee a growing interest in co-operation on the part of the I.L.O. in the near future, which will last beyond next year, when the second reading of the proposed Recommendation takes place. The Workers' group already at this session presented a proposed Convention and brought up in this way a number of questions of co-operative law and economics, such as the problems of taxing co-operatives and of tax exemptions for co-operatives in various countries. In these circumstances, it would seem useful to stress the importance of research in the field of co-operatives. These problems are extremely complicated for a number of reasons: there are differing traditions and methods in the co-operative movement; there are various fields of co-operative activity; co-operatives are now developing under economic and political systems; and, as the Director of the International Co-operative Alliance so rightly pointed out here, there is no monopoly of wisdom in the field of co-operatives.

Mr. BHEEKHABHAI (Government delegate, India)—I don't want to take up too much of the time of this august assembly because I have
already had a chance to make certain general observations at the opening of the discussion of the Committee. On behalf of my delegation I wish to thank the Committee on Co-operatives for its lucid report. True to the spirit of co-operation, the three groups in the Committee have completed the task with a minimum of controversy and a maximum of understanding. The credit for the smooth functioning of the Committee is undoubtedly due to its able leader—the Chairman, Mr. Wahid, Government delegate, Lebanon. I should also like to extend my warmest appreciation to the L.I.O. Secretariat for its valuable contribution to the work of the Committee both before and during the present session of the Conference.

My delegation was happy to be able to participate in the work of the Committee on Co-operatives, and the outcome is, I believe, a worthy conclusion. It is undoubtedly true, as the report recognises, that we in India and the other developing countries have become familiar through the ages with the spirit and philosophy of co-operation and the essential spirit of social democracy implied by it. But the need of the moment is to diversify the activities of the co-operatives and the co-operative movement and bring them into tune with the demands of modern times. The spirit of co-operation should and must permeate all levels and bring lasting benefits to all sections of the people.

Of course, the success of the movement depends entirely on the extent of the voluntary response it evokes from the people, but the role of the governments in galvanising public opinion in favour of co-operatives and in affording assistance to them in all possible ways without jeopardising their independent functioning can hardly be overemphasised.

I am happy to say that my Government has accorded high priority to the development of co-operatives. Normally, every developing country has to formulate promotional plans in accordance with its circumstances and conditions. We realise that political freedom is not enough; in the words of our late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, political freedom "had to have a social content; it had to aim at economic freedom." We feel convinced that co-operatives developed along proper lines can contribute in a greater measure towards that freedom and ultimately to social justice.

The report now before us offers guidelines for the promotion of co-operatives. I am glad that, while it gives due attention to the various forms of aid which governments can extend to co-operatives in the financial, legislative and administrative fields, it also emphasises the value of educational publicity. The purposes of co-operatives, their role in uplifting the rural and urban population, need to be widely publicised.

I am also happy that the report makes special mention of the value of international collaboration in the co-operative field. I feel sure that, apart from direct mutual aid between the countries themselves, the I.L.O. and other United Nations agencies will continue to take an active interest in the promotion of cooperation all over the world and especially in the developing countries. Their assistance in this direction, of which we already had a foretaste in the I.L.O., will be invaluable.

On behalf of my delegation, I have pleasure in supporting this report and the Proposed Conclusions. Most of the specific measures suggested in the conclusions are already in operation in my country. We intend to pursue vigorously our efforts to promote and popularise co-operatives in our country as we feel that co-operation can form a real foundation-stone of social and economic democracy.

Mr. FRIETEMA (Government adviser, Netherlands)—Having been invited as an expert on co-operation to assist the Netherlands Government at this meeting, I am grateful to be given an opportunity to make one or two short comments.

The first is that I have been impressed by the intensive collaboration between the three groups of delegates which discussed this very complicated problem during the past fortnight. I am impressed especially by the attitude of Employers. It is a general phenomenon that they are often reluctant concerning the promotion by government of the co-operative type of enterprise. In the main, employers tend to stress that, as a principle, governments should be neutral in this respect. This attitude, this philosophy, came to the surface when the Employers wanted us to accept an amendment stating that if and when aid was given to co-operatives it should be given in such a way as not to violate the principle of equality. After a brief discussion that amendment was withdrawn. I feel happy about this because if it had been accepted the Recommendation envisaged regarding the promotion of co-operatives by governmental action would have lost a great deal of its value.

However—and this is my second and last remark—I am quite aware of the danger which is involved in the text before you. This danger is that too much may be expected. I have been a servant of co-operation all my life, and the co-operative movement in the Netherlands is well developed. Still, in my opinion, co-operation is not a general remedy for all social evils, and its success is subject to conditions which very often do not exist in developing countries.

When I was a student at the Netherlands School of Economics some 40 years ago the great economist Alfred Marshall was then generally admired. He was our great master, our great leader and teacher in the field of theoretical economics. I have to quote him from memory, but I remember that he wrote that co-operation had not done the impossible but that it had rendered, and is rendering, valuable services to mankind.

Let us hope that we here in Geneva have contributed to a social and economic development in which co-operation plays a certain and we hope, important role. If we have succeeded just a little in this, all the expense we have had and all the work we have done are fully justified.

Interpretation from French : Mr. ROLLINGER (Employers' adviser, Luxembourg)—Most of the preceding speakers have stressed the unanimity in the Committee regarding the proposals made to us. I should like to explain my
vote, and that of some of my colleagues, and
to make a number of statements also regarding
what will be done next year with regard to this
text.

I should like first of all to stress the great
interest and utility of co-operatives as an eco-
nomic and social instrument. However—and
here I agree with the preceding speaker—I
think that one should avoid giving the impres-
sion that the Recommendation before us is an
end in itself, a miraculous panacea, creating
dangerous illusions in the minds of those who
will be examining such an international instru-
ment. I say this because it is still true that
production and services are in the final instance
in the hands of human beings, and no legal
instrument can suffice to increase productivity.

Therefore I should like to stress, particularly
with a view to next year's discussion, we must
maintain the unanimity which we achieved this
year. I fear that it may be lost if we produce
a much more precise instrument next year.
I therefore hope that we shall manage to avoid
the danger of making co-operatives not an eco-
nomic and social instrument, but a political or
ideological tool. I think that it was a Czechoslovak
speaker who expressed fear that the private
aid provided might give rise to abuse. I under-
stand this, but I should like to suggest rather
that we avoid allowing such aid—which is so
often necessary, particularly in developing
countries—to upset the competitive situation;
I am grateful to the Reporter for stressing that
we must avoid an abuse of that kind.

I close on this note, namely the hope that we
can be as unanimous next year as we were this
year in adopting an instrument which is neutral
as regards ideology and politics, but is positive
when it comes to increasing prosperity in the
world.

**Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. CUSIA-
NOVICH VALDERAMA (Government dele-
gate, Peru)**—I come to this platform to associate myself with the expressions of satisfaction at the inclusion of this question of co-operatives on the agenda of the present session. We are also glad at the way in which the Committee has handled the subject.

I took part in a technical regional meeting on
cooparatives in Latin American countries
which was held at Santiago, Chile, in December
1963. I had the honour, owing to the generosity
of those present, to preside over that meeting.
All those who attended were highly satisfied,
not only at the results in themselves, but also
at the evidence of the I.L.O.'s concern in
holding a special meeting for Latin American
countries— to upset the competitive situation;
I am grateful to the Reporter for stressing that
we must avoid an abuse of that kind.

Now we are still more pleased because not
only has this matter been handled by a regional
conference, but it has played an important part
in the agenda of the 49th Session of the General
Conference.

I shall be brief; I shall not go into any
doctrinal aspect of the co-operative question.
I will merely mention two concrete facts. One
is the subject itself which was discussed at the
meeting, the other is the spirit in which the
Committee worked.

The fact that the I.L.O. has been dealing
with the co-operative movement under the
title "The Role of Co-operatives in the Econo-
mic and Social Development of Developing
Countries" shows that the I.L.O. understands
what the co-operative movement could do.
It is not a question of developing the movement
just to occupy somebody's spare time. The
subject suggests rather that we must at a
certain moment leave other matters aside in order
to take action on this subject of such impor-
tance for the development of many countries.

The work of the Committee went forward in
such a manner it would be unjust to seek to
improve it. There was a genuine spirit of co-
operation, and I would like to associate myself
with the congratulations offered to the Chair-
man of the Committee, Mr. Wahid, Mr.
Mathsson, and the whole Drafting Committee.
I should like also to offer thanks to the leaders
of the Employers' and Workers' groups on
the Committee, Mr. Rifat and Mr. Kane,
because if there had not been this co-operative
spirit the work would have been more difficult
and the results less positive.

We must also publicly associate ourselves
with the congratulations and thanks addressed
by the Chairman of the Committee to the
Secretariat staff, Mr. Orizet, particularly, who
worked so hard and well to achieve the results.
I would like to congratulate also the inter-
preters and messengers and other people who
helped the Committee to do its work.

I would like to refer to one other necessary
thing: this session having dealt with co-
operatives in the way in which it did, the result
will be that all our countries will ask for more
technical assistance regarding co-operatives.
It is important that the guiding lines offered by
the I.L.O. prove satisfactory from that point of
view. Our Latin American countries are pre-
pared to help as far as they can, with a view
to ensuring that this I.L.O. technical assistance
is used as effectively as possible.

Peru has already, foreseeing this, offered
Lima as the seat of a co-operative development
institute for Latin America, following the 1963
meeting to which I referred at the outset.
I should like once more to congratulate
Mr. Wahid and all those who helped him, and
the President of the Conference, who must
share in the credit.

The PRESIDENT—Since I have no more
speakers on this report, I believe that the
house is now ready to adopt the report. The
discussion has been thorough, detailed and
searching, and I hope you are in favour now of adopting this report. If there are no objec-
tions, I shall take it that the report is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

**Proposed Conclusions with a View to
the Adoption of a Recommendation
Concerning the Role of Co-operatives
in the Economic and Social Development
of Developing Countries, Submitted
by the Committee on Co-operatives^1:**

**Adoption**

The PRESIDENT—We now take the Pro-
posed Conclusions with a view to the adoption

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1 See Appendix IX, p. 673.
of a Recommendation concerning the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. If there are no objections, I shall consider them adopted.

(The Proposed Conclusions are adopted.)

Resolution concerning the Placing on the Agenda of the Next Ordinary Session of the Conference of the Question of the Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries, Submitted by the Committee on Co-operatives 1:

Adoption

The President—Now we proceed to the resolution concerning the placing on the agenda of the next ordinary session of the Conference of the question of the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. The vote will be by show of hands.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 200 votes in favour, none against, with no abstentions.)

The President—Before I move on to the report of the Committee on Agrarian Reform, may I express hearty thanks to the Chairman and the Reporter and the members of the Committee for their very valuable, patient work. It is quite obvious from what we have heard today that they have done a good job of work. Thank you very much.

Report of the Committee on Agrarian Reform 2: Submission, Discussion and Adoption

The President—The next item of business is the report of the Committee on Agrarian Reform. Will Mr. Armendares, the Chairman, and Mr. Pedersen, the Reporter, please come to the platform. I would ask Mr. Pedersen to submit the report.

Mr. Pedersen (Government adviser, Denmark; Reporter of the Committee on Agrarian Reform)—I have the honour to submit the report of the Committee on the item on the agenda named agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects.

The Committee has been working under the able chairmanship of Mr. Armendares from Argentina, with the full and helpful support of the two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Sepúlveda Lata­pia, Employers' delegate, Chile, and Mr. González Navarro, Workers' delegate, Venezuela.

The outcome of the work of the Committee is attached to the report which has been distributed. It is a resolution on the subject and describes the objectives of agrarian reform, with particular respect to social and employment questions. It describes the measures to be taken, among which the training of beneficiaries, other personnel, and the introduction of co-operatives are particularly emphasised; and finally, the resolution contains some proposals as to the action to be taken by the I.L.O. in the future.

The Committee hopes that our resolution will be favourably considered and adopted by the Conference.

I do not intend to go into any detail as to the work of the Committee. I should like to say that it has throughout been carried on in a spirit of energy and co-operation. For further information, I ask you to refer to the report which is before you. I should like very much, however, to emphasise the unanimous view of the Committee as to the importance of agrarian reform in several countries of the world, so as to create an agrarian structure which is favourable to a sound economic development and satisfactory development also in the field of employment and social conditions.

Farming in many parts of the world today is unfortunately closely connected with poor social standards and varying degrees of unemployment and underemployment. It is a matter of experience that, unless the basic structure of agriculture and of the rural community as a whole in such places is greatly changed and improved, then you cannot otherwise do very much. The basic structure must be established in a better way if you are to expect lasting improvements by introducing things like social legislation and other measures intended to improve the social conditions, including employment and working conditions.

Moreover, I wish to emphasise the aspects of international co-operation and division of labour among the various agencies which are interested in the matter. This is essential in order to promote satisfactory agrarian reforms where the need for such is present. The Committee had the privilege of the participation in our work of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations in the person of Mr. Jacoby, and of the United Nations in the person of Mr. Luker. It is a matter of course, on which the Committee was fully agreed, that the International Labour Organisation has an important contribution to make, particularly as regards the employment and social aspects, while fully recognising the primary responsibility of the Food and Agriculture Organisation in the subject as a whole and in the technical aspects of agriculture in particular.

In this respect the resolution prepared by the Committee calls attention to the concerted action of the Committee to the concerted international action programme in the field of agrarian reform. The resolution is, we hope, a significant document in support of this joint effort, but these concerted activities must of course be constantly kept under observation and consideration by all agencies concerned in order to safeguard the future.

May I finally express my country's and my personal gratitude to the Committee on Agrarian Reform of this session of the International Labour Conference for the honour of having been entrusted with the most interesting task of acting as Reporter. I hope you will favourably consider the report and the resolution. If so, all credit goes to the Committee and to the valuable assistance given to our work by the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Anker, and by the other expert staff of the International Labour Office.

With these few words, I have the honour of submitting the report of the Committee on Agrarian Reform.

1 See Appendix IX, p. 676 and Appendix XII, p. 707.
2 See Appendix VIII, p. 650.
The President—The report is now open for general discussion.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. Armendares (Government delegate, Argentina; Chairman of the Committee on Agrarian Reform)—It is with great satisfaction that, as Chairman of the Committee on Agrarian Reform, I submit the report of the Committee to this 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. My satisfaction stems from the happy circumstance that the report was unanimously adopted by the Committee.

Agrarian reform is a polemical question in itself and has obvious political repercussions, but the proposals were endorsed by all the delegates representing various parts of the world and various political ideologies. We are certain that we have produced a text which corresponds to the new objectives that the I.L.O. has set itself and which can serve as a basis for future discussions. If throughout our resolution we can contribute to changing in any way the rural structures of the developing countries and to bringing a little more happiness and prosperity to the rural worker, we shall be fully satisfied with our achievement.

The Reporter has already described the general lines of the proposed text. All that remains for me to do is to add my profound thanks to all the members of the Committee for their spirit of co-operation, which made my task most pleasant. I would particularly like to thank the Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Sepúlveda Latapiat, Employers' member, Chile, and Mr. González Navarro, Workers' member, Venezuela. I would also like to express my gratitude to the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Anker, who was an excellent, tireless and loyal collaborator, as well as to his staff.

This morning Mr. Morse reminded the Conference that the supreme objective of the I.L.O. is to alleviate human suffering. We should be glad indeed if the proposed resolution which we are submitting to the Conference can contribute at all to achieving this objective.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. Sepúlveda Latapiat (Employers' delegate, Chile; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Agrarian Reform)—I should like to start by thanking, in the name of the Employers' members of this Committee, the Chairman, Mr. Armendares, who has just spoken, for his excellent work. We also wish to thank Mr. Anker and the technical staff; also our Reporter and all the members of the Committee, particularly the Workers' Vice-Chairman, Mr. González Navarro, with whom we managed to co-operate in a very fine spirit and with good results.

This spirit of understanding which characterised the work of the Committee is certainly worthy of mention at this time. It does not mean that the Employers are all in agreement with all the measures referred to in the report which we are now discussing. There are reservations to be made on certain points—in particular with regard to paragraphs 1, 7 and 8. However, what I wish to point out now is that we are considering a resolution tending to lay down the general lines of a policy to be followed by the I.L.O. within its field of competence, and it is in this general sense that we accept the resolution and in which we call attention to its importance.

Agrarian reform, as has already been said, is one of the most difficult questions which can be discussed. Its social and political repercussions give rise to tension where it is undertaken, and even violence has not infrequently accompanied it. It is very important and encouraging that at an international conference like this the possibility of an understanding regarding agrarian reform should have been demonstrated. A number of factors have enabled us to achieve the result which is now reflected in the report before the Conference: there was the spirit of understanding of the speakers; there was technical efficiency and advice from the I.L.O.; but, above all, there was real agreement on fundamental aspects of the reform. First of all, the Committee was convinced that agrarian reform is a requirement of today. This means that those who now have the land take a constructive line and do not simply wish to defend themselves. That was the position taken by the Employers' group, and I am honoured to say here that all my efforts as spokesman of most of the Employers were aimed towards faithfully interpreting this feeling of most of the Employers.

Agrarian reform generally gives rise to contradictions between its social and economic objectives. The farm workers among our peoples require social progress, but our countries as a whole have urgent economic development needs, to which agriculture must contribute. How is one to harmonise the objectives of social progress, which are of interest to agricultural workers, with the objectives of economic development which are of interest to the whole population? That is one of the most acutely difficult points in any process of agrarian reform.

At this Conference, however, we have achieved advances which represent useful experiments that can be tried out in actual national conditions. The first thing is to have clear objectives, and in the Committee there was sufficient clarification, as reflected in the report and draft resolution.

Through agrarian reform we have to seek both economic and social development; the improvement of agricultural production and the raising of standards of life must be objectives, neither of which should exclude the other. The dignity of those who live in the country and the obtaining of more food for the towns are both necessary objectives.

We did not meet at this Conference to create abstract formulas, nor was our attitude in the Committee based on negative reactions. The resolution sets out our faith that agrarian reform will be achieved not as a process destructive to existing production systems, but as a form of progress in which the good which now exists will be preserved and stimulated, so that efforts may be dedicated to correcting what may be defective. We must never aim at doing anything which is not a positive advance.

Each nation will have to examine the circumstances prevailing there. It was very
satisfactory to the Employers to secure the inclusion of a special reference to the effect that the manner in which the existing methods of land tenure sufficiently protect the workers and promote rational cultivation must be considered.

Thus, on the part of the Employers, we take a very responsible attitude. I said in the Committee and I repeat now that we believe that the entrepreneur has two fundamental responsibilities: he has to do his social duty faithfully towards the workers, and he has a responsibility as the whole of society to use the land properly, because it is in short supply in many countries. The social function of the land must include both these aspects.

If the employer duly complies with these two obligations, then he can ask that he be respected within the agrarian reform, which he faces with a positive spirit; a clear discrimination should be made between the good and the bad agricultural employer, with a view to supporting the former and to taking energetic action against the latter.

It is also made clear in our discussion that the workers' organisations have an important role to play in agrarian reform, and the Employers fully recognise this fact. The action of the trade unions must be aimed in two directions, as set out in the document. First of all, they must defend their own group interests; secondly, they must make their necessary contribution to general development objectives.

Employers are against the selfishness of employers and we are glad to see that the Workers are against trade union selfishness and are disposed to recognise that in order to achieve economic development at a general level they must act responsibly, for on that will depend the policy of the trade unions towards the undertaking, so that incomes will not be redistributed at the expense of the aggregate national income, for this is already low on a per head basis; mere redistribution of income will not suffice to solve the workers' problems.

Another of the important aspects of our discussion in the Committee is the conviction that low standards of life in rural areas do not depend only on the land tenure system or even exclusively on other agrarian structures. Land tenure questions are a necessary part of any agrarian reform, but it cannot be expected that changes in this matter will bring economic and social improvement if technical improvements, credit, co-operative organisations and so on, are not included. Agrarian reform programmes must be placed in the context of the national economy. One cannot expect agrarian reform to bring economic and social improvement if defective price structures prevail which keep the standard of living down, if marketing is parasitic, or if governments systematically neglect the rural sectors in assigning public funds for housing, education or health.

We have not proposed any definite formula for solving marketing or other problems such as I have mentioned, but we have pointed out that these problems must be faced together because one cannot conceive that agrarian problem depends exclusively on farmers or can be resolved only at the rural level. Agrarian reform should not be held up because marketing is deficient, nor should we refrain from parceling out land which is poorly worked because credit is short; but we would be deceiving people if we were offering them something as impossible as agrarian reform restricted to merely redistributing the land, and which does not require the other sectors of the economy to correct systems outside agriculture which hamper development in agriculture.

All these are substantial aspects on which we reached agreement in the Committee. At future sessions of the Conference we shall have to deal with successive instruments to be drawn up in order to handle special aspects of agrarian reform within the competence of the I.L.O.

I am certain that if we act with the same objectivity as on this occasion, useful agreements will be reached in future sessions of the Conference also, and we shall thus enable the I.L.O. to make a valuable contribution to the implementation of agrarian reforms capable of promoting economic and social development in our countries.

It is for these reasons that I should like to express the support of the Employers in the Committee for this report, and I ask the Conference to accept it and the resolution.

Mr. LUKER (Representative of the United Nations)—Thank you for allowing me to say a word or two on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Agrarian reform is a subject so wide and so complex that, as has frequently been mentioned in the Committee's report, and as has just been stressed again by Mr. Pedersen, co-ordination between the various international organisations concerned is quite essential. This is true negatively to avoid duplication and positively to ensure collaboration. It is indeed a very good example of the type of collaboration that was mentioned by Mr. Morse in his speech this morning.

Because of this, the Secretary-General is appreciative of the opportunities given, through his representatives, to participate in the I.L.O. discussions on agrarian reform, first at the Governing Body, then at the Technical Advisory Group, and now at this session of the Conference.

It so happens that the debate in your Committee coincided with the publication of the United Nations report, Progress in Land Reform, a document prepared jointly by the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, and the International Labour Organisation. This is the fourth report of its kind and is issued in response to a General Assembly resolution that reflects the importance given to land reform by asking that comprehensive surveys should be made at three-yearly intervals. This fourth report on progress in land reform will be considered by the Economic and Social Council at its session in Geneva next month.

Our future collaboration will therefore be facilitated by being placed in the context of detailed and recent discussion of the subject both in the International Labour Conference and in the Economic and Social Council.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. KIREV (Government adviser, Bulgaria)—The work of our Committee lasted for more than two weeks. The subject is a very important one for the
future of the exploited majority of peasants—that is, the question of agrarian reform. It must be said that our work was done in a business-like manner. We had a detailed report which was competently prepared by the Technical Advisory Group on Agrarian Reform. Then a favourable atmosphere was created in the Committee itself and its Working Party.

A great deal of help was given to all of us by Mr. Anker, the representative of the Director-General. Mr. Armendares conducted the discussions very skilfully. Thanks to the efforts of the officers and the Secretariat the Committee's work ran very smoothly.

During the discussions there was a calm atmosphere in which we had a detailed debate on this very important issue. There were varying—even contradictory—opinions, but, nevertheless, there was an atmosphere of tolerance and cordiality.

Almost all delegates recognised that the question of agrarian reform is very urgent and a matter of economic and political necessity.

There was a great divergence of views concerning the form of an international instrument on agrarian reform and when it should be adopted and implemented. It was gratifying that we adopted a resolution on agrarian reform, but we regret that the work of our Committee did not lead to a stronger instrument—that is, a Convention. Many delegates spoke in favour of adopting a Convention and of putting the subject on the agenda of the 50th Session of the International Labour Conference.

There were also many different views in the Committee as to what should be done about large private estates. Everybody agreed that agrarian reform was necessary, but, as soon as discussion turned on the need for rapid action and the fate of the large estates, disagreement began, and the Employers in particular questioned what was perfectly obvious. It often happens that where class interests are involved the interested classes try to dispute the most obvious truths. Some delegates cunningly attempted to defend large private estates and suggested they should be maintained while agrarian reform is carried out.

Depending on whether the large private estates are maintained, seriously reduced or liquidated the area of land to be covered by agrarian reform and then handed over to the peasants who work it will be greater or less. The starting point of agrarian reform, as of the peasants' struggle for the land, is the fact that large estates are in the hands of a few private persons, it abolished private ownership of large estates; owing to the particular agrarian structure in our country in the past, under which there were no large estates, agrarian reform also affected the kulak class; agrarian reform was carried out in the interests of peasants having little or no land, and an essential provision was that they were given their land free of charge; agrarian reform transferred part of the expropriated lands to the landless peasants, while the rest was transferred to the State; agrarian reform helped the establishment of producer co-operatives and state farms.

Thus the 1946 agrarian reform helped to bring about a radical solution of the agrarian question for the benefit of the labouring peasants in our country. The organisation of farms in the co-operative organisation led to a final radical solution of the agrarian question with the same purpose.

Mr. LAMARTINE YATES (Representative of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations)—On behalf of the Food and Agriculture Organisation, I should like to say how much we welcome the interest shown at this session of the International Labour Conference in the subject of agrarian reform, which, as experience in many parts of the world shows, is something that has to be undertaken before agricultural development can move forwards satisfactorily.

The Conference will be interested to learn that the F.A.O., as the agency having primary responsibility in this field, will convene in June 1966 in Rome a World Conference on Agrarian Reform at which governments will be invited to evaluate the situation in their respective countries. By focusing attention on this problem, and on the need for more energetic reform programmes, we can hasten the removal of archaic tenure systems, which today represent a major barrier to the achievement of rural prosperity.

The F.A.O. particularly appreciates the report of the Committee on Agrarian Reform which is now before this session of the Conference. It is gratifying to find so much attention to positive measures which will further the
aims we all have in view. The F.A.O. specially welcomes the resolution which the Committee has submitted to this session of the Conference for adoption and which, as we understand it, calls for I.L.O. action to be extended and intensified in respect of the social and employment aspects of a wide range of items which are essential elements in the battle for land reform.

It is certain that the active support of this Conference, coupled with the special meeting scheduled for next year, will mean that significant progress in agrarian reform figures on the agenda of the 39th Session of the Economic and Social Council which convenes here in a few days' time. On that occasion an opportunity will be provided, at Council level, all the activities of the United Nations family in this field and to support the initiatives taken at this Conference.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. RECALDE (Employers' delegate, Argentina)—I have asked to speak in this plenary sitting as the Employers' delegate from the Argentine in order to explain our attitude towards agrarian reform. I am glad to say how pleased we were to work in the Committee and at the good work done under the Chairman, Mr. Armendares, whose skill enabled us to reach positive results.

As the Technical Advisory Group pointed out, it is difficult to lay down standards of general application on this subject of agrarian reform because regard must be had to differences in the political, economic and social conditions prevailing in each country if one is not to make mistakes and cause irreparable damage.

We employers in developing countries are fully aware of the changes which it is necessary to make in economic and social structures in order that the potential of our countries may be fully exploited and particularly in order to increase the gross national product, to raise the standard of living and to permit the better economic and social training of our people so that they may contribute efficiently, voluntarily, and indeed enthusiastically to building the nation.

Agrarian reform as part of a harmonious programme of economic and social development has become something more than a political expression of claims on behalf of the landless classes. It now includes programmes for the modification of agrarian structures under which the problem of redistributing land must be faced in the light of economics and technology and with a view to achieving social equity. Regard must be had to the effective working of the land by farmers who have the right amount of land for the type of cultivation involved and who have the necessary infrastructure, as well as the technical, credit, health, education and welfare facilities needed for satisfactory production and productivity and to achieve the optimum utilisation of a given area in the light of the social function which properly belongs to the land.

Accordingly farmers must be able to operate in an atmosphere in which agricultural methods and marketing arrangements permit them to reach sufficiently high levels of production and productivity and also to obtain stable and remunerative prices on the national and international markets.

Co-operative organisations, which they could join of their own free will, could be extremely helpful in improving production, providing equipment, obtaining credit and making satisfactory marketing arrangements. We accept the idea of a harmonious conjunction of agricultural and industrial interests, in accordance with the characteristics of each country, and without discrimination against rural workers. We also accept the idea that the problems of production in urban and in rural conditions should be faced jointly because they are two components of the same national unit.

The task of the Working Party appointed to prepare a text for the Committee was hard, but it finally succeeded in producing a balanced expression of the views of the three groups. This achievement shows the great progress which has been made as regards relations between employers and workers, largely due to I.L.O. action. That was evident from the wide measure of agreement between the two groups on important features of agrarian reform, which certainly facilitated the work.

We have, however, to disagree with some statements to the effect that the Employers' group systematically defended the large estates. On the contrary we accepted without discussion the principle of limiting the size of properties, depending on the type of cultivation and with a view to greater efficiency in the use of the land in the interests of the community as a whole.

In indicating our agreement with the general principles of the proposed text, we consider that it should lead to the training of a greater number of efficient entrepreneurs who have a clear understanding of their functions as producers and who are anxious to acquire more technical and cultural knowledge.

We regard the last words of paragraph 4 as encouraging, indeed the phrase in question seems to be a new feature in I.L.O. conclusions. The passage to which I refer implies that recognition and respect are due to farmers who cultivate their land efficiently and with awareness of their social function.

In closing, I repeat our support for the report. Such vague expressions as "subdividing the land" and "giving the land to those who work it" have been heard, but the Committee's report on this point may be summed up as asserting the broader concept that land must be given to those who will achieve the conditions enabling them to work it with a high degree of social efficiency.

Lord COLLISON (Workers' delegate, United Kingdom)—I think that I should explain that I have been asked to come to the rostrum to speak for the Workers' members of the Committee because, unfortunately, Mr. González Navarro, the Workers' Vice-Chairman of the Committee, has had to leave the Conference.

I should like to say that the Committee...
worked well and in good harmony. There was a great deal of understanding between the various parties on it, which enabled us to produce in the end a report which I believe can secure the support of all delegates to this Conference. On our side, we should like to pay a tribute to our Chairman, Mr. Armendares, and also to the representatives of the Office, headed by Mr. Anker. They gave us a great deal of help and, where necessary, advice, and we are grateful to them.

With regard to the subject that we discussed—agrarian reform—the Committee first of all tried to decide what in fact agrarian reform was. There has been in the past some misunderstanding as to what it is. Agrarian reform is not a single thing, it is not simply the transfer of land or the redivision of land, although that is part of it and in some cases a very important part. The main objective of agrarian reform is to create an agricultural structure, in different countries and perhaps by different means, whereby those people working in agriculture as owners of land, farmers, or as peasants owning small pockets of land, or as hired workers, can achieve a proper standard of living and a decent income. That is the first objective of agrarian reform. The second objective, of course, is to ensure that the land is worked efficiently and well. To my mind, these two things together can be summed up by the use of the word “viable” or “viability.” The objective of agrarian reform must be to create a structure of holdings which ensures that each holding, whether large or small, whether worked by a peasant or by a farmer employing labour, is economically viable.

We agreed, in the end, that the definition laid down by the Technical Advisory Group was the correct one, and I think it is worth reading. It says: “Agrarian reform should be considered as denoting comprehensive measures for the improvement of agrarian structure, including changes in land tenure, that is, reforms that, within the framework of broad programmes, tend to give land to those who work it, improve the position of tenants and share-croppers and of hired farm workers, or enlarge the units of cultivation or operation and consolidated holdings. It also includes the establishment or strengthening of essential governmental or other agencies or services relating to agricultural credit, supply, marketing, training and extension and research.”

So you see that agrarian reform involves a number of activities and a number of considerations and that together these things are aimed at doing what I described when I started—creating a structure which will enable those people working on the land to enjoy a good standard of living and enable agriculture to produce the essential commodity, food, efficiently and well so that the starving peoples of the world can be fed.

My second point this afternoon is to make it clear that we all understood that you could not make one common definition as to structure, that what would evolve might be very different in one country as compared with another; very different perhaps in one country with a certain political structure as compared with a country with a different structure. We were not discussing politics, we were discussing a practical programme which, applied in the appropriate way according to the circumstances in each place, could lead to the improvement of the structure of agriculture in the way I have described.

Despite the fact that we recognised that one could not lay down hard and fast rules, as it were, that one could not just draw a blueprint for agrarian structure which could apply to all countries—we know that cannot be done—the Workers’ group was very anxious to produce a document with teeth, and the view was widely expressed in the Workers’ group that the outcome of our discussions should be in the form of a Recommendation. We knew it was explained to us, that this was not possible at this session of the Conference—that is to say, measures had not been taken, governments had not been asked to give their comments on a proposed text, therefore it could not be done. And we knew and had to accept in the knowledge that all that could be done was to produce a resolution, which we did before you. But I want to be quite frank with the Conference and make it clear that the Workers are anxious and desirous, and indeed determined, that matters pertaining to agrarian reform shall be brought before future sessions of the Conference.

Of course, there is not only one thing, there are many issues, as I have explained, which have a bearing on agrarian reform, and these could well lead to the development of one or two Conventions and perhaps one or two Recommendations, and perhaps to a general Recommendation which would be broad enough in its wording to be used in place of the resolution we now have before us. Therefore we pressed for the inclusion of a sentence recommending the Governing Body to place on the agenda of the 51st and following sessions of the International Labour Conference, as a follow-up to the item already included in the agenda of the 49th Session in 1965, the question of agrarian reform as regards those aspects within the competence of the I.L.O. after consultation with other United Nations agencies and especially the Food and Agriculture Organisation.

If I may at this point, I want to thank the representative of the Food and Agriculture Organisation who has just spoken for the wise words he said to us.

We know, of course, that we were criticised in the Committee for suggesting that it would be possible for the I.L.O. to go further in this matter. We recognise, too, that in this field other agencies are involved, and indeed vitally involved, and we are anxious, as the Workers’ group, that there should be no overlapping or duplication of effort. We have covered our position and the position of the Conference and the Governing Body by requesting the Governing Body to bring before future sessions items relating to agrarian structure within the competence of the I.L.O. and, where necessary, after consultation, I am sure this puts the matter very clearly, very precisely and very properly. It is the way to go about it.

I would finish by asking you all to give your full support to this resolution. When it gets to the Governing Body we shall have to...
consider what further can be done, but let me say with the utmost conviction, as one concerned with agriculture all over the world, that agrarian reform is the most vital and urgent matter which has to be dealt with in all countries, and I do not exclude developed countries in that regard.

I repeat that we must clearly understand that it is not a question of dogma or of politics or of one answer. It is the objective that matters, the objective of giving the workers and those in agriculture a fair standard, the objective of producing food efficiently to feed the world. That objective can be reached in a number of different ways. There is no one way. So long as one understands what the objective is, so long as one understands the conditions within a country and what needs doing within a particular country, then one can, and indeed must, make progress in this direction. So we were grateful to have this item on the agenda. As I said when I started, the Committee worked very well, and I endorse what the Employers' representative said. There was a good understanding. I believe that understanding was there because we spent—and some people thought this was wrong—some considerable time in making clear in discussion among ourselves and bringing out clearly what agrarian reform was. Having got that clear, the rest became easy and you have this report before you.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. CHEKREWUSKHN (Government adviser, U.S.S.R.)—In my short speech I should like with great satisfaction to state that the I.L.O. has before it a very fine objective, namely to include in its programme the study of the vital problem of agrarian reform. The well-being of half the people of the world depends on the solution of this problem. If there are still poverty, hunger, social and economic backwardness and injustice in many countries, this is because they have preserved feudal and semi-feudal structures until the present day, hampering the progress of mankind.

Agrarian reform is a complex measure. Its basis is the expropriation of the big landowners, the latifundists, with the object of handing the land to those who work it. It is quite intelligible that agrarian reform seems somewhat frightening, but God created work for all—as the believers say—and not only for those select few who have grabbed the land and all its wealth for themselves. For all progressive and right-thinking people it has become quite obvious that agrarian reform is indispensable. It consists not only in redistributing the ownership of land; it aims at other objectives, and right-thinking people it has become quite intelligible that agrarian reform seems something more than the solution of the problem of land reform. Sooner or later this problem will be solved everywhere. In the interests of the workers, of course, and for society as a whole, it would be better to solve this problem earlier rather than later.

The procedural obstacles to which I referred are due to the fact that, according to the Constitution and the Standing Orders, any recommendations on agrarian reform cannot be considered in less than two years after this session. This once again shows that the conditions laid down in the Constitution and in the Standing Orders are preventing the I.L.O. from keeping pace with the times. These outmoded provisions must be amended. It is our hope that the Governing Body will bring about an earlier examination of agrarian reform in the I.L.O. so that in the near future it will be possible to work out a stronger instrument—either a Convention or at least a Recommendation.

Having mentioned these hopes, we would like to say that we support the resolution submitted to the Conference.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. MACIAN (Workers' adviser, Mexico)—Mr. President, I
greet you and I endorse briefly the compliments paid by other members to yourself and other officers, and I would like immediately to proceed to the substance of the debate and ask for approval of the documents before us. Although the agrarian problem differs from one country to another, there is a common denominator. Where there are latifundia there are political cliques, injustice, instability, lack of education and complete absence of social justice for most of the workers.

Most of the world’s population lives in or depends on the rural areas; and this Organisation, which took its impetus from the League of Nations, must deal with the agrarian problem in all parts of the world. It is inconceivable that the latifundia should continue to exist.

I am a Mexican. I have lived through the experience of my own country where there were great estates. There was concentration of the land first of all in the hands of the clergy until 1857, when two-thirds of the country were controlled by it and the rest was in the hands of a privileged few. Subsequently, as the outcome of various political and social issues, there was reconcentration in the hands of a few persons, so that it was necessary to have a violent revolution—the first in the present century. We had 20 years of war as a result, to reach a new concept of ownership, a new concept of land distribution.

My speech on this occasion is to ask you to approve the document so intelligently worked out by the Committee, but please remember also that this matter should be discussed again next year, so that finally we may put an end to the latifundia and social injustice in the world.

The PRESIDENT—As there are no more speakers, the discussion is now closed and I trust that the house is now prepared to adopt this report. If there are no objections, I shall consider the report as adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

RESOLUTION ON AGRARIAN REFORM, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL ASPECTS, SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON AGRARIAN REFORM:

ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT—I will now put the resolution on agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the resolution is adopted.

(The resolution is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—And now it remains for me to thank cordially the Chairman, the Reporter, and the members of this Committee for the excellent work they have done and for the very good report which they have produced. Thank you very much.

(The Conference adjourned at 6.45 p.m.)

1 See Appendix VIII, p. 654 and Appendix XII, p. 698.
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Australia:
- Mr. Cook (G)
- Mr. Hill (G)
- Mr. Monk (W)

Algeria:
- Mr. Bouhara (G)
- Mr. Taoufik (E)

Argentina:
- Mr. Benya (W)

Australia:
- Mr. Cook (G)
- Mr. Hill (G)
- Mr. Monk (W)

Belgium:
- Mr. Servais (G)
- Mr. Verschueren (G)

Brasil:
- Mr. Lopes de Souza Ribeiro (G)
- Mr. Lopes de Oliveira (W)

Bulgaria:
- Mr. Tsankov (G)
- Mr. Popov (G)
- Mr. Ivanov (W)

Byelorussia:
- Mr. Guriev (G)
- Mr. Shidlovsky (G)

Cameroon:
- Mr. Ngo-ekha-Ngoh (G)

Canada:
- Mr. Haylton (G)
- Mr. Mainwaring (E)
- Mr. Morris (W)

Central African Republic:
- Mr. Ledot (G)
- Mr. Franck (E)

Ceylon:
- Mr. Rajasuriya (E)
- Mr. Thondaman (W)

Chad:
- Mr. Keke (G)
- Mr. Yamala (G)
- Mr. Gorallah (W)

China:
- Mr. Caro Zuziga (G)
- Mr. Padilla Castro (E)

Congo (Leopoldville):
- Mr. Lopes Chinchilla (W)
- Mr. Caro Zuziga (G)

Cuba:
- Mr. Calixte Gordillo (G)
- Mr. Campejo Argudio (G)

Cyprus:
- Mr. Sparis (G)
- Mr. Pothopopos (G)

Denmark:
- Mr. Vogt (W)
- Mr. Christensen (W)

Ecuador:
- Mr. Fonce y Carbó (G)

Estonia:
- Mr. Tesemy (G)
- Mr. Amade (G)

Finland:
- Mr. Rinne (G)
- Mr. Lappalainen (W)

France:
- Mr. Parodi (G)
- Mr. Hauck (G)

Gabon:
- Mr. Mintsa (G)

Federal Republic of Germany:
- Mr. Clausen (G)
- Mr. Ern (G)

Gabon:
- Mr. Aya (G)
- Mr. Ayeh (G)

Guatemala:
- Mr. Salazar Valdés (G)
- Mr. Hernández Cardona (G)

Haiti:
- Mr. Eise (E)

Honduras:
- Mr. Ramos Alvarado (W)

India:
- Mr. Azimi (G)
- Mr. Parzian (G)

Ireland:
- Mr. McCarthy (G)
- Mr. Tobin (G)

Israel:
- Mr. Nozri (G)
- Mr. Nissim (G)

Italy:
- Mr. Agen (G)
- Mr. Purpura (W)

Jamaica:
- Mayor Rear (G)
- Mr. Chambers (B)

Japan:
- Mr. Aoki (G)
- Mr. Shimizu (G)

Jordan:
- Mr. Abdul-Aziz (G)
- Mr. Diab (G)

Kenya:
- Mr. Ndiri (G)
- Mr. Obimbo (G)

Kuwait:
- Mr. Sarwari (G)
- Mr. Yassin (G)

Lebanon:
- Mr. Wahid (G)
- Mr. Abi Raad (G)

Malay Republic:
- Mr. Ranjiba (G)
- Mr. Raveron (W)

Malawi:
- Mr. McCulloch (G)
- Mr. Mati (W)

Malaysia:
- Mr. Kumar (G)
- Mr. Abdul Rahman (G)
- Mr. Zaidi (W)

Mali:
- Mr. O. B. Diarra (G)

Mauritania:
- Mr. Soukaida (G)
- Mr. Toure (E)

Mauritius:
- Mr. Kone (G)

New Zealand:
- Mr. Veldkamp (G)
- Father Stokman (G)

Netherlands:
- Mr. van der Ploeg (W)

Norway:
- Mr. van der Ploeg (W)
- Father Stokman (G)

Nicaragua:
- Mr. Tijerino Medrano (G)

Niger:
- Mr. Kone (G)
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**Against (0)**

**Abstentions (20)**

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Brazil</strong></td>
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Final Record Vote on the Recommendation concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines

For (321)

Afghanistan: Mr. Zakarya (G)

Albania: Mr. Keko (G)

Argentina: Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor (E)

Australia: Mr. Cook (G)

Austria: Mr. López Chinchilla (E)

Bangladesh: Mr. Al-Wakil (G)

Belgium: Mr. Brouwer (G)

Benin: Mr. Houngbédji (W)

Brazil: Mr. Lopes de Oliveira (G)

Bulgaria: Mr. Kneissl (E)

Burma: Mr. Kyi (G)

Byelorussia: Mr. Voinovici (G)

Cameroon: Mr. Mbiu Ali (E)

Canada: Mr. Bourassa (G)

Central African Republic: Mr. Rongga (E)

Chad: Mr. Aba (E)

Chile: Mr. Vial (G)

China: Mr. Liu (E)

Colombia: Mr. Arango (G)

Congo (Leopoldville): Mr. Jean-Claude Kavaksho (E)

Costa Rica: Mr. Caro Zúñiga (G)

Cyprus: Mr. Vassiliou (G)

Czechoslovakia: Mr. Štěpánek (G)

Denmark: Mr. Nielsen (W)

Dahomey: Mr. Sauy (G)

Denmark: Mr. Schmidt (E)

Dominican Republic: Mr. Franco (E)

Ecuador: Mr. Ponce y Carbó (G)

Egypt: Mr. Selim (G)

Ethiopia: Mr. Tefera (M)

Europe: Mr. Sannikov (E)

Finland: Mr. Rinne (G)

France: Mr. Parodi (G)

Gabon: Mr. Minta (G)

Gambia: Mr. Ayeb (G)

Ghana: Mr. Ayeh (G)

Greece: Mr. Zarras (G)

Guatemala: Mr. Salazar Valdés (G)

Guinea: Mr. Camara (G)

Guinea-Bissau: Mr. Fofana (G)

Haiti: Mr. Bénédict (E)

Honduras: Mr. Arango (G)

Hong Kong: Mr. Ho (M)

Hungary: Mr. Mokos (G)

India: Mr. Bhatnagar (E)

Indonesia: Mr. Ali (M)

Iran: Mr. Zarrab (G)

Iraq: Mr. Al-Wali (G)

Israel: Mr. Messer (G)

Italy: Mr. Agno (G)

Japan: Mr. Okita (G)

Jordan: Mr. Abulnour (G)

Kazakhstan: Mr. Khabibullin (E)

Kenya: Mr. Njoroge (G)

Korea: Mr. Lee (G)

Kosovo: Mr. Djordjevic (E)

Kuwait: Mr. Al-Sabah (G)

Lebanon: Mr. Barakat (G)

Lesotho: Mr. Mabitsie (E)

Liberia: Mr. Cooper (W)

Liberia: Mr. Johnson (E)

Mali: Mr. Condé (E)

Malaysia: Mr. Lim (G)

Mauritania: Mr. Bocoum (E)

Mauritius: Mr. Ciney (E)

Mexico: Mr. Pacheco (G)

Moldova: Mr. Lungu (G)

Morocco: Mr. Belaid (G)

Mozambique: Mr. Muxima (G)

Namibia: Mr. Kameko (E)

Netherlands: Mr. De Vries (G)

New Zealand: Mr. Hunt (G)

Nicaragua: Mr. Paredes (G)

Nigeria: Mr. Dike (E)

Norway: Mr. Olausson (E)

Oman: Mr. Al-Busaidi (G)

Pakistan: Mr. Niaz (G)

Panama: Mr. Salas (G)

Paraguay: Mr. Gómez (G)

Peru: Mr. Enríquez (G)

Philippines: Mr. Garcia (G)

Poland: Mr. Sosnowski (E)

Portugal: Mr. Almeida (G)

Qatar: Mr. Al-Attiyah (G)

Romania: Mr. Popescu (G)

Russia: Mr. Pervukhin (G)

Sao Tome and Principe: Mr. Sampaio (E)

Saudi Arabia: Mr. Al-Naimi (G)

Senegal: Mr. Diouf (G)

Serbia: Mr. Stepanovic (E)

Singapore: Mr. Leong (G)

Slovakia: Mr. Kauraüber (E)

Solomon Islands: Mr. Lamuka (G)

Somalia: Mr. Warsame (G)

South Africa: Mr. Motsoaledi (E)

Spain: Mr. Pérez (G)

Sudan: Mr. Ali (E)

Switzerland: Mr. Deiss (E)

Syria: Mr. Al-Attar (G)

Tanzania: Mr. Msilimi (E)

Thailand: Mr. Chumrak (E)

Togo: Mr. Kpandè (E)

Tonga: Mr. May (G)

Tunisia: Mr. Ben Youssef (G)

Turkey: Mr. Özyavuz (E)

Uganda: Mr. Beddow (G)

Ukraine: Mr. Prysta (E)

United Arab Emirates: Mr. Al-Maalaih (G)

United Kingdom: Mr. Bellinger (E)

United States: Mr. Smith (E)

Uruguay: Mr. Paz (G)

Venezuela: Mr. Lara (G)

Vietnam: Mr. Pham (G)

Yemen: Mr. Al-Raddi (G)

Zambia: Mr. Chiluba (E)

Zimbabwe: Mr. Mudzingwa (E)
Morocco:
Mr. Laraqui (G)
Mr. Bennis (G)
Mr. Souiri (E)

Netherlands:
Mr. Veldkamp (G)
Father Stekman (G)
Mr. Fennema (E)
Mr. van der Ploeg (W)

New Zealand:
Mr. Parsonage (G)
Mr. Macan (G)
Mr. Tucker (E)
Mr. Skinner (W)

Nicaragua:
Mr. Tijerino Medrario (G)

Niger:
Mr. Kone (G)
Mr. George (E)

Nigeria:
Mr. Tokunboh (G)
Mr. Obigun (G)
Mr. Abelo (E)
Mr. Borba (W)

Philippines:
Mr. Albano Pacis (G)
Mr. Lovina (E)
Mr. Hernandez (W)

Sudan:
Mr. Osman (E)
Mr. Gawher (W)

Sweden:
Mr. Åström (G)
Mr. Tiltet (G)
Mr. Bergstenström (E)
Mr. Bölin (W)

Switzerland:
Mr. Holzer (G)
Mr. Saxer (G)
Mr. Kuntsechen (E)
Mr. Möri (W)

Syrian Arab Republic:
Mr. Chaiboud (G)
Mr. Zeëïfla (G)

Tanzania:
Mr. Baghdelleh (G)
Mr. Taïdau (W)

United Arab Republic:
Mr. Kamel (G)
Mr. Nour (G)
Mr. Rifat (E)
Mr. Faheem (W)

United Kingdom:
Mr. Barnes (G)
Mr. Heron (G)
Sir George Pollock (E)
Lord Colinson (W)

United States:
Mr. Weaver (G)
Mr. Delaney (E)
Mr. Faul (W)

Upper Volta:
Mr. Balma (G)
Mr. Anguelis (E)
Mr. Ilboudo (W)

Uganda:
Mr. Basaza-Mpyisai (G)
Mr. Nyagahina (G)
Mr. Walker (E)

United States:
Mr. Quyên-Trần-Hâu (W)

Venezuela:
Mr. Aguilar (G)
Mr. Tarre Murzi (G)
Mr. Martínez-Espino O. (E)

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Popović (G)
Mr. Kopček (G)
Mr. Tucaković (E)
Mr. Tabor (W)

Zambia:
Mr. Kalanga (G)
Mr. Nyirongo (G)
Mr. Cunning-Cooke (E)
Mr. Mugała (W)

Against (0)

Thailand:
Mr. Samarou (E)
Mr. Salami (W)

Thirteenth Sitting

Abstentions (9)

Brazil:
Mr. Marques Andrade (E)

Guatemala:
Mr. Eistr (E)

Ireland:
Mr. Griffiths (E)

Malawi:
Mr. Nelma (E)

United Kingdom:
Mr. Aribarg (E)

United States:
Mr. Wagner (E)
THIRTY-FIRST SITTING

Wednesday, 23 June 1965, 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Raza

FIRST REPORT
OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE ¹:
SUBMISSION AND DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda is the first report of the Resolutions Committee. I would ask the Chairman and Reporter of the Committee, Mr. Aguilar, to submit the report.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. AGUILAR (Government delegate, Venezuela; Chairman and Reporter of the Resolutions Committee)—I have the pleasure to submit to the Conference the first report of the Resolutions Committee, the text of which has been circulated.

The Resolutions Committee, which was appointed by the Conference at its first sitting on 2 June, had 123 voting members: 66 Government members, 24 Employers' members and 33 Workers' members.

In accordance with the procedure established in paragraph 5(a) of article 17 of the Standing Orders, the Committee established the order in which the first five resolutions would be examined, which was as follows:

1. Resolution concerning paid educational leave, submitted by Mr. Beermann, Workers' delegate, Federal Republic of Germany, and Mr. Hernandez, Workers' delegate, Philippines.

2. Resolution concerning the conditions of employment of domestic workers, submitted by Mr. Thondaman, Workers' delegate, Ceylon.


4. Resolution concerning the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by Mr. Abid Ali, Workers' delegate, India; Mr. Faupl, Workers' delegate, United States; and Mr. Möri, Workers' delegate, Switzerland.

5. Resolution concerning the carrying out by the International Labour Organisation of studies of the social and economic consequences of disarmament, submitted by Mr. Polyanichko, Government delegate, Ukraine.

In accordance with article 17, paragraph 5(b), of the Standing Orders, the Committee appointed a working party composed of three Government members, three Employers' members and three Workers' members, to make recommendations as to the order in which the resolutions which were not included in the first five should be examined.

On the unanimous recommendation of this working party, whose Chairman was Mr. Shkunaev, the Committee decided that the remaining three resolutions to be considered after the first five should be taken in the following order:

6. Resolution condemning the Government of Portugal on the grounds of the forced labour policy practised by the said Government in territories under its administration, submitted by Mr. Kamel, Government delegate, United Arab Republic.

7. Resolution concerning the protection of the rights of Spanish workers, submitted by Mr. Tabor, Workers' delegate, Yugoslavia.

8. Resolution concerning equitable geographical representation of all States Members of the International Labour Organisation in its Governing Body as well as equitable geographical representation of elective offices at the sessions of the International Labour Conference and the Governing Body, submitted by Mr. Chajn, Government delegate, Poland, and Mr. Polyanichko, Government delegate, Ukraine.

The Committee was able to examine only the first six resolutions.

It is a great satisfaction for me to inform the Conference of the fact that the discussions of the Committee took place with the greatest order and with absolute respect, in spite of the intense discussion that took place concerning some of the resolutions.

This high level of the discussions was possible thanks to the valuable co-operation I had from the Vice-Chairmen of the Committee, Mr. Verschueren and Mr. Kaplansky, as well as from all the members. At all times I received the greatest co-operation from Mr. Verschueren and Mr. Kaplansky, and they were of great guidance to me not only on behalf of their groups but on behalf of the whole of the Committee. Both showed that great spirit of

¹ See Appendix III, p. 509.
conciliation which is characteristic of our Organisation.

I should like to thank, on this occasion, the two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Verschueren and Mr. Kaplansky, the members of the Committee, the representative of the Secretary-General and all the administrative staff of the I.L.O., interpreters, etc., who co-operated so actively in the work of this Committee.

On behalf of the Committee, I recommend the adoption of the first report of the Resolutions Committee.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now open for general discussion.

Interpretation from French: Mr. VER-SCHUEREN (Employers' delegate, Belgium; Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee)—I should be failing in my duty if, first of all, I did not pay a well-deserved tribute, in the name of the other Employers and in my own name, to the person who guided the Committee so well through the obstacles of procedure and of passion which arose in the course of its sometimes difficult work. His vigilant care, his authority, combined with kindness, and his constant impartiality brought His Excellency Ambassador Aguilar warm and exceptionally prolonged applause from all groups and tendencies in the Committee. If one considers the tension and passion of some of the discussion I am sure you will agree with me that we are greatly indebted to him. I would add that we found it particularly agreeable to co-operate with him.

I should also like to welcome the frankness of my relations with the Workers' Vice-Chairman, Mr. Kaplansky. I was able to count on this frankness and co-operation because we had already both been Vice-Chairmen of this Committee a number of years ago, and I was glad that my expectations were confirmed.

I should like to repair an omission committed in our haste on Saturday. We must thank all the Secretariat and the interpreters for their kind and devoted help.

The general part of the report which the Conference is now asked to approve states a certain number of things regarding the number of resolutions submitted, their titles and the order of priority which was attributed to them in accordance with the Standing Orders.

These statements call for three comments. First of all, the procedure for determining the order of priority has a certain advantage—it relieves the Committee of a long and boring discussion regarding its order of work. The authors of resolutions which are postponed until the end of the session may be disappointed but they would be wrong to ignore the lessons of two years' experience. The majority of the Committee generally wishes to have first priority given to resolutions dealing with strictly social questions which are likely to contribute something new to the work of the I.L.O. Secondly, the number of resolutions which the Conference can digest is obviously limited, even if the Resolutions Committee, as was the case in recent years, meets very often, indeed sometimes more often than is bearable. Thirdly, the right to submit resolutions seems to be used sometimes for reasons different from that for which it was established. The right to submit resolutions is clearly intended to produce new ideas regarding the operation of the Organisation and the more effective exploration of fields within its competence. It is not, I think, intended to be substituted for or to duplicate other constitutional procedures or measures under the Standing Orders such as those relating to commissions of inquiry, the application of Conventions and Recommendations, or the work of the Committee on Freedom of Association.

Because I wish to be brief, I should like to state straight away that I have little in the way of particular comments to make on the four out of the five resolutions which were unanimously adopted, or almost unanimously. I merely wish to ask the Conference to endorse the conclusions of the Committee regarding resolutions Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5, which relate respectively to the conditions of employment of domestic workers; vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons; industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation; and carrying out by the International Labour Organisation of the social and economic consequences of disarmament.

The Committee's report is sufficiently explicit for me not to have to repeat what has been said.

However, I shall have to ask for the floor again when resolution No. 1, concerning paid educational leave, is taken up by the Conference, when I shall explain why the Employers cannot support this resolution.

Mr. KAPLANSKY (Workers' adviser, Canada; Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee)—On behalf of the Workers' group, I should like at the outset to pay tribute to the Chairman of our Committee, Mr. Aguilar, for the way he conducted our deliberations and the way he guided us through the difficult two weeks during which our Committee was engaged in the consideration of the resolutions submitted in the report before you. I have served under many chairmen in this Organisation in the past, and I can only say—and I say it on behalf of the whole Workers' group—that from the point of view of efficiency, impartiality and fair play Mr. Aguilar does not have to take second place to anyone.

It was also a pleasure to work with Mr. Verschueren, the Employers' Vice-Chairman. We differed on a number of occasions on very important matters which came up before the Committee. However, this spirit of co-operation, and the relationship which has been established in this Organisation over the years, has enabled us to attend to the business of the Committee with despatch and good humour, and to attain good results.

At this point I should like to inform the Workers' members of this Conference that the Workers' group has supported all five resolutions which are before you in the first report of the Resolutions Committee. We met for two weeks, but the issues and problems which we discussed were of such importance to workers all over the world that the results of the two weeks' deliberations commend themselves to the attention and the support not only of the Workers' members of this Conference but of all the delegates.
The first resolution which the Committee dealt with was the question of paid educational leave. This is the first time that the I.L.O. has considered in detail this very important problem. We heard that in a number of countries, including my own, paid educational leave is no longer a novelty, but there are many countries where this concept is still unknown or relatively unknown. It is therefore important that the I.L.O., through this resolution, shed light on whether or not the I.L.O. will in the end benefit millions of workers throughout the world. I very much regret that the Employers' group did not find it possible to support this resolution when it was finally drafted, and in the form in which it is presented to this Conference, but I should like to draw the attention of the Conference to paragraph 14, and I am going to read it because this represents the point of view of the Workers.

The Workers' members ... maintained that the I.L.O. was not justified to initiate the first steps which might lead to the adoption by the I.L.O. of an international instrument concerning this question."

We have tried to avoid any specific discussion of the details of this concept. It is a new concept and it has to be studied. We ask for these studies. We want the I.L.O. to inaugurate these studies, but a detailed consideration of this problem—the question of what it should contain, the definitions, the spelling out of benefits—would be left to another session of the I.L.O. Conference which would consider the adoption of an international instrument. At this Conference we are considering the adoption of this idea in principle, the adoption of the concept, and I would again appeal to the Employers' group and to all delegates present to support this initiative because this resolution inaugurates a new action and new activities. After all, it is the very purpose of the Resolutions Committee, when new ideas and new concepts are born, to determine the future programme of the Organisation.

The second resolution, of importance to a certain class of workers, was the resolution which we are recommending on domestic workers. The I.L.O. has considered this problem on many occasions, but it is some time since the I.L.O. has taken up this question in detail. The time has come for the Organisation to try to consider the adoption of an instrument and to bring together a number of experts from many countries to give aid and comfort to a group of workers who are, as a rule, being exploited, who have no collective voices raised to speak for them and who have not even got an Employers' group to discuss in a collective manner the conditions of their work and employment. I think that in this respect also the Resolutions Committee has performed a very useful function.

The third resolution which the Committee presents to you is the resolution concerning vocational rehabilitation of disabled workers. In this connection too the Resolutions Committee has tried to start a new departure in I.L.O. thinking on this problem. As you know, ten years ago the I.L.O. adopted a Recommendation on this subject, but since then no account has been taken of the experience in member countries as to the applicability of the provisions of this Recommendation. The time has now come, especially since new methods are being applied and introduced daily in different member States, to assess what the member States have learned in this very important field of social endeavour. Could the I.L.O. say something new on the question of the vocational rehabilitation of disabled people? I think in this respect too the Resolutions Committee has performed a very useful act.

The fourth resolution deals with the question of the industrial activities of the Organisation. This is a problem of the utmost importance to workers throughout the world. The experience in different trades and occupations, the confrontation between employers and workers in each industry—as distinct from this confrontation in working conditions as a whole and in general terms—the specific problems of each industry, and the specific consideration of workers and employers in each industry, have become a very important part of the I.L.O. activities in the post-war period. In this resolution the Committee is suggesting to you that the Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O. should take account of the deep concern of the Conference in the promulgation of this activity, of this function of the Organisation, and that it should present the Governing Body and the Conference with concrete suggestions in this particular field.

What is new and extremely important from our point of view is that we in the Workers' group have raised the question of the position of the civil service. The time has come when the I.L.O. should deal with the problems of employees who work for governments. The relationships between governments as employers and the people who work for governments should be ventilated. In this field of industrial activity there should be the same kind of confrontation as we have in other industries and in other occupations.

The fifth and final resolution which is contained in this report also enjoys the full support of the Workers' group, namely the problem of the role of the International Labour Organisation in the question of the social and economic consequences of disarmament. I am very happy to join with those who have expressed satisfaction in the Committee that this very important subject—this touchy subject in a way—has received the unanimous support of the entire membership of the Resolutions Committee. We take great pleasure on behalf of the Workers' group to suggest that it receives the unanimous support of this Conference.

I think the first report of the Resolutions Committee contains five resolutions which have meaning for the future of this Organisation and for the workers in every part of the world. Unfortunately, I must say that it was not our priority that was finally selected by the Committee. The Workers' group had hoped that two other resolutions would be included in the first procedure, of the Bureau of the Committee. However, we have abided by the majority decision and tried to co-operate in a
constructive way in the deliberations. I appeal on behalf of the group to all delegates to give their widest support to the adoption of this first report of the Resolutions Committee.

**Final Record Vote on the Convention Concerning Medical Examination of Young Persons for Fitness for Employment Underground in Mines**

The President—In accordance with our agenda for today we now have to take two final record votes. I will first put the Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines.

(A record vote is taken.)

The President—The result of the vote is as follows: 331 votes in favour, none against, with 13 abstentions. The Convention is therefore adopted.

**Final Record Vote on the Recommendation Concerning Conditions of Employment of Young Persons Underground in Mines**

The President—We now proceed to the final record vote on the Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines.

(A record vote is taken.)

The President—The result of the vote is as follows: 298 votes in favour, none against, with 51 abstentions. The Recommendation is therefore adopted.

**First Report of the Resolutions Committee: Discussion (concl.) and Adoption**

The President—We now resume our examination of the first report of the Resolutions Committee. The general discussion is terminated and we will now consider the report, paragraph by paragraph. First, I will put paragraphs 1 to 8, which precede the first resolution. If there are no comments on paragraphs 1 to 8, I will take it that they are adopted.

(Paragraphs 1 to 8 are adopted.)

Resolution concerning Paid Educational Leave

The President—We now proceed to consider paragraphs 9 to 23, the part of the report dealing with the resolution concerning paid educational leave.

Mr. Mainwaring (Government delegate, Canada)—Before I begin, I should like to add my voice to those who have paid tribute to the splendid work of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Mr. Aguilar, who won the admiration of us all.

The resolution concerning paid educational leave calls attention to a very real problem—the need of workers to secure further education to help them adjust to technological change. Its purpose is to call attention to the contribution that can be made towards dealing with this problem by paid educational leave.

It would be a pity if on a subject so important the text were not satisfying to Employers as well as to Governments and Workers, since the problem of securing a highly qualified work force is obviously of vital importance to all three groups.

As the Workers are quoted as saying in paragraph 14 of the report: "the resolution was not intended to define or regulate in detail the institution of paid educational leave, but rather to promote this concept in member States of the I.L.O. and to initiate the first steps which might lead to the adoption by the I.L.O. of an international instrument concerning this question."

The following are a few points which are not mentioned specifically in the resolution but which, I believe, are in the spirit of the resolution and implicit in it.

The first point is that paid educational leave is only one of the means of dealing with the problem of improving workers' qualifications, and is not the only means.

The second point is that, although educational leave is not defined in the resolution, it can certainly be assumed that account must be taken of various different types of educational leave, ranging from full time-off with pay while the worker is pursuing a course at an educational institution, to periods of an hour or so during the working day.

The third point is that the responsibility for payment does not necessarily rest with the employer. In certain cases the government may make an important contribution; in some cases the payment may even come from outside the country, as in the case, for example, of fellowships for study abroad.

The fourth point is that the resolution, in its first operative paragraph, talks about taking effective action towards ensuring the access of workers to various types of educational leave. Obviously, however, the access to leave can only be under approved and mutually agreed conditions. I take this to be an illustration of the point made by the Workers in paragraph 14 of the report that the resolution is not intended to define or regulate in detail the institution of paid educational leave.

According to paragraph 18 of the report, the Employers' members of the Committee expressed concern at the adverse economic effects of paid educational leave. Educational leave is intended to have beneficial economic effects for the community as a whole and to do so by enriching human resources. A system of educational leave could hardly be envisaged or tolerated which would have adverse economic effects. This concept is surely fundamental in the resolution, even if not specifically stated.

The fact is that the Resolutions Committee was very large, it was working under pressure and it did not have time to dot all the i's or cross all the t's. The text may have shortcomings but the intent of the resolution is positive and constructive.
We are particularly pleased with paragraph 2 of the resolution, which calls for a study of systems of paid educational leave in member countries. My Government would be happy to co-operate in such a study by providing information on our own experience, and we should be interested to learn of the experience of other countries.

We believe that, in spite of textual weaknesses which cannot be avoided at this stage of our work and which, in any event, are not serious, this resolution should be interpreted in a broad and generous sense, and we would hope that it will have the full support of all members of the Conference.

Interpretation from French: Mr. VER- SCHUÉREN (Employers' delegate, Belgium; Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee) — In the course of my first statement I said that unfortunately the Employers could not endorse the resolution concerning paid educational leave. It is not because we fail to agree with the main idea—and this is not quite how Mr. Mainwaring put the matter just now—that scientific and technical progress make it necessary for all concerned with production to adapt their initial training in a continuous manner. But the resolution deliberately ignores (at least, explicitly) the variety of ways which can be followed in this respect—such as evening courses—even if, as Mr. Mainwaring has just said, it contains implicit references to them.

We are surprised that there is no reference to the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1962, which states in Paragraph 22 that "Supplementary courses should be available to all workers who wish to improve their general, technical or commercial knowledge in order to facilitate their promotion and thus to improve their social and economic standing".

We agree that the access to such additional training or education for vocational purposes implies that a worker should be released for some time from his usual work in certain cases at least, and in such cases it is necessary to consider the means of providing compensation for the loss of work without such compensation necessarily being undertaken by the employer. However, in spite of the improvements that have been made in the text, what makes us continue our opposition to the resolution as it now stands is the fact that it mentions as the only access to such education the form of paid educational leave, and it suggests the creation of a new right in this respect.

In speaking of developing countries—and my own is such a country—allow me to draw the attention of delegates to the fact that in my country, and the Ministry of Labour has a centre dealing with this problem. Mostly, we organise courses and classes on the worksite so that, by devoting a few hours a week to study, workers can bring themselves up to date on technical developments in their branch. I should add that these hours of study are treated as hours of work, and are consequently remunerated as such. For this reason my delegation voted in favour of this resolution in the Committee.

In view of the complicated nature of this problem my delegation is convinced that it should be studied thoroughly, taking into consideration the different possibilities in the various branches of industry, and not forgetting local conditions or the different stages of industrialisation in different countries. A solution which may apply to highly industrialised countries may not apply to developing countries.

In speaking of developing countries—and my own is such a country—allow me to draw the attention of delegates to the fact that appropriate formulas should be sought so as not to impede the economic growth of those countries which, in spite of technical backwardness and unskilled manpower, are still able by sustained efforts to export certain industrial products.

My delegation, whilst in favour of progressive flexible formulas which will reflect local conditions, will vote in favour of the text of the resolution.

Interpretation from German: Mr. BEERMANN (Workers' delegate, Federal Republic of Germany) — I am one of those who submitted the resolution now before the plenary sitting. My colleague, the Philippine Workers' delegate, and I put this resolution forward in view of the discussions which have take place in the Organisation in previous years. We wished
to explore new aspects of the work of the Organisation with a view to rendering it more fruitful. On the basis of our experience at home and observation of what is going on elsewhere in the world, we feel that it is particularly necessary now to deal with the question of paid educational leave. Therefore, in the draft resolution we sought merely to express the idea that there should be a decision of principle regarding the need for leave of this kind. We deliberately refrained from going into detail because, as is indicated in the main part of the resolution, we considered that a certain amount of investigation is still necessary in order to determine how paid educational leave should be put into effect in practice. We should be very pleased if more stress were laid on this aspect of the resolution than was placed on it by Mr. Verschueren, and if the Employers understood it better.

Reference has been made to the need for paid educational leave. I was glad that Mr. Verschueren should not have objected to the need for this kind of leave. He himself was obliged to agree that a worker who wishes to have further training or study requires an economic basis for it. He needs the economic basis which will enable him to engage in this strenuous study, and this is what we have tried to stress. I think that there is no need to emphasise that technical development and the new structure of society make it necessary for a worker to acquire more knowledge, either at the technical level or regarding general culture. One cannot separate these two things today. We consider that the worker must have a feeling of security so that in the technical field he can develop his capacities to the full in the light of his general and technical education. From this point of view we think that the resolution is entirely justified.

If you look at the text carefully, you will see that in the present wording all possibilities are left open. In paragraph 1 of the operative part we see that governments of member States, employers' organisations and the trade unions are asked to do something in this field with a view to promoting progress. It is stated also that the measures taken must be adjusted to national practice and that not one way only but all possible ways should be discussed and investigated with a view to leading to practical progress.

What difficulties can the Employers really object to? If we say that there should be collective negotiation and agreement between employers and workers, then the result can only be based on bilateral agreement. So I do not understand why there should be so much reluctance on the Employers' side. I can well understand that a modern employer in the world today must recognise the value of progress of this kind. Naturally, ways and means must be found and are, therefore, left open in this text. Consequently, there is no reason why a worker cannot, without any regulations, pursue further education on his own, in his own time. It has always been the case and will always be so and no trade union can object in any way to that. However, what is required of workers now is so extensive that we cannot fail to take some systematic action. Let me therefore stress, once more, that we do need paid leave for this purpose. The worker and his family have to have economic security before he can be successful. I therefore ask the Conference to vote in favour of this resolution.

The PRESIDENT—Since no one has asked for the floor, I presume that you are now prepared to adopt paragraphs 9 to 22 of this report. If there are no objections, I shall consider them as adopted.

(Paragraphs 9 to 22 are adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—As for paragraph 23, which contains the resolution, there will be a vote by show of hands.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. Paragraph 23 is adopted by 207 votes in favour, 41 against, with 15 abstentions.)

Resolution concerning the Conditions of Employment of Domestic Workers

The PRESIDENT—Now we proceed to the part of the report dealing with the resolution concerning the conditions of employment of domestic workers—that is paragraphs 24 to 30. Since there are no speakers, I presume that the Conference adopts paragraphs 24 to 29. As there are no objections, paragraphs 24 to 29 are adopted.

(Paragraphs 24 to 29 are adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—We now take paragraph 30, which contains the resolution. If there are no objections, I take it that it is adopted.

(Paragraph 30 is adopted.)

Resolution concerning Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons

The PRESIDENT—We now go on to the part of the report relating to the resolution concerning vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons, that is paragraphs 31 to 39 inclusive. If there are no speakers, I take it that paragraphs 31 to 38 are adopted.

(Paragraphs 31 to 38 are adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—I now put paragraph 39, containing the resolution. If there are no objections, I take it that paragraph 39 is also adopted.

(Paragraph 39 is adopted.)

Resolution concerning the Industrial Activities of the International Labour Organisation

The PRESIDENT—We now come to the part of the report relating to the resolution concerning the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation—paragraphs 40 to 70 inclusive.

1 See Appendix III, p. 511 and Appendix XII, p. 693.
2 See Appendix III, p. 512 and Appendix XII, p. 694.
3 See Appendix III, p. 513 and Appendix XII, p. 695.
I would like to call the attention of the Conference to paragraphs 56 to 61 of the report on why the Government delegation of the U.S.S.R. unfortunately cannot support the text of the resolution which is now before us. One of the most important aspects—if not the most important aspect—of this resolution relates to the work of Industrial Committees. The Soviet Union participates with great interest in the work of the Committees of which it is a member and in principle we support all the activities of the Industrial Committees. We were prepared to participate constructively in the discussion of ways and means of improving and even expanding the work of these Committees, but any attempt to improve and broaden their activities must aim at overcoming existing shortcomings.

We feel that one of the main shortcomings in the work of the Industrial Committees consists in the fact that the principle of equitable geographical distribution is not observed in the work of the members of the Committees. We had an opportunity to put forward our views on this at length in the Committee, so that I do not consider it necessary to repeat those arguments.

Nevertheless, we are faced with the fact that in the last elections to the Industrial Committees and in the elections held in 1959 and 1954 the principle of fair geographical distribution was not applied—indeed, it was seriously infringed. The Committee on Industrial Committees of the Governing Body examines the requests of countries from certain regions of the world, countries belonging to a specific social system—and you will understand that I am speaking of the Eastern European socialist countries—from a predetermined position based on discrimination. Despite the fact that the principle of fair geographical representation ought to guide the Governing Body in determining the membership of these Committees, this principle is not complied with at all, and there is evidence of this in the fact that the Governing Body has been compelled to take measures to correct the membership, as proposed by the Committee on Industrial Committees. But, of course, such modifications or corrections, which take the form of the addition of a country to the membership, cannot change much and cannot put right the incorrect approach to the determination of the membership of the Industrial Committees.

In this connection we submitted an amendment to the resolution, which was rejected—indeed, in very moderate terms, I must emphasise—that the Director-General should consider and submit to the Governing Body proposals concerning measures to ensure compliance with the principle of equitable geographical representation on the Industrial Committees of the I.L.O. Unfortunately and to my great regret, because of the position of the two non-governmental groups, that amendment was not carried. I say this because in the Government group there was a majority in favour of the amendment.

The defeat of our amendment means that this resolution is deprived of a very essential element—an element that aimed at getting rid of one of the most serious obstacles to the work of this Organisation. Therefore the value of this resolution is weakened because this element is lacking, and the resolution becomes a document without teeth. In the circumstances, we do not consider it possible to vote in favour of this resolution; we feel that it is impossible to vote in favour of a resolution which passes over in silence one of the most important aspects of the work of the Industrial Committees. Therefore we shall have to abstain when the vote is taken.

Mr. KAPLANSKY (Workers' adviser, Canada; Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee)—I believe that as spokesman of the Workers' group in the Resolutions Committee I ought to reply to the very moderate remarks—and I am grateful for that—of Mr. Shkunaev on this question of Industrial Committees. The Resolutions Committee itself voted in favour of the resolution by 629 votes in favour, none against, with 36 abstentions, and the whole question was very thoroughly discussed in the Committee.

Mr. Shkunaev bases his argument for abstention on the fact that the resolution contains no reference to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, and he does so in spite of the fact that in the Resolutions Committee it was clearly pointed out that the rules governing the selection of member States for seats on Industrial Committees contain this principle which he wanted to include in this resolution. The majority of the Committee felt that, whilst they agreed in principle with the argument on this principle, it was not necessary, and would be redundant, to include a separate paragraph on this question when the very rules governing the selection of member States for seats on the Industrial Committees already contain this principle.

Mr. Shkunaev referred to the last elections in the Governing Body for seats on Industrial Committees. He told part of the story, but he did not tell the whole story. He tried to make a distinction between the process of election in committee and the fact that the Governing Body itself then decided to add certain seats. Most of us fail to see this distinction between the Governing Body itself and its committees. After all, in the final analysis, it is the Governing Body which takes the final vote on the election of member States to Industrial Committees. It is the very same Governing Body which, after due consideration, added a number of members to those recommended previously by its committee, and it was assumed on the part of all concerned that everybody was satisfied with the elections for seats on the different Industrial Committees.

It is for these reasons—because the rules governing election to seats on Industrial Committees contain the principle of equitable geographical distribution, because of the satisfaction expressed by all members of the Governing Body at the results of the last elections, and also because the very heart and purpose of the resolution is to refer the whole question for consideration to the Working Party on Programme and Structure (on which Mr. Shkunaev's Government is very ably represented)—that the Committee felt it would be redundant...
to include a separate reference to the principle of equitable geographical distribution. From a practical point of view it would add absolutely nothing, but it raises the spectre of doubt as to the impartiality of the International Labour Organisation. In these circumstances, under these conditions, in this type of atmosphere, it was the feeling of the overwhelming majority of the Committee that the inclusion of this paragraph was not necessary. I therefore urge all delegates to this Conference to vote in favour of this resolution.

Mr. SEIDMAN (Workers' adviser, United States)—Because of the very able reply which has been given by Mr. Kaplansky, the Chair-
man of the Workers' group of the Resolutions Committee, to the points made by Mr. Shku-
naev, I shall not have to dwell on that question very long. Let me simply say that I fully support what Mr. Kaplansky has said.

If I might add just one thought, it is that in fact the Industrial Committees are broadly representative of the member States of this Organisation as a result of the recent recomposition of the Industrial Committees they are more broadly representative than ever before. Indeed, it seemed to me that the Committee of Industrial Committees of the Governing Body made every effort to include in the membership of these Committees countries where particular industries are just getting under way, and I am very glad that the Committee acted in this fashion, because it seems to me important that we have the broadest possible representation of both industrialised and developing countries in the Industrial Committees.

But it stands to reason that not every country can be in every Industrial Committee, that the importance of the industry is a factor which somehow or other must be taken into account and, as far as workers are concerned, the question of whether or not in a country there will be genuine tripartite representation there will be genuine tripartite representation, so that the Employers and Workers are completely independent of the Governments, is also a factor they will always take into account when the Industrial Com-
mittees are being constituted.

I would like to say just a few words about the substance of this resolution, although I know we do not want to take too much time. I do so because I think we are taking a very important step this year in the adoption of this resolution concerning the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation.

The industrial activities of the I.L.O. are part and parcel of the entire programme of the I.L.O. The industrial activities must be considered—and in this resolution they are considered—in the framework of the over-all programme of the I.L.O. You will have noticed that this is a resolution which is not simply confined to the question of the Industrial Committees, important as they are, but is stated in broad terms indicating the role of industrial activities, in the various ways in which they are carried on, in standard-setting, in technical co-operation, in research and investigation in regard to activities and in the Industrial Committees the role of industrial activities is approached in all of these ways in our total I.L.O. programme. Thus in a way this is a resolution which covers all fields of I.L.O. activity.

We in the Workers' group attach particular significance to the Industrial Committees because they provide a means for workers and employers in the industries, who are familiar with the problems of the industries, to look at those problems in a down-to-earth setting; this is a very important contribution which is made by the Industrial Committees. This is why it seems to us that this tripartite institution is one which should be extended and one which should be strengthened, and we hope the Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O., to which Mr. Kaplansky referred, will give this question its very earnest consideration.

The Industrial Committees have played a pioneering role—and will continue to do so—in developing the labour standards of this Organisation, and in addition to this pioneering role in the development of standards there exist more than any other institution, can play a particularly important role in watching the application of the standards that we adopt in these sessions of the Conference to specific industries, in specific situations as viewed by the workers and employers and governments who are concerned with those industries.

Finally, this resolution is important because it points to a number of gaps which still exist in our industrial activity in the I.L.O. One has already been referred to, and that is the importance of the public service. This is not a controversial issue. We all know the public service is expanding in countries all over the world, whether we like it or not, and it is very important that the I.L.O. should pay particular attention to the problems of workers in the public service, since they are an ever-growing group; and that this be done in a way which will make it possible for the representatives of management and workers in the public service to come together to discuss those problems.

The resolution also calls particular attention to the problems of small-scale industry and handicrafts. This is a problem particularly in developing countries, but of course these industries also exist, at least to a limited extent, in industrialised countries as well.

The resolution also points to the fact that there are other uncovered industries. I will not try to mention them at the moment, but there are other industries which have not yet been covered by the Industrial Committees, and the problems of the workers in those industries should receive the attention of the I.L.O. on a tripartite basis as soon as possible.

In conclusion, let me say that there are those who have said in the past—and I hope they are not saying it any more at present—that the industrial activities are traditional activities. Yes, they are traditional activities of the I.L.O. The I.L.O. has always been concerned with the problems of workers in industries, but in today's world, as the Director-General has pointed out in saying that his subject next year will be industrialisation, industrial activities are the most dynamic part of our activity, and therefore this resolution is one which looks to the future and not to the past, and I hope it
will receive the unanimous approval of all the delegates to this Conference.

Interpretation from French : Mr. VER- SCHUEREN (Employers' delegate, Belgium; Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee)— I have only a few words to add to what has been stated in the report or has just been said by Mr. Kaplansky and Mr. Seldman.

First of all, I must say that we supported with conviction the ideas behind this resolution, aimed at developing I.L.O. activities in the industrial field. This was because we consider that the Industrial Committees have made a valuable contribution to the action of the I.L.O. and because they are a very useful means of making the I.L.O.'s work known.

Thus, as I said, we supported the conclusions of the resolution, although we had, as the report indicates, some reservations regarding particular parts of the resolution, and particularly the preamble.

I would like to add one last word regarding the U.S.S.R. amendment aimed at introducing more forcefully the idea of geographical distribution: I can support almost every word of what Mr. Kaplansky said just now, because the Employers' group entirely shares the views expressed by him. I thought it would be useful for the Conference to know that in this regard the Employers' and Workers' groups are in entire agreement. The report and the result of the vote indicate this, but I considered it useful to say so specifically to the Conference.

The PRESIDENT—Since no other speaker has asked for the floor, I presume the Conference adopts paragraphs 40 to 69. If there are no objections, I take it that paragraphs 40 to 69 are adopted.

(Paragraphs 40 to 69 are adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—On the resolution concerning the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation, which is contained in paragraph 70, there will be a vote by show of hands.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. Paragraph 70 is adopted by 252 votes in favour, none against, with 35 abstentions.)

Resolution concerning the Carrying Out by the International Labour Organisation of Studies of the Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament ¹

The PRESIDENT—Now we proceed to the part of the report dealing with the resolution concerning the carrying out by the International Labour Organisation of studies of the social and economic consequences of disarmament—paragraphs 71 to 84. Since there are no speakers, I take it the Conference adopts these paragraphs. If there are no objections, I take it paragraphs 71 to 83 are adopted.

(Paragraphs 71 to 83 are adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—I will now put paragraph 84, which contains the resolution. If there are no objections, I shall consider it as adopted.

(Paragraph 84 is adopted.)

¹ See Appendix III, p. 517 and Appendix XII, p. 696.

The PRESIDENT—This finishes our examination of the first report of the Resolutions Committee and, if there are no objections, I take it that the Conference adopts the report as a whole.

(The report is adopted.)

SECOND REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION, DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT—We now take up the second report of the Resolutions Committee. I would request Mr. Aguilar, Chairman and Reporter of the Committee, to submit the report.

Interpretation from Spanish : Mr. AGUILAR (Government delegate, Venezuela; Chairman and Reporter of the Resolutions Committee)—I have the privilege to submit to the Conference the second report of the Resolutions Committee, which has been distributed to delegates.

This second report of the Resolutions Committee consists of two sections, the first of which refers to the resolution condemning the Government of Portugal on the grounds of the forced labour policy practised by the said Government in territories under its administration. This is the original title of the resolution as submitted by Mr. Kamel, Government delegate, United Arab Republic, and adopted by the Committee. The second section of the report contains the resolutions not considered by the Committee.

I shall refer separately to the two sections of the report.

In the first section there appears a detailed account of the long discussion concerning this resolution, which was assigned to the sixth place, and I must say in this connection that, despite the controversial nature of the subject-matter and in spite of a certain amount of heat in our discussion, those in favour or against the different positions maintained an attitude of sanity and calm which I should like to point out to the Conference. In spite of sharp exchanges at times in the discussion, I, as Chairman of the Committee, was treated with the greatest respect throughout and all the members of the Committee showed a very high spirit of co-operation. After the long discussion, the Committee adopted the text of the resolution which appears in paragraph 47 of the report.

Now a last word concerning this first section of our report. There was discussion as to whether the title could be changed. After long consideration, having listened to the opinions of many members of the Committee, and after having had advice from the Legal Adviser of the Conference, I gave the ruling recorded in paragraph 25 of the report. The Committee finally adopted the title of the original resolution submitted by Mr. Kamel, as you can see in paragraph 29 of the report.

As regards the second section "Resolutions Not Considered by the Committee", towards
the end of the afternoon of Saturday, the last working day of the Committee according to the Standing Orders, it was proposed that the Committee conclude its work. This proposal, which is recorded in paragraph 48 of the report, also contained the idea that resolution No. 7 concerning protection of the rights of Spanish workers should be referred to the Governing Body Committee on Freedom of Association and that the resolution concerning equitable geographical representation of all States Members of the International Labour Organisation in its Governing Body as well as equitable geographical distribution of elective offices at sessions of the International Labour Conference and the Governing Body be sent to the Governing Body Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O.

Concerning these points I must draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that the Government member of Poland, on his own behalf and on behalf of the Government member of Ukraine, as authors of the resolution concerning equitable geographical representation, stated that he could not accept the suggestion to send it to the Working Party and added that he withdrew the resolution that had been submitted to the Committee.

As regards resolution No. 7 the Government member of Italy indicated that the procedure to be followed so that the substance of the resolution could be submitted to the Committee on Freedom of Association was for the author to withdraw the resolution in the Resolutions Committee and then to present a complaint to the Governing Body Committee on Freedom of Association. In this connection, as paragraph 57 states, the Yugoslav Workers' member, who was the author of the resolution, stated that he was not prepared to withdraw his resolution but he was not opposed to a vote on the motion to adjourn.

Finally, the Committee decided, by a large majority (445 votes in favour), to adjourn. As a consequence, resolution No. 7 concerning the protection of the rights of Spanish workers and resolution No. 8 concerning equitable geographical representation were not discussed.

To conclude this presentation of the report, I must add that according to article 17, paragraph 6, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, if any resolution has not been considered by the Committee by the date on which it terminates its work, the Conference shall not discuss or act upon that resolution.

Resolution Condemning the Government of Portugal on the Grounds of the Forced Labour Policy Practised by the Said Government in Territories under its Administration

The PRESIDENT—The report is submitted to the Conference for discussion. As Mr. Aguilar observed, we will have to consider it in two parts. The first part for discussion is contained in paragraphs 1 to 47; these paragraphs deal with the resolution condemning the Government of Portugal on the grounds of the forced labour policy practised by the said Government in territories under its administration.

Interpretation from French: Mr. VER-SCHUEEEN (Employers' delegate, Belgium; Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee)—Even though we are not discussing the last part of the report, I should like to state now that I do not intend to speak on the resolution concerning geographical representation or on the resolution concerning the protection of the rights of Spanish workers. The former has been withdrawn, and the Chairman has just told us that the latter, according to the Standing Orders, cannot be discussed at the Conference, and was considered to follow the normal channel, i.e. the filing of a complaint with the Governing Body Committee on Freedom of Association.

My comments are therefore limited to the only resolution which has to be examined and which concerns the condemnation of forced labour and includes a solemn appeal addressed to the Government of Portugal. In this respect I would like to confirm what the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee stated, and emphasise how, in spite of a tension which was palpable at times, this work was carried out in an orderly fashion, as it should be.

No human being worthy of the name, no one with a heart can fail to shudder when thinking that there are, throughout the world, forms and methods of exploitation of man by man. One has the right to be dismayed, noting that the conditions of inferiority of some are put to profit by those who hold the authority or power—and this for various reasons which have to do sometimes with mere ethnic differences and sometimes with political or ideological considerations.

The I.L.O. has a long-standing tradition of stating standards applicable to the social lives of the peoples. Some of them are more fundamental than others. The abolition of forced labour is one of the foremost, and we must rejoice that the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957, has been the one to receive the greatest number of ratifications in the past few years.

Therefore, our duty is to make every effort possible to ensure that these fundamental rules become a universal reality. That is why the Employers' group endorses the condemnation of forced labour and of policies which include the use of forced labour. That is why we also support the operative part of the resolution, paragraph 2, which "Urges that the necessary action be taken to put an end to these practices, which are contrary to the principles of the I.L.O.". However, in this particular case we could not limit ourselves to the mere reaffirmation of a general rule. It was also necessary to consider the accusation that had been made against Portugal and the invitation to condemn it.

In dealing with a specific case and with a request for quasi-judicial intervention, my colleagues felt—as did many other members of the Committee—that the most important thing was to maintain the greatest objectivity. An indication of such concern for objectivity, it must be recognised, was given by the authors and supporters of the resolution in avoiding as far as possible reference to the political background to the problem which was in everybody's mind, but which everyone had
agreed either explicitly or implicitly was outside the competence of this Conference. This objectivity had to be safeguarded and maintained to the end, despite the efforts of self-control required; it had to be maintained to the end in order to judge the position on the facts and not on the basis of impressions or emotion.

In the Committee I thought I could ask my African friends whether they would not do the same thing if they were asked to examine a dispute in which they were not emotionally involved, and I quoted a hypothetical example relating to my own country. I asked them whether, if a complaint was made by my compatriots—whether Fleming or Walloon—about alleged discriminations of which one side or the other was a victim, they would not ask for evidence and an inquiry into the facts.

What are the essential elements in this case and what are the facts? The basic facts, as has often been stated in the course of this meeting, on one side and on the other, are established by the 1962 report of the commission of inquiry appointed under article 26 of the Constitution. They are also established—and this is part of the basic documentation that we brought in coming to this Conference—by the report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

The least that one can say is that these two reports show that very great efforts have been made by the accused country to eliminate all forms of forced labour and that if some vestiges remain—concerning which requests for clarification and information are in fact in process and concerning which recommendations have been formulated, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to conclude—and I would beg delegates to believe that we have striven to consider this matter as objectively as possible—the existence of a deliberate policy of forced labour widely applied by the Portuguese authorities.

This incidentally was the opinion of the Committee—at any rate the majority of it—when it rejected an explicit condemnation, as stated in paragraph 26.

Is the dossier on Portugal closed? It is not. It remains open because the report of the commission of inquiry mentions several recommendations to be applied and the report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations calls for certain clarification and additional information which have yet to be supplied.

That is why my colleagues and I have endorsed paragraphs 3 and 4 of the operative part of the resolution which is now in the report and which call upon Portugal urgently to apply the recommendations of the 1962 commission of inquiry, and request the Director-General and the Governing Body to follow up this question.

Despite our reticence due to the dubious nature of the procedure employed, which I have already mentioned in discussing the first report—a general problem of the Resolutions Committee—we decided finally to endorse the new text proposed by the Workers’ group, which reflects the ideas on which I have just commented.

Unfortunately, during the course of the discussion, an amendment was made to the text, where the preamble referred to a resolution, about which some were doubtful, adopted by the United Nations. Unfortunately—and the Chairman of the Committee has just mentioned this—there was a disagreement also on the title, which should logically have been adapted to the amended resolution. For reasons of pride to which one cannot be insensible—and perhaps for other reasons which they do not care to admit—the movers of the initial resolution did not feel able to accept this logic.

In conclusion, the Employers’ group is in agreement with the operative part of the resolution and with the main lines of the preamble. We shall not vote against the resolution, but whilst some of my colleagues will find no difficulty in adopting the whole text, including its title—I can say this now—the majority has expressed reservations in this respect because of the objections relating on the one hand to the too-explicit reference to the United Nations resolution, and on the other hand to the title which is not in conformity with the contents. They will not vote for the resolution, and the logical conclusion, therefore, after this statement, is that the majority will abstain from voting.

Mr. KAPLANSKY (Workers’ adviser, Canada; Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee)—The Workers’ group almost unanimously supported the full text of the resolution which is before the Conference. At this time I take great pleasure in urging all delegates assembled in this conference hall to vote for this resolution, including its title. We in the Workers’ group did not take the initiative in submitting this resolution. As can be seen from the record, it was submitted by the Government delegate of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Kamel.

The argument is always raised, whenever such resolutions are presented, that they have no place in this Organisation. The argument is also raised—and it is a justifiable argument—that no member State can come to this Conference with clean hands and with a clear conscience and say that it alone applies all the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the I.L.O., or that it lives up to all the basic principles of this Organisation. It is, of course, a fact of life that in practically every member State you will find in its practices and its rules and in the way it behaves some divergences between what it professes and what it actually does.

However, this does not mean that when a specific case is presented to this Organisation and when specific charges are made against the behaviour of a certain member State, we can remain indifferent to these charges because of the argument that all member States are guilty of transgression of certain principles of this Organisation. We must deal with charges as they are presented to us. It is for this reason that the Workers’ group found that this resolution is expedient, that it belongs to this body and has to be dealt with by this Organisation.

The second argument that has been raised is that this resolution should make no reference
to the United Nations resolution on this subject. We cannot go along with this argument. After all, we are members of the United Nations family of organisations, and if the United Nations has spoken on the question of Portugal, and if it has condemned Portugal because of its attitude, *inter alia*, on the question of forced labour and because of its action or inaction in this field, then the International Labour Organisation cannot remain indifferent and cannot ignore the resolution adopted by the United Nations. It is for this reason that the Workers' group took the initiative of inserting this paragraph and also of specifying and explaining in part what the United Nations resolution was with respect to forced labour, which is the subject-matter of this resolution.

Thirdly, it has been the traditional attitude of the democratic trade union movements and of the international organisations of workers, which stand for human rights and freedom, to oppose dictatorship at every turn, to oppose colonial rule whatever the circumstances, to stand for freedom of nations and to stand for human dignity. We must say, with much regret and without reference to the people of Portugal as such, to whom we feel bound in fraternal spirit and against whom we have nothing to say, that we feel obliged on every occasion when the issue is raised to speak up in clear terms against colonial oppression, for independence of nations, against forced labour, and for the dignity of man.

It is for this reason that we have taken the initiative in drawing up a resolution, moderate in tone, within the framework of the I.L.O.'s constitutional powers and institutional possibilities, but nevertheless quite firm in its approach to the problems concerned.

We drafted the main body of the resolution which you have before you now. We amended the original resolution in order to bring about a consensus of support—in order that as large a number of people as possible in this Conference (Government, Employers and Workers) could support a constructive resolution on this question. We tried because we wanted to get the largest measure of support and because we realised that the greater the number of delegates voting for this resolution the greater would be its impact.

However, we could not compromise on one thing: we could not compromise on the suggestion that this resolution should have no reference to condemnation.

You have, on many occasions in this Conference, heard appeals for moderation of language. We agree that when we come to this rostrum we should use moderate language and that we should not aggravate situations. We in the Workers' group heeded this appeal. We tried to draft the substitute paragraph in moderate language, but because we did this it does not imply that our text does not contain a condemnation of practices. I must submit to you that our resolution does contain a condemnation in spirit and in fact. It is pointed out that Portugal has not lived up to the recommendations of the I.L.O. Governing Body Commission of Inquiry. Just because the text of the resolution does not use the word "condemn" this does not mean that the whole resolution is not a condemnation of the practices still pursued by Portugal on the question of forced labour.

We did not want the title of the resolution to lose us votes or to cause abstentions, and therefore we were willing to compromise even on the title. When we saw that the African nations, and especially the African workers, with whom we stand together, would not accept the deletion of the word "condemn" we had to support the original title. We make no excuses about it.

We drafted the major part of the text of the resolution which you have before you. We ought to know whether this resolution implies condemnation or not; and it was our feeling that this resolution is, in spirit and in fact, a condemnation of Portugal, and therefore we voted for the original title.

The resolution contains a number of very positive suggestions. It suggests primarily that the I.L.O. Governing Body and the Director-General should keep this matter under review and should put forward new proposals in order to make the Government of Portugal meet its obligations and the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry.

This resolution also contains a forceful condemnation of the very essence and principle of forced labour. It is, in a way, also a suggestion on how this matter should be solved in Portuguese overseas territories or in territories under Portuguese domination.

It is for these reasons—for the constructive features of this resolution, for the spirit which it expresses, for the feeling of revulsion against the inhuman practices of forced labour, for the tradition for which this Organisation has become known throughout the world, its defence of human rights—that I ask you, on behalf of the Workers' group, to vote for the adoption of the entire resolution.

Mr. KAMEL (Government delegate, United Arab Republic)—There is really little to add after this eloquent speech by Mr. Kaplansky. The resolution which is now before us is an important one. We are face to face with a member State which undermines the fundamental principles of this Organisation, and on the acceptance of these principles it was admitted as a fellow Member. These principles are clearly set out in the Preamble to the Constitution and in the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation adopted in Philadelphia on 10 May 1944.

The Preamble to the Constitution states 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". Parts I (a) and II (a) of the Declaration of Philadelphia state respectively that "labour is not a commodity" and that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity."

There is ample evidence to show, as was clearly explained in the Committee, that by law, administration and practice the Govern-
ment of Portugal persistently undermines these very principles for which the I.L.O. exists. It regards labour as a commodity, and it practises forced labour in the territories under its administration in Africa. Furthermore, it exports African workers to South Africa, which was condemned by this Organisation for its policy of apartheid.

The United Nations General Assembly noted in resolution 1819 (XVII) of 1962 that the economic life of Angola is to a large extent based on forced labour. This resolution was adopted by a large majority of the member States of the United Nations. In fact, it was adopted by 57 votes in favour, 14 against, with 18 abstentions. If the United Nations General Assembly adopts such a resolution, it is necessary that action be taken by the I.L.O., which is the first organisation to be concerned with this question as it was established for the improvement of working and living conditions of workers and is of the firm conviction that universal peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice. Such action is the duty and responsibility of this General Conference. Indeed, the principal argument advanced by those who opposed an outright expulsion of South Africa was that they insisted on prior action by the United Nations before the I.L.O. took its own action. Here is a clear case where this condition has been fulfilled. There can be no valid argument now against the immediate adoption of this resolution, especially as it was adopted by the Resolutions Committee after a thorough examination and lengthy discussion.

In this connection, I must express to the Workers the most sincere thanks of all Africans for their support in the Resolutions Committee. I most sincerely hope that the decision of the Resolutions Committee last week will be confirmed today by the Conference. We do not wish to chastise a member State for the sake of chastisement, but our aim is first and foremost to dissuade this Member from violating the very principles for which our Organisation stands, thereby enabling it to respond to the call of humanity and human dignity.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. SHKUNAEEV (Government adviser, U.S.S.R.)—The Soviet Government delegation fully supports the resolution which is now under consideration, condemning the Government of Portugal on the grounds of the forced labour policy practised by the said Government in territories under its administration. We support this resolution even though we consider that its terms are somewhat moderate in regard to a situation which deserves a more strongly worded statement.

I do not agree with one of the previous speakers who, to some extent, attempted to cast a shadow on the spirit of co-operation and objectivity which characterised the discussion of this draft in the Resolutions Committee. He said that the spirit of objectivity did not prevail until the end, and that the Committee did not adhere to facts but was swayed by emotions. I should like to say in this connection that there are certain emotions which cannot be distinguished from facts. As I see it, this resolution reflects the feelings and emotions of millions of Africans in almost all African countries, and the feelings of 200 million people are an objective fact. They are not only an objective fact but an objective force which the Resolutions Committee took into consideration. We consider that it did so justly and rightly.

The peoples of Africa know, through long and bitter experience, what they have to face today and what they have had to face for scores of years because of the colonial domination of Africa. They have become most thorough experts in this field, no less competent experts than the Flemings or Walloons in respect of matters concerning their mutual relationship.

What is most important is that these feelings and emotions of the African peoples are not in contradiction to other objective facts; on the contrary, they are based on such facts, and these facts—as Mr. Kaplansky stated from this rostrum—are borne out both in the International Labour Organisation and in the competent organs of the United Nations. Our Conference cannot pass over such facts.

Although the resolution concerns forced labour, and forced labour alone, I should like to point out that this problem cannot in fact be seen outside its general context. Forced labour does not exist in one glass jar and colonialism in another; the problems exist simultaneously in the same territories. In territories where a policy of racial discrimination is applied, the population of those territories is denied one of the most fundamental rights—perhaps the most fundamental—which all people should enjoy, including the people of the territories still under Portuguese domination in Africa: that is to say, the right to self-determination.

The problem of forced labour is very important. We support the resolution which may yield some results in the future, but we are convinced that this problem will not be fully resolved until the peoples of the territories concerned are able to exercise their right to self-determination. Then they will not require much time in order to achieve the aims of the present resolution.

Mr. ABID ALI (Workers' delegate, India)—I would like to associate myself with those speakers who have given their support to the resolution condemning the Government of Portugal on the grounds of the forced labour policy practised by the said Government in territories under its administration.

As we discuss the resolution here, our hearts go out to our brothers who are waging a relentless battle against colonialism. Every sensible person knows that forced labour destroys human dignity, but it becomes heinous when used, as is being done by the Government of Portugal, to bolster up its own economy at the cost of basic fundamental human rights of people. We condemn forced labour in any shape or form, and this practice by the Government of Portugal in African colonies compels us to express indignation in the strongest possible terms so that pressure of world opinion is brought to bear upon the conscience of those responsible for such a disgusting system.
In spite of all the evidence proving the existence of forced labour in Portuguese colonies in Africa, an attempt has been made to deny it and distort the facts which condemn the Government of Portugal. I have no intention of going into details at this stage of our work but let me say only this. So long as the disgraceful yoke of colonialism has not disappeared from the lands of these unfortunate people, you cannot expect any hope for them. People who are not free and who are compelled to work for the benefit of an oppressive foreign Power are in a perpetual state of forced labour. It is my earnest hope that everyone of us in this hall will take a pledge to work for the restoration, dignity and justice to the people of these colonies. The present resolution represents such a pledge. It is for this reason that I lend my entire and wholehearted support to it. I sincerely hope that this Conference, by endorsing the resolution, will give the lead in finding a solution to this problem, which, after all, does not concern Africa alone. Faced with a human question, we are all very anxious finally to exterminate this disgraceful practice from the face of the earth.

In these fast-changing times of the twentieth century how can this degrading system be tolerated? It is inconsistent with the very objective and existence of the I.L.O. We are a civilised and democratic society and should honour the rules governing it. I wish Portugal would heed the voice of reason and conscience and change its policy so as not to compel this world family to take more drastic steps.

The PRESIDENT—As there are no more speakers, the discussion of paragraphs 1 to 46 of the report is terminated. If there are no objections, I shall consider these paragraphs as adopted.

(Paragraphs 1 to 46 are adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—Now we pass on to the resolution contained in paragraph 47. The vote will be taken by show of hands.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. Paragraph 47 is adopted by 214 votes in favour, 11 against, with 79 abstentions.)

Resolutions Not Considered by the Committee

The PRESIDENT—We will now take paragraphs 48 to 60 inclusive, which relate to resolutions which were not considered by the Committee.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. SHKUNAEV (Government adviser, U.S.S.R.)—Please forgive me for delaying the discussion somewhat but I think these paragraphs are important—extremely important, in fact. I should like to pay tribute to the Chairman of our Committee, Mr. Aguilar, and to congratulate him on his successful efforts in guiding the work of the Committee to a positive conclusion in spite of the differences we might have had over the subject-matter of para-

1 See Appendix III, p. 524.
considered most carefully by the Conference when the Standing Orders that are now in force were accepted.

There is one principle that must be considered and that underlies the last intervention, and it is the whole concept of democracy. An objection was raised to the secret ballot but I think it should be understood and considered by the Conference that, although it is true that the resolution that was not discussed had been submitted to the Conference in one form or another for two years, a decision in accordance with the best judgment of the members of the Committee was taken by secret ballot—the most democratic form of manifesting and exercising democracy that the world has been able to evolve—that this resolution should not be placed among the first five. I would only remind the Conference that the change in the Standing Orders was adopted in order to provide an orderly method for the Resolutions Committee to complete its work and to consider those resolutions which, in the view of the Committee, fell clearly within the field of competence and interest of the International Labour Conference.

Although I have no objection to the Working Party’s examining the operation of the rules, I submit that this is the most democratic and fair procedure we have been able to devise in order that the Resolutions Committee may consider, in the order of priority it determines by secret ballot, which are the most important resolutions, and thereby finish its work in time to permit of the kind of orderly consideration of the fruits of its labours that we have been able to have in the past two years since the new Standing Orders have been in force. I think that the procedure that governs the conduct of the Resolutions Committee is a democratic one and I strongly urge that the holding of a secret ballot in order to determine priority for the resolutions which, in the opinion of the Committee, are the most important is the most democratic procedure we could evolve.

The PRESIDENT—As there are no further speakers, I now presume that the Conference adopts paragraphs 48 to 60 of the Report. If there are no objections, I shall regard them as adopted.

(Paragraphs 48 to 60 are adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, I take it that the Conference adopts the report as a whole.

(The report is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—Now it only remains for me to thank Mr. Aguilar, the Chairman and Reporter of the Committee, and all the members of the Committee, for the perseverance and patience with which they have accomplished their task.

I know there are many candidates for the chairmanship of committees of the I.L.O., but there are very few candidates for the chairmanship of the Resolutions Committee. In my experience, this greatness is thrust upon people. I am very glad that Mr. Aguilar, in a spirit of sportsmanship, has accepted this, and done so well.

(The Conference adjourned at 1.30 p.m.)
Final Record Vote on the Convention concerning Medical Examination of Young Persons for Fitness for Employment Underground in Mines

For (331)

Algeria:
Mr. Boudjadjji (G)
Mr. Bouhara (G)
Mr. Taoug (E)
Mr. Oumeziane (W)

Argentina:
Mr. López (G)
Mr. Armendares (E)
Mr. Recalde (E)
Mr. Armendares (G)
Mr. López (G)
Mr. Tzankov (W)
Mr. De Bock (E)
Mr. Verschueren (E)
Mr. Krenn (G)
Mr. Choc (W)
Mr. Monk (E)
Mr. Gibson (G)
Mr. Hill (G)

Australia:
Mr. Cook (G)
Mr. Hill (G)
Mr. Gibson (E)
Mr. Monk (W)

Austria:
Mr. Choc (G)
Mr. Krenn (G)
Mr. Armendares (G)
Mr. López (G)
Mr. Tzankov (W)
Mr. De Bock (W)

Bulgaria:
Mr. Tsankov (G)

Cameroon:
Mr. Nzo-Ekhardt-Nghaky (G)
Mr. Fokam Kymga (G)
Mr. Bekoubo (E)
Mr. Ngon (W)

Canada:
Mr. Hartshorne (G)
Mr. Mainwaring (G)
Mr. Hallsworth (E)
Mr. Morris (W)

Central African Republic:
Mr. Ledot (G)
Mrs. Franck (G)
Mr. Halie (E)
Mr. Kokoy (W)

Chad:
Mr. Keko (G)
Mr. Yamala (G)
Mr. Isenmann (E)
Mr. Goraallah (W)

Chile:
Mr. Thayer (G)
Mr. Huibobre (G)
Mr. Sepulveda (E)
Mrs. Defilippi (W)

China:
Mr. Liu (G)
Mr. Lee (G)
Mr. Teng (W)

Colombia:
Mr. Arango (G)
Mr. Cuesta (W)

Congo (Leopoldville):
Mr. Makumbala (G)
Mr. Jonckheere (E)

Costa Rica:
Mr. Carro Zúñiga (G)
Mr. Padilla Castro (G)
Mr. Morúa Carrillo (E)
Mr. López Chinchilla (W)

Cuba:
Mr. Calzines Gordillo (G)
Mr. Domínguez Oceja (E)
Mr. Carbonell Horruitiner (W)

Cyprus:
Mr. Spasias (G)
Mr. Zarras (G)
Mr. Papoulis (G)
Mr. Bardas (E)
Mr. Papageorgiou (W)

Denmark:
Mr. Lund (E)
Mr. Vognbjerg (W)

Ecuador:
Mr. Ponce y Carbó (G)

Egypt:
Mr. Azimi (G)
Mr. Farzaneh (E)
Mr. Poursate (W)

Equatorial Guinea:
Mr. Ayeh (G)
Mr. Akwei (G)
Mr. Bannerman-Menson (E)

Estonia:
Mr. Jogi (G)
Mr. Leito (E)

Ethiopia:
Mr. Tesemma (G)
Mr. Amede (G)
Mr. Gebregraham (E)
Mr. Solomon (W)

Estonia:
Mr. Rinne (G)
Mr. Lappalainen (G)
Mr. Milch (E)
Mr. Nilson (W)

Finland:
Mr. Roni (G)
Mr. Lappalainen (G)
Mr. Milch (E)
Mr. Nilson (W)

France:
Mr. Parodi (G)
Mr. Hauk (E)
Mr. Waline (E)
Mr. Bouladoux (W)

Gabon:
Mr. Abessolo (G)
Mr. Mintsa (G)

Federal Republic of Germany:
Mr. Klaus (G)
Mr. Ernst (G)
Mr. Erdmann (E)
Mr. Beermann (W)

Ghana:
Mr. Ayeh (G)
Mr. Akwei (G)
Mr. Bannerman-Menson (E)

Guatemala:
Mr. Salazar Valdés (G)
Mr. Eisein (E)

Guinea:
Mr. Camara (G)
Mr. Fouad (G)
Mr. Hetaa (E)
Mr. Bah (W)

Honduras:
Mr. Cruz Torres (G)
Mr. Ramos Alvarado (W)

Hungary:
Mr. Meki (G)
Mr. Bénty (G)
Mr. Sattler (E)
Mr. Karakas (W)

India:
Mr. Bheekhabhai (G)
Mr. Menon (G)
Mr. Bheekhabhai (G)
Mr. Wilson (G)
Mr. Beesling (G)
Mr. Zuck (W)

Ireland:
Mr. McCarthy (W)
Mr. O'Reilly (E)
Mr. Clancy (G)

Italy:
Mr. Meno (G)
Mr. Abid Ali (W)

Ivory Coast:
Mr. Allott About (G)
Mr. Kolli Konou (G)
Mr. Konian Kodjo (E)
Mr. Coffie (W)

Jamaica:
Mr. Chambers (E)

Japan:
Mr. Aoki (G)
Mr. Shiseki (G)
Mr. Shiomi (W)

Jordan:
Mr. Abdul-Aziz (G)
Mr. Diab (G)
Mr. Asfour (E)
Mr. Jawhar (W)

Kenya:
Mr. Ndiri (G)
Mr. Ohilube (G)
Mr. Richmond (E)

Kuwait:
Mr. Sarawi (G)
Mr. Yassin (G)
Mr. Dahy (W)

Lebanon:
Mr. Abi Raad (G)
Mr. Nasr (E)
Mr. Zainati (W)

Liberia:
Mr. Wilson (G)
Mr. Nelson (G)
Mr. Rahman (W)

Libya:
Mr. El Marianni (G)
Mr. Derbi (G)
Mr. Ben Halim (E)
Mr. Shita (W)

Luzembourg:
Mr. Kayser (G)
Mr. Beesling (G)
Mr. Krier (W)

Malagasy Republie:
Mr. Ranjeva (G)
Mr. Dibe (G)
Mr. Andrault (E)
Mr. Kaveron (W)

Malawi:
Mr. McCluskey (G)
Mr. Matteju (W)

Malaysia:
Mr. Kumar (G)
Mr. Abdul Rahman (G)
Mr. Zaaidi (W)

Mali:
Mr. O. B. Diarra (G)
Mr. M. Diarra (G)
Mr. Dembele (W)
Mr. Sissoko (W)

Malta:
Mr. Ransley (E)
Mr. Attard Kingswell (W)
Austria:
Mr. Sánchez-Madariaga (W)
Mr. Benoit (E)
Mr. van der Ploeg (W)
Mr. Fennema (E)
Mr. van der Flog (W)

Bosnia and Herzegovina:
Mr. Džaferagić (E)
Mr. Čolić (E)
Mr. Čedić (E)

Mauritania:
Mr. Trouvé (E)
Mr. Kane (W)

Mexico:
Mr. Sánchez Madariaga (W)

Morocco:
Mr. Laraki (G)
Mr. Benouk (E)
Mr. Ben Seddik (W)

Netherlands:
Mr. Veldkamp (G)
Mr. van der Elst (G)
Mr. van der Ploeg (W)
Mr. Fennema (E)
Mr. van der Flog (W)

New Zealand:
Mr. Parsonage (G)
Mr. A. Ali (TFJ)
Mr. Wajib (G)
Mr. Al-Sarraj (G)

Nicaragua:
Mr. Tijerino Medrano (G)
Mr. A. Ali (TFJ)
Mr. Al-Sarraj (G)

Niger:
Mr. Kone (G)
Mr. Georget (E)
Mr. Delanne (W)

Nigeria:
Mr. Tukoboh (G)
Mr. Obiogun (G)
Mr. Abbo (E)
Mr. Bora (W)

Norway:
Mr. Øksne (G)
Mrs. Severin (G)
Mr. Selvig (E)
Mr. Strand (W)

Pakistan:
Mr. Wajid Ali (E)
Mr. A. Ali (W)

Panama:
Mr. Paredes (G)
Mr. Amado Orshy (G)
Mr. Araya Bernai (G)

Peru:
Mr. Letts (G)
Mr. Cruzado (W)

Philippines:
Mr. Albano Paes (G)
Mr. Lovina (E)
Mr. Hernandez (W)

Poland:
Mr. Chajń (G)
Mr. Ntawiha (G)
Mr. Letts (W)

Portugal:
Mr. Fernandes (G)
Mr. Ribeiro da Cunha (G)
Mr. Morales de los Rios (E)
Mr. López Ribeiro (W)

Romania:
Mr. Dumitrescu (G)
Mr. Olteanu (E)
Mr. Tudor (W)

Sierra Leone:
Mr. Williams (G)
Mr. Davies (G)
Mr. Talabi-Coker (E)
Mr. Palmer (W)

Somalia:
Mr. Giama Ahmed (G)
Mr. Seek Mbo (E)
Mr. Parah Egai (W)

Spain:
Mr. Gómez-Acebo (G)
Mr. Giménez-Arnau (G)
Mr. Gallegos García (E)
Mr. Fugardo Sanz (W)

Sweden:
Mr. Åström (G)
Mr. Tiller (G)
Mr. Bergstenström (E)
Mr. Bolin (W)

Switzerland:
Mr. Holzer (G)
Mr. Saxer (G)
Mr. Kuntschert (E)
Mr. Möri (W)

Syrian Arab Republic:
Mr. Chahoud (G)
Mr. Zaïla (G)

Tanzania:
Mr. Mponji (G)
Mr. Baghdade (G)
Mr. Taalou (W)

Togo:
Mr. Tobge (G)
Mr. Samaou (E)
Mr. Salami (W)

Trinidad and Tobago:
Mr. Wallace (G)
Mr. Ranchand (G)
Mr. Poureira (E)
Mr. Hackshaw (W)

Tunisia:
Mr. Massri (E)
Mr. Ghali (G)
Mr. Samaou (E)
Mr. Salami (W)

Turkey:
Mr. Nihat (G)
Mr. Sari (G)
Mr. Kocatopçu (E)

United Arab Republic:
Mr. Kamel (G)
Mr. Nour (G)
Mr. Reisat (E)
Mr. Fakhr (W)

United Kingdom:
Mr. Balfour (G)
Mr. Harrower (W)
Mr. Nour (G)
Mr. Balfour (W)

Upper Volta:
Mr. Bamba (G)
Mr. Anguela (E)
Mr. Iboudou (W)

Venezuela:
Mr. Aguilar (G)
Mr. Tarre Mursi (G)
Mr. Martinez-Espinó O. (E)

Viet Nam:
Mr. Nguyễn-Văn-Lân (E)
Mr. Quyên-Trân-Hủ (W)

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Popović (G)
Mr. Kopok (G)
Mr. Tucaković (E)
Mr. Tabor (W)

Zambia:
Mr. Kalanga (G)
Mr. Nyiringo (G)
Mr. Canning-Cooke (E)
Mr. Mupeta (W)

Against (0)

Abstentions (13)

Afghanistan:
Mr. Zakary (G)
Mr. Baijay (G)

Austria:
Mr. Mautner-Markhof (E)

China:
Mr. Cheng (E)

Denmark:
Mr. Colín (G)
Mr. Juhl-Christensen (G)

Italy:
Mr. Campanella (E)

Japan:
Mr. Mishiro (E)

Morocco:
Mr. Amado Gurgos (G)
Mr. Paredes (E)

Malaysia:
Mr. Rosario (G)
Mr. Bonifacio (G)

Mexico:
Mr. Mautner-Markhof (E)

Mauritania:
Mr. Trouvé (E)
Mr. Kane (W)

Netherlands:
Mr. Veldkamp (G)
Mr. van der Elst (G)
Mr. van der Ploeg (W)
Mr. Fennema (E)
Mr. van der Flog (W)

New Zealand:
Mr. Parsonage (G)
Mr. A. Ali (TFJ)
Mr. Wajib (G)
Mr. Al-Sarraj (G)

Nicaragua:
Mr. Tijerino Medrano (G)
Mr. A. Ali (TFJ)
Mr. Al-Sarraj (G)

Niger:
Mr. Kone (G)
Mr. Georget (E)
Mr. Delaine (W)

Nigeria:
Mr. Tukoboh (G)
Mr. Obiogun (G)
Mr. Abbo (E)
Mr. Bora (W)

Norway:
Mr. Øksne (G)
Mrs. Severin (G)
Mr. Selvig (E)
Mr. Strand (W)

Pakistan:
Mr. Wajid Ali (E)
Mr. A. Ali (W)

Panama:
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Mr. Amado Orshy (G)
Mr. Araya Bernai (G)

Peru:
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Mr. Cruzado (W)

Philippines:
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Mr. Tarre Mursi (G)
Mr. Martinez-Espinó O. (E)

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Mr. Quyên-Trân-Hủ (W)

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Popović (G)
Mr. Kopok (G)
Mr. Tucaković (E)
Mr. Tabor (W)

Zambia:
Mr. Kalanga (G)
Mr. Nyiringo (G)
Mr. Canning-Cooke (E)
Mr. Mupeta (W)
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<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Mr. Hani (G) Mr. Al-Wakil (G) Mr. Al-Dabagh (E) Mr. Shaqathi (W)</td>
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<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>Mr. Aillot About (G) Mr. Koff Konasse (G) Mr. Konian Koldjo (E) Mr. Coffe (W)</td>
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<td>Jamaica</td>
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<td>Jordan</td>
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<td>Mr. Abi Raad (G) Mr. Zainati (W)</td>
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<td>Mr. Wilson (G) Mr. Nelson (G) Mr. Padmore (E) Mr. Rahman (W)</td>
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<td>Mr. McCallough (G) Mr. M'Tegha (G) Mr. Matteujo (W)</td>
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<td>Mali</td>
<td>Mr. O. B. Diarra (G) Mr. M. Diarra (G) Mr. Dembelo (E) Mr. Sissoko (W)</td>
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<td>Malta</td>
<td>Mr. Attard Kingswell (W)</td>
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<td>Mexico</td>
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<td>Morocco</td>
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<td>Mr. Veldkamp (G) Father Stokman (G) Mr. van der Ploeg (W)</td>
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<td>Mr. Skinner (W)</td>
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1 See p. 435.
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<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>Mr. Tijerino Medrano (G)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
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<td>Panama</td>
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<td>Mr. Latif Khan (G)</td>
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<td>Mr. Giama Ahmed (G)</td>
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THIRTY-SECOND SITTING

Wednesday, 23 June 1965, 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Raza

SIXTH REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION AND NOTING

The PRESIDENT—The first item of business for this afternoon is the sixth report of the Credentials Committee. I call upon Mr. Zanetti, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to present the report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ZANETTI (Government adviser, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee)—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the sixth report of the Credentials Committee, the text of which has been distributed to delegates. This report contains the decisions of the Committee concerning an objection to the nomination of a Workers' adviser of Morocco and an objection to the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Viet-Nam. These decisions were taken unanimously, and the Conference is accordingly asked to take note of the report.

The PRESIDENT—As you will observe, the report was unanimously adopted by the Credentials Committee, and the Conference is therefore merely requested to take note of it.

(SEVENTH REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION AND NOTING)

The PRESIDENT—We now proceed to the seventh report of the Credentials Committee. Mr. Zanetti, the Chairman, will submit the report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ZANETTI (Government adviser, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee)—I have the honour to present to the Conference the seventh report of the Credentials Committee, the text of which has already been distributed to delegates. This report contains the decisions of the Committee with regard to objections to the nomination of the Workers' delegate of the Malagasy Republic, an objection to the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Uruguay, an objection to the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Uganda, and objections to the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Spain. These decisions have been taken unanimously by the Committee, and the Conference is accordingly asked to take note of the report.

The PRESIDENT—The report was unanimously adopted by the Credentials Committee, and the Conference is merely requested to take note of it.

(EIGHTH REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION AND NOTING)

The PRESIDENT—We now pass on to the eighth report of the Credentials Committee. Mr. Zanetti, the Chairman, will submit the report.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ZANETTI (Government adviser, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee)—I have the honour to present to the Conference the eighth report of the Credentials Committee, which has been distributed to delegates. This report contains the decisions of the Committee with regard to objections to the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Congo (Brazzaville) and objections to the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Portugal. These decisions have been taken unanimously by the Committee, and the Conference is accordingly asked to take note of the report.

Since this is the Committee's last report I should like, on this occasion, to make a few observations, as suggested to me by the work of the Committee, which you will find in the various reports submitted. First of all, the Committee found on several occasions that, despite the obligation placed upon them by the Constitution, some States did not send to the Conference complete tripartite delegations. It is necessary that parity between the non-government delegates in each delegation should be ensured since, under the Constitution, if a government fails to nominate one of the non-Government delegates whom it is entitled to nominate, the other non-Government delegate...
has no right to vote. Moreover, the Committee noted a certain imbalance between the number of advisers accompanying the delegates of the various groups.

In the same connection I should like to remind you that under article 13 of the Constitution each of the Members is required to pay the travelling and subsistence expenses of its delegates and their advisers. It may also be useful to recall that objections cannot be usefully examined by the Committee unless they contain sufficiently concrete particulars. Similarly, under article 26, paragraph 4 (d), of the Standing Orders, which governs the work of the Committee, objections dealing with cases which the Conference has already discussed are regarded as being irrelevant or devoid of substance are not receivable. They can be declared receivable only if they allege substantially new facts.

Finally, the Committee was forced to note on several occasions that it could only verify whether delegates and advisers had been appointed in accordance with article 3 of the Constitution. This means that the Credentials Committee, as it has indicated, is in no position to examine objections motivated by arguments alleging violations of freedom of association or discrimination or forced labour or relating to political matters having to do with the political régime of member States. A decision on any of these matters would obviously fall entirely outside the terms of reference of the Committee since it would not be based on the provisions of article 3 of the Constitution, and in particular on paragraph 5 thereof, which provides that member States must designate their non-Government delegates and advisers in agreement with the most representative industrial organisations, if such organisations exist. In this connection the Committee recalled that the Permanent Court of International Justice, in its Advisory Opinion No. 1, indicated that what was asked of governments was that they should try their best to achieve an agreement which might be considered most likely to ensure representation of the workers of the country. So far as the issues of freedom of association, discrimination or forced labour are concerned, the I.L.O. has special procedures and it is for the Conference and for the Governing Body in such cases to take the necessary steps.

Finally, I should like to pay tribute—and I do so with great pleasure—to the two members of the Committee representing the Employers and Workers, Mr. Poulsen and Mr. Bolin, for the manner in which they discharged their duties. They did so with an objectivity and an integrity which were absolute and indeed with admirable courage. Their only concern, and mine as well, was to base their opinions on law before all, knowing that it is on this sound and lasting principle that the I.L.O. is based. It was in this spirit that we were able to reach unanimous decisions in all cases. Dominant in our work was the principle that our Organisation had been built on law and we did not want to ruin it by contempt for the law. The best institution in the world and any structural changes which may be introduced into it are worthless if those for whom they are intended lack strength of character.

I hope that all those who are called upon to work in our Organisation will display this maturity of mind and heart. If this condition is ensured the I.L.O., thanks to its tripartite structure and perhaps better than any other international organisation, will be able to continue to serve its mission in the interests of peace and happiness in the world.

The President—The eighth report of this Committee, as was the case with previous reports, was unanimously adopted by the Committee and the Conference is merely required to take note of it.

(The report is noted.)

The President—I hope all delegates have made note of the points which Mr. Zanetti has made just now in his speech. This Committee has always to deal with controversial matters and therefore it needs a lot of courage and perseverance to deal with the matters which come before it. I would not like to let this occasion pass without expressing my most sincere thanks and those of the entire Conference to the Credentials Committee, its able Chairman, Mr. Zanetti, and his co-workers, Mr. Schade Poulsen and Mr. Bolin, who have accomplished their arduous and thankless task with exemplary objectivity and in full respect for the provisions which govern the operation of the Committee.

Report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations:
Submission, Discussion and Adoption

The President—We will proceed to the next item on our agenda, the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. I would invite Mr. Albano Pacis, Chairman of the Committee, and Mr. Lappalainen, Reporter, to come to the rostrum. Mr. Lappalainen will submit the report.

Mr. Lappalainen (Government delegate, Finland; Reporter of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations)—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, the text of which has been circulated to delegates.

In accordance with its terms of reference the Committee examined the following questions: reports on ratified Conventions supplied by member States; reports on the application of Conventions in non-metropolitan territories; information on the submission to the competent authorities of Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference at its 31st to 47th Sessions; and reports requested by the Governing Body from non-ratifying States on the Maternity Protection Conventions and Recommendations.

The deliberations of the Committee are largely based upon the work of the Committee of Experts, which this year had to examine nearly 1,300 detailed reports concerning ratified Conventions. As in January 1965 the total

1 See appendix V, p. 587.
number of ratifications passed the 3,000 mark, the third thousand having been reached in less than five years, it is obvious that the workload of the Committee of Experts will continue to increase, as will the work of the Conference Committee. The Committee was very satisfied with the progress as regards ratifications. It noted, however, that many member States had not yet responded to the Committee’s repeated appeals to ratify and apply the fundamental instruments on freedom of association, forced labour and discrimination. As regards freedom of association, the Committee also invited the Director-General to present a report on the work of the Conference Committee. The Committee was very satisfied with the progress as regards ratifications. It noted, however, that many member States had not yet responded to the Committee’s repeated appeals to ratify and apply the fundamental instruments on freedom of association, forced labour and discrimination.

Another point is the need for well-organised inspection services capable of enforcing national and international labour legislation. This year reports on the labour inspection instruments have been requested under article 19 of the Constitution, and the Committee expressed the hope that all the reports due would be forthcoming and would contain as complete information as possible.

When discussing the application of Conventions in non-metropolitan territories, the Committee wished to stress the importance of the early entry into force of the instrument of amendment of the Constitution, adopted last year, which deals with the application of ratified Conventions in non-metropolitan territories. In its report the Committee calls upon governments to endeavour to ratify or to accept the instrument of amendment as soon as possible.

The Committee also concerned itself with the question of maternity protection, which the Governing Body had requested it to examine under article 19 of the Constitution in 1964. The Committee had before it a very detailed survey and conclusions emerging from it. This survey showed that, notwithstanding the limited number of ratifications of the instruments on maternity protection, considerable progress has been made in this field in recent decades. While this progress was largely due to economic and social development in the various countries, the Maternity Protection Conventions and Recommendations had exercised undoubted influence on national legislation, which has been drawn on the international standards. As a result, the principles enunciated in these instruments are today accepted by almost all the countries covered by the survey.

The survey by the Committee of Experts indicates that there are certain difficulties in the application of these Conventions on maternity protection. The Committee thinks, however, that these difficulties are not such as to call for a revision of the Conventions, particularly as the limited number of ratifications appears not to be due, in most countries, to basic differences between national legislation and the Conventions. The Committee considers that all governments should aim to ratify and apply the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919, and that, whenever possible, they should seek to attain the higher level of protection provided in the revised Convention of 1952 and ratify that instrument.

In spite of certain differences of opinion on some points, the Committee’s work has in my opinion been useful and constructive. But this is only one side of the picture. The Case Records and Conventions and Recommendations. The other is the practical effect of this work. The function of the Committee might be compared to that of a heart generating again and again through-out the membership of the Organisation fresh impulses towards the implementation of its standards, thus serving the ultimate purpose of the I.L.O.’s supervisory work.

The PRESIDENT—The report is before the Conference for general discussion.

Mr. RICHMOND (Employers’ delegate, Kenya; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on the
Application of Conventions and Recommendations—On behalf of the Employers' group I wish to pay tribute to the Chairman of this Committee for the most pleasant and efficient manner in which he controlled the Committee during its deliberations, and also to pay tribute to the Reporter, Mr. Lappalainen, Government delegate, Finland, and to the whole secretariat for its very able and expert assistance.

It gives me very great pleasure indeed to speak from the rostrum and to recommend to the Conference the unanimous adoption of the report before us. In my view, the Report reflects the Committee's recommendation in an objective manner the deliberations and opinions which were put forward and brought to the notice of the Committee. One of the most important functions of the I.L.O. is the annual study by the Committee of Experts and by the Conference Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations of the manner in which member States are conforming to the standards established by successive Sessions of the Conference. I must pay tribute to the most impartial and objective manner in which the Committee of Experts has prepared its report. It has been successful in rising above normal bias to achieve an integrity of performance which Committees of this Conference would do well to emulate.

The experience of the Conference Committee shows that there is a continuing improvement in the understanding of Members' obligations under article 19 of the Constitution to submit to their competent legislative authorities the instruments adopted by the Conference. Submission, however, does not mean automatic ratification but it is obligatory under the Constitution so that the legislative authority may be fully informed. I suggest that there is also a parallel obligation for governments to examine existing legislation and to submit to the competent authority at the same time that ratification is being considered a clear picture of what new legislation and/or other measures must be undertaken if the instruments under consideration are to be applied. Workers' and employers' organisations should also be consulted; ratification should then be decided on the basis of whether or not these measures are acceptable. It seems to me that if this principle were followed in all cases the work of the Committee of Experts and of the Conference Committee would be greatly simplified.

Over the past few years the Committee has spent hours examining the position of the practical application of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1937, particularly in some African countries. Last year it welcomed the setting up of an I.L.O. research programme which would examine on the spot the measures taken in certain developing countries to train young people and to eliminate unemployment.

This problem not only covers existing legislation but also old-established practices, and it is therefore taking some time for recommendations to be made. We regret the delay but a promise has been given by the Office that the report of the research team and its recommendations will be made to the 46th Session of the Conference. Therefore we hope that the Committee will be giving a thorough examination to this very important problem of forced labour.

All Conventions and Recommendations are important instruments, although some are bound to have a greater significance than others. There are none, however, more important than those which seek to establish, maintain and protect the human rights of workers. In this connection, I refer in particular to the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949. I refer also to their application in certain socialist countries.

This is a very difficult and complex problem, and it will be noted that in the report of the Committee of Experts it was emphasised that the concept of freedom of association was entirely different under the socialist system as compared to the capitalist system. These differences are, at the moment, so great as to be incapable of finding any common ground.

Your Committee, therefore, after reviewing the problem that has been considered by the Committee of Experts, particularly because the Committee of Experts did not introduce any new elements, and there seemed little point in having long and acrimonious arguments and discussions when there was no possibility at all of reaching agreement.

I wish, however, to emphasise that this decision must have no bearing on the supply of any relevant reports now or in the future, or on any examination of such reports by the supervisory bodies. On behalf of the Employers' group I should like to state that we are not at all happy at the continued shelving of this important question, and it is likely that next year we will insist on some endeavours being made to obtain a solution to this problem.

As an example of the Committee's desire to concentrate on the more important infringements of the Constitution and of Conventions, the Committee, as the Reporter has already stated, agreed on a criterion to be used in setting up a special list of States which have persistently disregarded basic undertakings or whose governments have failed to reply to the comments and queries of the experts.

I should like to draw the attention of delegates at this Conference to this list and to the names of the States which are mentioned therein. They appear on pages III and IV of the report of the Conference Committee. I should like to ask delegates from these countries to do their utmost, on their return to their own countries, to ensure that next year their names will be withdrawn from the list. I can assure you that use of this special list was treated very seriously by the Committee, and on more than one occasion a vote was necessary before a decision could be reached. Unfortunately, on one particular occasion the debate lasted far too long, and when the vote was taken to apply the special list to a particular State the motion failed through lack of a quorum.

It is surprising that in these days many countries have still not ratified the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947. The Committee of Experts has stressed from time to time the essential importance of the Convention for the practical application of other international labour standards. All States should ensure that
they have a well-organised inspection service fully capable of enforcing their own legislation on labour matters. The countries concerned have numerous and supplied with the necessary powers to ensure that the law will be translated into practice. By so doing they will be able to ensure their ability to meet their obligations to the I.L.O.

Training on the spot is a much more valuable method of granting technical assistance, and the Committee therefore welcomed the most valuable report for labour officers in English speaking countries which took place in Kenya last year. The Committee also welcomed a proposal to hold a similar course in Cameroon for senior officers from French-speaking countries this coming year. This type of practical training by the I.L.O. is most helpful for the countries which have recently obtained independence.

Dealing with the countries which have recently obtained independence, it is pleasing to note the part that they have played in this Conference, particularly in leading various Committees and so on. It was therefore with great regret that I noted in my Committee a tendency for some developing countries to claim that they should be granted special treatment in the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations because of the fact that they have only recently become Members of the I.L.O. I should like to assure the Conference that developing countries have no intention at all of evading their obligations under the Constitution of the I.L.O. They have no intention at all of applying for second-class membership, and we are all fully capable of carrying out our obligations, just as capable as those countries that have been Members for some time.

With these comments, I ask you to adopt the report unanimously.

Interpretation from German: Mr. HEISE (Workers' adviser, Federal Republic of Germany)

—in the name of the Workers' group of the Conference Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, I should like, first of all, to thank all members of the Committee for their co-operation. My particular thanks go to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Albano Pacis, Government delegate, Philippines, to whose management of the proceedings the satisfactory conclusion of the Committee's work is largely due. I should like also to thank the Reporter, Mr. Lappalainen, Government delegate, Finland, and Mr. Richmond, the Chairman of the Employers' group.

Unfortunately, Mr. Cool, the Chairman of the Workers' group, is not present today, urgent work elsewhere having obliged him to leave the Conference early. I should like to fail to thank him again from this platform, and to say that it is thanks to his experience and ability that we can, in concluding our work this year, say that valuable progress has been made.

The Workers' group agrees that this Committee is the conscience of the International Labour Conference, for what would be the use of discussing and adopting new Conventions and Recommendations if it were not possible each year to check their application at the legislative level and in practice? Therefore, the Workers group sought, this year, not only to ascertain whether member States had complied with their obligations under article 19 of the Constitution, and particularly had brought the international instruments before the competent authorities, but they also urged that member States should comply with their obligations under article 23 of the Constitution to communicate to the representative organisations of employers and workers copies of the information communicated to the Director-General in pursuance of articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution. This enables the employers and workers to take an independent line on these matters. We think it would make the work of the Workers' members of the Committee more efficient if trade unions made use of this constitutionally guaranteed right more frequently than has been the case in the past.

Examination of the situation in the member countries has shown that, as regards the statutory and the practical application of ratified Conventions, the States may be divided into three groups. First, there are some which do not meet their obligations at all, and in whose case no progress has been made despite annual interrogation in our Committee. Some of these ratified Conventions ten, 20 or even more years ago without having adjusted their legislation to the more favourable provisions of the Conventions concerned. Secondly, there are countries which recognise the differences between their legislation and the Conventions they have ratified, and attempt to eliminate these differences by degrees in co-operation with the I.L.O. and the Committee of Experts. The Workers' group was glad to note that about 40 member States have recently met their obligations to adjust their national legislation to comply with Conventions. Thirdly, there are countries which do not admit that there are differences, and which maintain their own interpretation of the Conventions. In some cases, these interpretations differ widely from those given by the Committee of Experts. Unfortunately, at present there seems to be no prospect of a change in the attitude of countries in that group.

The problem of differing interpretation of the Conventions appeared with particular clarity in the discussions we had on the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948.

I am obliged to state that similar situations appear to be arising this year in the interpretation of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957. The Workers' group dealt with this question very thoroughly, and proposed to the Committee that it should consider whether questions arising out of interpretation of the principles and ideas contained in the Conventions should not be referred to the International Court of Justice for final decision in accordance with article 37 of the I.L.O. Constitution. This approach found a good deal of support in the Committee.

It is of great importance to the workers that the principles and ideas contained in the Conventions should be interpreted in a clear and uniform manner. It would be in contradiction with the principle
of the universality of the I.L.O. which we all support if differing interpretations of such principles as freedom or social justice, and of ideas such as freedom of association or forced labour, were to become persistent.

It has, however, also emerged that many differences between the provisions of Conventions and those of national legislation arise because the member States concerned, despite goodwill, have practical difficulties in meeting their obligations. This applies especially to the countries which have entered the I.L.O. in recent years. The Workers' group has been very agid to note that a seminar for national officials who have to deal with I.L.O. affairs was held in 1964 in Africa, and that a second such seminar is to follow. The Workers' group considers that arrangements of this kind are desirable and would be useful in other continents also. The trade unions should also be made aware of their rights in a similar fashion.

In respect of the application of the Conventions, the Workers' group considers further that the ratification of the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947, is a most important matter. It therefore appeals once more to all member States to proceed to this ratification if they have not already done so and also to have regard to the provisions of the Convention.

As in previous years, the Committee had to decide which States should be placed in a special list because of continuing disregard for their obligations. The Workers' group always carefully considered what line should be taken, and only consented to inclusion in the list in cases where absolutely no progress could be registered. In many instances, it was decided to refrain from such action where efforts by the government to improve the situation were visible, and some member States were removed from the list. The Workers' group considers that this procedure has been useful and should be retained in the future with due regard for the criteria accepted by the Committee and described to you by our Reporter, Mr. Lappalainen. As a Government member rightly said in the Committee, the special list is no electric chair but it does have its effect as a sanction, and induces the States concerned to examine their own situation more carefully.

The Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations had before it on this occasion an excellent report by the Committee of Experts on the application of the various instruments relating to maternity protection. The Workers' group was glad to note that in the last few years satisfactory progress has been made in member States regarding application of the principles contained in those instruments. The leave periods before and after confinement amount altogether to not less than 12 weeks in 89 member States, and exceed that figure in many cases. The Workers' group noted during the discussion of the report that it is also necessary to have regard to the Maternity Protection Recommendation, 1952, which goes further than the Convention, and particularly to its prohibition of night work. Unfortunately, the Committee of Experts could only discover 14 out of 114 member States in which there is such a prohibition in the case of motherhood.

In conclusion I should like to repeat that the Committee devoted this year a great deal of its time to Conventions Nos. 29 and 105 concerning forced labour. The Workers' group noted with concern that despite the ratification of those instruments forms of forced labour are still to be found in some regions. I will only say at this stage that the Workers' group intends in 1966 to make the abolition of forced labour the main subject among those which it will propose for discussion.

This year our Committee dealt very thoroughly with Portugal's attitude towards the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957, in the Portuguese territories which it administers. Because the Portuguese Government has repeatedly failed to provide the information on the application of that Convention for which the Committee of Experts had asked, the Workers' group proposed to place Portugal on the special list.

Although an overwhelming majority of the Committee accepted this proposal, it could not be carried because of that all too frequent occurrence—the lack of a quorum. In the name of the Workers' group of our Committee, I should like here also, in the plenary sitting, to express regret that Portugal has not been placed on this special list by reason of its evident infringement of the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957.

Interpretation from French: Mr. MORI (Workers' delegate, Switzerland)—I should like to associate myself with the words spoken by my colleague, Mr. Heise, who expressed appreciation to the Chairman and Reporter of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and to all members of that important supervisory body for the very useful work which they did and for the report which they are submitting to our Conference.

However, if I have asked to speak, it is with respect to a proposal for an amendment to the report of the Committee, which I tabled on behalf of practically the whole of the Workers' group. This amendment has been circulated and I trust you have it before you. The Workers' group would be extremely grateful to all delegates, whether they be Government delegates or Employers' or Workers' delegates, if they would approve this amendment, which would represent no more than an act of justice.

The decision taken by the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations to continue as in the past to draw up a "black list" of the member States which are not complying faithfully with their obligations under the I.L.O. Constitution, not to mention the international labour Conventions which they have freely ratified, should induce all delegates here to vote in favour of that amendment. This list of States which have not complied with their obligations is the subject of paragraph 20 of the report. The amendment proposed by the Workers' group aims at inserting the name of Portugal after that of Nicaragua in the special list.

This morning, we heard a speaker urge objectivity, and I fully agree with Mr. Verschueren. We must try to be objective, however
paradoxical this may seem with respect to countries which are accused of violating obligations which they have freely accepted and international labour Conventions which they have ratified and which have to do with international labour Conventions, has not satisfactorily fulfilled its obligation to answer the questions put to it in the Committee, and which were contained earlier in the report of the Committee of Experts.

In some countries they say that no reply is also a reply. I would interpret this failure to answer precise questions put to the Portuguese Government as an admission of guilt. In those conditions it seems to me that it is absolutely indispensable that the Conference should, by a large majority, redress this mistake which has been committed involuntarily, I admit, by the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations where a proposal by the Workers' Vice-Chairman that Portugal should be included in this list was accepted by 51 votes in favour, 7 against, with 33 abstentions. This is an impressive majority and it is regrettable that this decision taken by a majority in a perfectly regular way by democratic vote should have been nullified by the absence of a quorum. I therefore beg you all to bear in mind that this is a quite unacceptable situation and to redress this injustice by adding to this list of countries Portugal, which as far as I am concerned should be the first name on the list.

The PRESIDENT—Before I give the floor to the next speaker I should like to recall that Mr. Mori has submitted to the Conference an amendment to paragraph 20, C, to insert "Portugal" after "Nicaragua". This amendment is submitted on behalf of the Workers' group as a whole, so it does not need seconding at this stage; it has already been supported by the entire group. Speakers can now comment on this amendment as well as on the report. I think Mr. Richmond wishes to speak again; he is speaking on the amendment only as he has already commented on the report.

Mr. RICHMOND (Employers' delegate, Kenya; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations)—To put things in their proper perspective, this amendment, if carried, means that Portugal could be added to the special list under criterion C, which reads as follows: "The Government has failed to reply to observations or requests of the Committee of Experts in respect of ratified Conventions." If this criterion had been applied automatically, more than 20 or 30 States would have been put on the special list, but it was agreed by both the Workers' group and the Employers' group that the special list would be spoiled completely if it were used in too wide a context with, in consequence, far too many countries being put on it. It was therefore agreed by the Officers that the special list would be used as sparingly as possible and only for serious cases, and that, particularly as far as criterion C was concerned, we would try as much as possible to have a State put on the special list if it represented a serious case of refusing to reply to the Committee of Experts' questions.

In the case of Portugal there was a most unfortunate political intervention in the Committee which meant that most of the speakers applied themselves to matters which were not contained in the Committee of Experts' reports. Therefore, during the long debate the position was completely lost sight of, and even though I, as Employers' leader, had questioned the Portuguese Government on its failure to reply to the Committee of Experts, we did not receive support from the Governments or, to be quite fair, the Workers on following up on these particular questions and ascertaining to our satisfaction whether these complaints were so serious as to justify our supporting the placing of that country on the special list. This was obviously the opinion of quite a number of members, and there were therefore quite a number of abstentions.

However, I am grateful to Mr. Mori for putting the position as he did. Since then I also have made very extensive inquiries and I find that some of the questions of the Committee of Experts were put in 1963, others in 1964, and I am now convinced in my own mind that there has been a serious infringement. Therefore, although I am not here to speak on behalf of the whole Employers' group, because we have not had time to discuss this as a group, I would ask the Employers to support the amendment put forward by Mr. Mori, and I would ask those Government delegates who, like myself, were not certain of the position to do likewise.
to the principle of members' freely setting up unions of their choice.

Since then, three years have elapsed and nothing has changed in that position. With the exception of their Polish colleague and with a reservation from their Yugoslav colleague, the members of the Committee of Experts—who come from countries as different as Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Japan, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States—have this year again expressed their opinion, which can be read in Report III (Part IV) of the Committee.

"The Committee regrets that the Government has not answered the requests for fuller information which the Committee has made several times since 1959, either in observations or direct requests, concerning certain legal aspects of the establishment and functioning of workers' organisations arising out of article 126 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R."

"The Committee has further noted that the Government in its report that no changes have been made in the legislation during the period covered by the report."

Now the case of the U.S.S.R. is not an isolated one. Similar observations were made by the Committee of Experts concerning other countries in Eastern Europe which have likewise ratified the Convention. It should also be recalled that two of these States, namely Czechoslovakia and Hungary, had, like the U.S.S.R., been the subject of complaints from workers' organisations, subsequent to which the Governing Body of the I.L.O. almost unanimously ordered the publication of reports by its Committee on Freedom of Association evidencing the incompatibility of the trade union systems in these countries with our Convention. That is why the general case of the Eastern European countries has been brought up once again this year in the report of our own Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

Some of you may be surprised by this assertion, if you remember the statement made here last Wednesday during the budget discussion by one of our colleagues whom I hold in great esteem, Mr. Chajn, the Government delegate from Poland.

If we look at the text of his statement, we see that Mr. Chajn said the following: 'I can assure you that during the 20 years since the end of the war there has not been a single complaint against my Government concerning the application of any Convention ratified by us'.

I must confess that I do not understand this declaration when I refer to the report of the Committee of Experts and I read the following lines concerning the application of this Convention by Poland: "In the absence of any new elements the Committee can only refer to the conclusions reached by it in previous years, namely that the legislation contains a number of provisions, recapitulated by the Committee in 1964, which are, or are liable to be, contrary to the rights and guarantees laid down in the Convention. As it indicated in 1964, the Committee is prepared to consider these problems further when the legislation has been amended or when new information has been provided."

The feeling of disappointment and lassitude which emerges from all the remarks made by our Experts concerning the application—or rather the non-application—of Convention No. 87 in the Eastern European countries, can be found also in the report of our own Committee. I beg you to read paragraph 11 of this report, which will perhaps seem less cryptic to you after the examples I have just cited. The Committee recalls that in the absence of any new elements it resigned itself in 1963 and 1964 to not resuming the discussion of this question, and it adds that it decided to do likewise this year. It was pointed out that the viewpoint of the parties concerned have remained unchanged at the present session.

That, then, is the position concerning one of our most important Conventions, the purport of which was quite clear to us when we adopted it in 1948. Our Governing Body established, on the basis of this Convention, a whole body of jurisprudence covering 400 complaints from labour federations of all tendencies, and the eminent independent personalities making up our Committee of Experts give us every year interpretations that have never been challenged by this Conference.

Now this Convention, thus understood, which has been ratified by all the Eastern European States, is not being applied, for the good reason that in order to do so their trade union laws would have to be upset. Naturally they are entitled to consider their laws as being the best adapted to their situation and needs, but then in all logic they should denounce a Convention which they were imprudent enough to ratify.

If, however, you consider it is better to be tolerant, patient, hopeful, rather than to condemn and make requests for denunciation, I would draw your attention to certain consequences that this entails. Even if we ignore the encouragement thus given to other countries which for less important irregularities are put on our black list, remember, I beg you, all these young countries which lack the seniority of those I have just quoted and have to establish solidly the bases and structures of their States. You have heard some of their leaders state this construction requires, at least for a certain time, special authority for the Governments, which tend to consider the existence of independent and powerful groupings, political, trade unionist or others, as being incompatible with this authority.

It was in thinking of these countries that I said to the Governing Body last March when we were examining the record of the Second African Regional Conference: let us avoid exerting pressure on the government which is, or believes it is, in such a situation; let us not insist that it ratify without further delay a Convention that it will not be able to implement properly, which would subject it to complaints and condemnations. Were we not well advised, after all, to have waited up to the last few days for the ratification by Japan after an exhaustive debate on the difficulties involved?

The Minister of Labour of the United Arab Republic presented to us the other day a suggestion which has the merit of being frank. After affirming that the developing countries
absolutely need a unified labour movement, even imposed by law, Mr. Salama added, in his speech: "The measures and standards included in Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 are no longer sufficient to meet the special circumstances and desperate needs of developing countries. I therefore urge that these two Conventions be revised so that they meet the present requirements of developing countries."

This morning Mr. Kamo, Government delegate, United Arab Republic, asserted, while referring to forced labour—with a conviction that I personally share—his loyalty to the lofty principles of our Constitution and of the Declaration of Philadelphia. I may be permitted to express surprise that his Ministry does not express the same loyalty to another great principle of ours which is freedom of association. But I do not wish to engage in polemics on this point.

All I want to say, as forcibly as Mr. Salama, is that in order perhaps to meet the present and transitory needs of certain countries, we must not destroy these Conventions, which really constitute the charter for free organisations throughout the world. Without them the tripartite principle here would collapse.

I sincerely think that there is also a serious danger in maintaining the situation which I described just now, where the example of great industrial Powers necessarily encourages other countries to ratify, for the sake of appearances, a Convention which they have no intention of applying, or at least not for a long time.

I should like to close by asking the following question: do you not think that we should put an end to these miraculous misunderstandings between the Eastern European countries and the other countries for the sake of better general understanding between us? We are constantly being invited to rise above the differences in political, economic and social systems and to collaborate in a spirit of peaceful coexistence. But should we not, in order to speak a common language, first ensure that we view international commitments in the same manner?

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. MAGAÑOS de MELLO (Government delegate, Uruguay)—I put myself down to speak in the name of Uruguay, but I have been glad to note that at least what I intended to say has been said by previous speakers. All preceding speeches, in fact, contain arguments in favour of what I am going to say.

In the name of Uruguay, I should like to make a reservation and express my dissatisfaction regarding the report of the Committee. As far as concerns Uruguay we consider it unjust, erroneous and not in accordance with the facts. We understand perfectly well that there has to be some system in order to follow carefully the application of Conventions by member States which have undertaken, by ratification, to apply them. However, we quite sincerely think that the efficacy and the strength of the body entrusted with supervision of the application of Conventions stems from the seriousness and equity of the recommendations made and the sanctions applied.

We have great affection for the I.L.O. We were among the first Members of the I.L.O. which, if I am not mistaken, is the doyen of all the international agencies today. We also are the I.L.O., and do not merely belong to it; we are therefore greatly concerned with the effectiveness of its work. And I would add to this general observation that we have great respect for the men who lead it at this time, especially the Director-General, Mr. Morse: we know his disinterested concern for the Organisation which concerns us all.

We believe that in this particular aspect of the supervision of the application of Conventions and the manner in which this supervision is carried out, there is a basic error, a defect of origin, which leads to complaints such as that which I now have to make.

There is a lamentable failure to adjust to reality. You establish a procedure which is apparently equitable and general but which takes absolutely no account of the social and historical realities or of the special circumstances of the countries under inquisition by the Committee.

It has occurred to me at times—and I am thinking of a remark made by a previous speaker—that the placing of a country on the famous special list is something like the Minotaur story, in which a number of virgins were selected by lot and sent for sacrifice. Although, of course, the special list is not concerned with virgins, there does seem to have been some casting of lots. I do not wish to criticise or cast aspersions on anyone, but it does appear that the choice is always made from a limited group. The proof of this failure to adjust to historic reality is that all countries, almost without exception, which are accused in this present report, are developing countries.

This is incredible. I do not doubt that the greater wealth, development and power of certain countries enable them to comply better with certain obligations, but I find it hard to believe that there has never been a case of failure or neglect to apply a Convention on the part of a developed country. I am not claiming that there exists deliberate ill will, but rather that the Committee's approach is misguided, which is quite a different matter. For instance, you have the case of Uruguay. I am sure that I know better than you do the defects in the social structure in my country, which perhaps you have not even visited. However, anyone who has followed with any real attention social developments in the world since the First World War will know that Uruguay has made and is making a great effort, so that in many aspects of social legislation it has gone too far, rather than not far enough, along the path of social achievement.

I can assure you—and I do not say this out of any childish patriotism—I can assure you that, if there is a list of 30 countries which deserve sanctions for failure to apply Conventions and for defects in social organisation, then Uruguay certainly should not be put on that list. We have many defects, but not precisely or especially in this field. We have committed no deadly sins as regards the great problems which might arouse public opinion and the International Labour Conference. If not all, then almost all the faults imputed to us come from a peculiarity of our country, of our background, which is of a
purely formal nature, namely failure to send information, or to submit reports in time, or to give the exact explanations called for. But these are not fundamental failings, and the paradox can be explained by the fact that Uruguay, while deeply concerned with social legislation, has no satisfactory labour administration. We have not even a ministry of labour at all: the Labour Department is a branch of the Ministry of Industry.

Proposals have been made on many occasions to change this situation, which has existed since 1911, but it is considered that the time is not yet ripe. Social legislation is and has always been part of our daily life and of constant day-to-day concern to us. However, we have not sought to translate this into a satisfactory formal structure. Consequently, we have not been able to reply as we ought.

This year, in the name of Uruguay, I gave this explanation to the Committee and I also enumerated the definite actions of a formal character which had been taken in order to make good this formal defect. As I said a few days ago to my distinguished friend—if I may be permitted to call him that—Mr. Morse: I cannot believe that the experts of the International Labour Organisation do not know exactly what are the virtues and defects of Uruguay in its real practical life and in its labour legislation. Of course, I recognise that we have not complied with our obligations in good time and evidently we have been guilty of an omission and should perhaps be criticised but not sanctioned.

But I believe—and here I return to my original suggestion—that, if the I.L.O.'s recommendations and sanctions are to be as effective as we all wish—because we have undertaken certain obligations with a full adult sense of responsibility and we want the measures in question to be applied—if these recommendations and sanctions are to be really effective, then we must begin by conforming to a standard of respect for the States Members of the Organisation and of the Committee which are called upon to give explanations before the Committee.

It would only have been possible to justify the inclusion of Uruguay in this list if someone had been able to say to me: "You're lying. Uruguay has not taken the action which you allege. It has failed to submit Conventions adopted since the 37th Session of the Conference to Parliament for ratification. You have not got working parties on the subject which are starting to function satisfactorily; you have not got a permanent representative in Geneva; you have not made progress in the social field, and of course you have not got a permanent representative in the Labour Department of the Ministry of Industry, which you yourself call the Ministry of Labour."

You don't have in Geneva an official who is a specialist in these questions, precisely for the purpose of rectifying this omission—if this were the case you could also say that I was lying and it would be perfectly justified to include Uruguay in the list.

But when a country says: "We have done this and we promise next year to do that, because we have failed to do so ", I do not think that you can include in the relevant report such truculent language as " regrettable result ", " deplorable ", and " very grave ". Let us not be under any illusions. The effectiveness of a legal system depends on the importance attached to it, even by those who infringe it. If we do not respect the law, it becomes useless unless we are afraid to use force, and in that case it is force which makes itself felt and not the law. It's the last straw which breaks the camel's back, and this applies to certain omissions which we witnessed in the Committee and which were recognised by certain members, and to a certain case in which absolution was given and had subsequently to be corrected by an amendment. I hope that my remarks will be understood as being only intended to testify to our profound desire to see the Organisation operate effectively, for we insist on honouring our commitments, freely entered into.

How is it possible to say that there are more than 30 countries which should be the subject of sanctions but that it was considered opportune to sanction only some of them? On that basis one could release 50 convicts from prison and make only ten or 12 persons pay for the sins of all men, claiming that this would be more effective.

I do not think that this is the right procedure to follow. Moreover, I do not think that acting in this unfair way against a State will make it fulfil its obligations more rapidly. I truly believe that it will produce the opposite result. A stimulus should be chosen according to the character of the person to whom it is to be applied; it should be adjusted to the social, historical and political circumstances of the country which it is claimed ought to be sanctioned.

This is why we cannot accept the report, and I say this with regret—we do not really feel ourselves affected by a sanction which we think we do not deserve. We feel that we do not deserve it for it is not, in our opinion, reasonable or considered as it should be. We do not think that it is possible to say that sanctions should be applied to countries which have not made progress in the social field, and to sanction Uruguay. To do so is to disregard the situation in Uruguay. Its difficulties in the economic field are the result, to a great extent, of the imbalance existing between economic and social progress. There has been too much social progress in relation to the economic situation. This has not applied equally to all countries (not only to Uruguay but throughout the Latin American continent) because we are passing through a serious crisis. This crisis is due to various factors of a universal nature, including reversal of the terms of trade, the fall in prices of raw materials, demographic growth, etc.—factors which apply to the serious crisis affecting all the Latin American countries.

However, social progress has not stopped, and this is most important. We have not wished to stop social progress, and then adjectives are applied to my country which seem to me to be uncalled for.

This is what I wished to say in the name of
Uruguay, which considers that this system should be completely revised in order to adjust it to reality, as it should be if it is to be effective. I do not wish to conclude without expressing my gratitude to Ambassador Albano Paes for his courtesy. I believe that for him also it was a disagreeable task to preside over this inquisitorial Committee, and he was very pleasant to us.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. OBUKHO-VICH (Workers' delegate, Byelorussia)—In the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations now under discussion, ideas and proposals can be found which in our view can lead to a fuller adaptation of the I.L.O. to the real conditions of this changing world.

Paragraph 4 is worthy of particular attention, where the Committee invites the Director-General to present a report on the legislation and the factual situation concerning trade unions as well as on the measures which might ensure universal application of the international labour Conventions on trade union rights.

We would like to stress the great significance of trade unions in present-day society and in the progress of the developing countries. But the labour movement is a force without which no social progress can be achieved nor any improvement in the working and living conditions of the people. Nevertheless, every year the Committee observes that in a number of dependent countries such as Aden, the Conventions on freedom of association are not being implemented. The United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has not been put into practice. Many countries, even economically developed countries, have not ratified the Conventions on freedom of association. For this reason, the Workers' group of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations expressed its concern about the trade union situation in certain countries; including non-metropolitan territories and other dependent countries. The time has come to study carefully the position of the trade unions and to work out on this basis conditions that will ensure universal effective implementation of the Conventions on freedom of association.

In our view, such study should relate primarily to the non-metropolitan and dependent countries—particularly to Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. This would be helping the peoples of the colonies which are fighting for their immediate liberation.

The preparation of a report on this subject would continue the earlier practice in the I.L.O. of studying the trade union situation in different countries, but such study should not be the only way in which a real and effective means of supervision is established.

Over a number of years we have been saying that the present system of supervision by the I.L.O. with a view to ensuring protection of the rights of workers and other trade unions is frequently not effective. We have proved the need to reorganise and democratise the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and the Governing Body Committee on Freedom of Association. We have proposed the drafting of effective standing orders for the Committee of Experts. I believe that further efforts should be made to establish a system of supervision which would really protect the rights of workers and their trade unions.

This reorganisation is necessary for a number of reasons, and particularly in view of the steady increase in the number of ratifications and the need to allow for the true social and economic situation in each country, in view of the formal character of the existing system of supervision. The system should provide for supervision of the way in which each member State applies not only ratified Conventions, but also the basic principles set forth in the Preamble to our Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia, and Conference resolutions.

Mr. Waline spoke today as a defender of trade union rights, and he claimed that the socialist countries are not respecting I.L.O. Convention No. 87. He mentioned that he has been referring to this for three years. In that case he must know that the remarks of the Committee of Experts are based not on the contents of our legislation but on a misinterpretation that distorts the contents of our laws and the facts. This misinterpretation is due to a tendentious attitude towards the socialist countries. Such an attitude is facilitated by the fact that there is no proper system of the I.L.O. to ensure that there are no standing orders to define the terms of reference of the Committee or its composition. The Committee does not in fact study the concrete economic and social conditions in the various countries. As can be seen, these shortcomings in the system of supervision are being utilised by certain delegates for purposes which are alien to the tasks of the I.L.O.

In the discussion on the report of the Government of Portugal on application of Conventions Nos. 105 and 111, convincing proof was given of the use of forced labour by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and other dependent territories. Unfortunately, despite the unanimous condemnation of Portugal by all who spoke, the Committee was unable—owing to the absence of a quorum—to take a decision on the inclusion of Portugal in the special list. This injustice should be rectified, and I support the amendment moved by Mr. Mórí on behalf of the Workers' group which challenges the use of forced labour by Portugal. World opinion and the principles of the I.L.O. demand that we should condemn the use of forced labour by Portugal.

Interpretation from French: Mr. BOULA-DOUX (Workers' delegate, France)—First, I should like to congratulate and to thank the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, which has done extremely interesting and useful work, the effectiveness of which is not open to doubt. We have had proof of this on several occasions and this year we were particularly pleased to note that the problem of Japan, which exercised us for so long, had finally been satisfactorily resolved. During the few remarks that I have to make, I should like to point out that there is something in our procedure which strikes me as being disquieting, indeed, alarming. I refer to the lack of system of supervision, and that the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and the Committee on
Freedom of Association on the one hand and our Credentials Committee on the other hand.

Last year, a Conference resolution called for the insertion in the Constitution of a certain number of principles relating to freedom of association. Everyone here is convinced that the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), constitutes, as has been pointed out, one of the foundations of our Organisation, the very basis, in fact, of tripartism.

However, the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations finds that certain countries do not abide by these essential principles, to be precise those that the resolution adopted last year would have included in the Constitution itself. These principles are not applied either because the Convention has not been ratified—and that, of course, is the most comfortable position for a government to find itself in—or because the Convention is being neglected or applied only partially—which calls for the persistent and vigilant intervention of our Committee—or even because the Convention is being persistently and deliberately violated.

I am once again deeply concerned at the fact that, in such a situation, there is practically no valid sanction that can be directed against a government which places itself in such a position.

You have heard the extremely apposite observations made by the Chairman of the Credentials Committee. He told us that that Committee was bound by certain rules assigning to it clearly defined functions to which it had to confine itself, but that it was not competent to pronounce judgments of value on the objections submitted to it.

And if you look at the eighth report of the Credentials Committee relating to the objection lodged against the Government of the Congo (Brazzaville), you will see that it was by a law that that Government did away with freedom of association, that, simply by a stroke of the pen, it removed the most representative organisation and replaced it with an organisation of its own making. The Chairman of the Credentials Committee did not say so in so many words, but it was quite obvious that he was clearing his conscience in telling us that, although he was bound by the rules of the Committee, he considered that the decision which the Committee had taken was basically unjust in the sense that there had, in fact, been a calculated, persistent, deliberate infringement of an essential international labour Convention.

Therefore, I wonder whether it might not be possible to try to establish some sort of link between the highly judicious and useful work of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, the Committee on Freedom of Association and the Credentials Committee. Of course, this would involve a number of far-reaching changes in our Standing Orders, but I think that, if we wish to deal with problems as serious as to which I have just drawn attention in connection with the Congo (Brazzaville), to problems as serious as those which faced in the past when, for example, we examined the question of apartheid, it is clear that, at a given stage, the overriding of the basic principles of the I.L.O. should result perhaps not in exclusion but at least in a temporary suspension of those States which in this way do not respect the essential bases of our Organisation.

To conclude, I fully support the amendment proposed earlier by Mr. Mori, the precise purpose of which is to create a close link between the established principles of the I.L.O. and the work of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

Mr. SEIDMAN (Workers’ adviser, United States)—I should like to direct particular attention to paragraph 4 of the report of the Committee because I think that it constitutes a forward step which could have great meaning for our Organisation, and particularly for the workers and the trade unions.

Paragraph 4 of the Committee’s report “invites the Director-General to present a report on the legislation and the factual situation concerning trade unions in non-co-operative States) and all non-metropolitan territories and other dependent territories, as well as on the measures which might ensure the application in these countries and territories of the international labour Conventions on trade union rights”. As we all know, those are the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98).

A moment ago, the Workers’ delegate of Byelorussia spoke criticising that part of the report of the Committee of Experts which related to the question of the application of Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 in the communist countries of Eastern Europe and in Cuba. This is not the first time that I have taken this rostrum to refer to this aspect of the report of the Committee of Experts. In past years, I have read the plain words which the Experts have written in their reports and which are subject to no misinterpretation, making it clear that both the law and the practice in those countries do not conform to the Conventions in question. Year after year the Experts have had to say that, in asking for simple information, they have been denied what they have requested, and what they have obviously been entitled to.

I would hope that this new request by the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations will be taken very seriously by those countries which, up until now, have been denying the Committee of Experts the essential information which is needed to determine whether, in fact, these Conventions are being applied in those countries. I would hope that those countries, as well as all other countries, would give every possible co-operation to the Director-General so that he can bring before us next year a complete report, and so that we can note the situation throughout the world without discrimination between countries as to the situation with regard to freedom of association and the right to organise.

While I am here, I want to say that I, too, strongly support, and hope all delegates will vote for, the amendment which is now before you. It would indeed be anomalous, to say the least, if, after adopting the resolution which we
adopted this morning, and in full knowledge of the fact that Portugal has not provided information with respect to the very subject of the fact that Portugal has not provided in the special list. The criterion is: C. The Government has failed to reply to observations or requests of the Committee of Experts in respect of ratified Conventions." This is not true. Portugal has replied. Read the report of the Committee of Experts and the report of the Conference Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. You will see from Appendix I to the latter report why it is wished to include Portugal in the special list. It is because it did not reply to the questions put to it by the Committee in connection with paragraphs 738, 741, 744, 749 and 754 of the report of the Commission of Inquiry which examined the complaint of Ghana against Portugal. But if you read Appendix I to the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations you will find that paragraph 738 of the Commission of Inquiry's report stated: "It was to be noted that the Diamond Company operated in the district of Lunda. The recruits' contracts imposed on the employer the obligation of transporting the workers to their workplaces. Inspections were made. As the Experts noted in regard to paragraph 754, the inspection services had been developed considerably in Angola." I think that those are definite replies.

Look now at paragraph 741 of the report of the Commission of Inquiry; it says: "The necessary instructions had been given to satisfy the Experts' wish concerning the sending of the texts indicated. Moreover, working conditions in the ports and the railways had greatly improved. The question was being considered by a working party. The most important railway in Angola was the Benguela Railway, one of the two greatest in Africa, which the Commission of Inquiry had exonerated entirely from the accusation of forced labour, while emphasising the exceptional economic importance of this railway." Surely that is a reply; what more is asked for?

Look now at paragraph 744 of the report of the Commission of Inquiry; it says: "The rules of operation of the Independent Board of Roads had not yet been issued; they were examined by the Provincial Legislative Council of Angola. On publication they would be communicated. The I.L.O. was already aware of the Organic Law of the Board of Roads." I wonder whether Mr. Mori has the power to oblige the Swiss Government to take legislative action more quickly than it wishes.

Now look at paragraph 749: therefore it says: "As already stated, several inspections had been made on the Cassequel Company. Wages had increased by 10 per cent. since last year. The number of workers recruited (in the technical sense of the term) had substantially diminished. The question would continually be pursued and more detailed information would be supplied in the next report. It was difficult for the Government to collect a great deal of information in the short period between receipt of the Experts' report and the Conference." That reply is reasonable enough, is it not? But it is for you to judge.

What about paragraph 754? It states:

Interpretation from French: Mr. FERNANDES (Government delegate, Portugal)—We have before us the following documents: the report of the Committee and the amendment proposed by Mr. Mori. I have no comments to make regarding the Committee's report. As for the second document, namely Mr. Mori's amendment, I would like to stress that Mr. Mori has been in Angola and he could have told us what he saw there, but he has not done so. I would like to make some comments in this connection. This latter document appears quite innocent and inoffensive. It would appear that it is merely a question of correcting a minor error in the text of the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and of adding Portugal to a list which includes other countries. However, the document is neither innocent nor inoffensive in intent. On the contrary, it is an attempt to strike a new blow at Portugal in this Conference, as you have heard from what was said by the United States Workers' delegate. This is a complete abandonment by the authors of this initiative of the principles guiding the provision of information by the I.L.O. and, in addition, it constitutes a violation of the Constitution of the Organisation, which some persons apparently wish to destroy at all costs.

Some events which occurred during the Conference have truly surprised us very much for I think that, without being really aware of the fact, we are being led from small to great infringements of the Constitution at the will of a passing and heterogeneous majority, for political reasons unrelated to the purposes of this technical Organisation.

What happened on Saturday in the Resolutions Committee during the discussion of the title of the sixth resolution, and what happened after the meeting yesterday morning of the Workers' group on the subject of the possible inclusion of Portugal in the special list, shows that we are faced with a very general loss of purpose. I would fail to be truthful towards myself and you, and I would fail in respect towards you, if I did not say as clearly as I can what I have just said.

Now, what further measure against Portugal is envisaged by this rather elementary procedure? Merely to include it in a list established by the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations of States which are alleged not to have provided the information requested under article 22 of the Constitution. As you have heard, these States were selected by chance. The attempt was already made in the Committee, but it failed there. Fortunately, we have before us the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, and we may consult it to see whether Portugal is in the wrong. It is the report which has been prepared by the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. What does it say? First of all it indicates the criterion under which it is desired to include Portugal in the special list. The criterion is: C. The Government has failed to reply to observations or requests of the Committee of Experts in respect of ratified Conventions." This is not true. Portugal has replied. Read the report of the Committee of Experts and the report of the Conference Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. You will see from Appendix I to the latter report why it is wished to include Portugal in the special list. It is because it did not reply to the questions put to it by the Committee in connection with paragraphs 738, 741, 744, 749 and 754 of the report of the Commission of Inquiry which examined the complaint of Ghana against Portugal. But if you read Appendix I to the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations you will find that paragraph 738 of the Commission of Inquiry's report stated: "It was to be noted that the Diamond Company operated in the district of Lunda. The recruits' contracts imposed on the employer the obligation of transporting the workers to their workplaces. Inspections were made. As the Experts noted in regard to paragraph 754, the inspection services had been developed considerably in Angola." I think that those are definite replies.

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1 See Appendix V, p. 594.
The expansion of the inspectorate had already been noted by the Experts. With respect to recruitment in Mozambique for the Rand mines, the Commission of Inquiry had stated that it was based on the economic attraction of employment and on the fact that it conferred on those so employed an element of social status, and that there was no element of compulsion under Portuguese jurisdiction and no element of fraud in such recruitment.

I have already informed the Resolutions Committee that all workers going to South Africa postwar or post-1964 as a result of an agreement duly approved by the Government of Portugal, that their conditions are duly supervised by the Portuguese labour inspection authorities in South Africa and that they are covered by the agreements concluded between Portugal and South Africa on 13 October 1964 and 3 May 1965.

I can assure you that these agreements are as good as those which we have in Europe. I have the texts and you may consult them if you wish.

Those were the only observations made and that was the reason why it was desired to put Portugal on the special list.

Having regard to what has been quoted, these attempts to force the inclusion of Portugal in the special list, which is in any case drawn up in a discriminatory and arbitrary manner, have no foundation. I am convinced that the Conference will not accept this unjust proposal. If the States which are parties to the same Conventions as Portugal consider that my country does not apply in a satisfactory manner a given Convention, they need only ask for an inquiry under article 26 of the Constitution. If the occupational organisations of workers or employers consider that Portugal has not satisfactorily applied a Convention ratified by it, they need only complain to the I.L.O. under articles 24 and 25 of the Constitution. To act otherwise is to act unconstitutionally, and all States represented have undertaken to respect the Constitution.

For our part, we firmly oppose infringements of the Constitution, either by a majority or by a minority. The last-minute attempt to put Portugal on the special list means that today the aim is to dictate truth in the I.L.O. by means of votes. Truth would no longer exist as an objective reality in the I.L.O. and it would seem that it would only exist as the result of a vote. Poor truth! The truth exists or does not exist. We cannot create it or destroy it by a vote, particularly when the voting is motivated by one set of political reasons opposed to another set of political reasons each of which is as valid or, if you will, as invalid as the other.

I take this opportunity to explain our position regarding the resolution adopted by the Conference against Portugal. I shall not repeat all the arguments which we submitted to the Resolutions Committee in order to show how inappropriate such a resolution would be. I must, nevertheless, stress its unconstitutional character. The Conference has just taken a very grave decision bearing in mind the fifth and sixth paragraphs of the Preamble and the title of the resolution. Indeed the title does not in the least correspond to the contents of the resolution, and this has very serious consequences. It proves that one can vote anything, even when it runs counter to the truth and to logic. In our opinion the text of the resolution as approved, and in particular the first two operative paragraphs, restate the condemnation of forced labour everywhere and of all practices involving the use of forced labour. We are against forced labour, and are obliged to abolish it. The last two operative paragraphs of the resolution, rendered by the Governor-General of Portugal to give effect without delay to the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry which examined the complaint submitted by Ghana. And the Director-General and the Governing Body are requested to keep the matter under review and to take any appropriate measures to ensure that these recommendations are or shall be implemented and to report to the Conference at an early session.

It is clear that neither the Commission of Inquiry nor the Conference has condemned Portugal. Moreover, neither one of them had the right to make any kind of condemnation. By adopting the title in question an attempt was made to show that Portugal had been condemned by the Conference, which happily is not the case.

I must tell you frankly what our position is regarding this resolution. According to us, the draft resolution should have been declared unacceptable, having regard to the conclusions of the Commission of Inquiry on the subject of the complaint by Ghana; these conclusions cannot be discussed by the Conference because they were accepted not only by the Governing Body of the I.L.O. in June 1962 but also by the two parties to the complaint, Ghana and Portugal. As you can see by referring to pages 15 and 14 of the English text of the minutes of the 151st Session of the Governing Body which was held from 6 to 9 March 1962, if there were observations to be made regarding the effect to be given by Portugal to the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry, the only possible correct and logical procedure would be to have recourse to article 33 of the Constitution and nothing more. Furthermore, the only recommendations which the Commission of Inquiry made were those which I have mentioned. They were accepted and followed.

Since we are disposed to accept a new Commission of Inquiry, provided that it may also conduct an inquiry in the territories of one or more of the countries attacking us, it seems very strange that we are to be condemned without an inquiry, and for political reasons that have nothing to do with forced labour.

One of the most evident proofs of the unconstitutional character of the resolution is that for the adoption of a resolution, however insignificant it may be, two-thirds of the votes of the Conference are required under paragraph 2 of article 19 of the Constitution. Some people now wish to impose on us some other procedure in order to adopt a very important resolution, which goes as far as to claim to condemn a State, and to do so on the basis of a mere majority vote. This is absurd. Permit me to draw your attention to this problem.

See Appendix V, p. 594.
We therefore consider that the text is unconstitutional and we make every reservation with regard to it.

I wish this statement to be included in the record of the Conference.

The PRESIDENT—Mr. Möri has asked for the floor. As the mover of the resolution, Mr. Möri has the right to speak twice. I therefore give him the floor.

Interpretation from French: Mr. Möri (Workers' delegate, Switzerland)—Personally I am troubled not only by lies but even more by impertinence and impudence. I think the delegate of Portugal has just demonstrated to us that it is better to stay in a room than to leave it in protest, since this enables one to answer arguments rather than ignore them.

I should like first of all to settle one detail—the detail concerning my ability to influence the Government in Switzerland. I hope that nobody in this assembly would compare the poor situation of a trade union official in the overseas provinces with that of a Swiss trade unionist who certainly has a little more freedom of movement and the possibility of carrying out his work. But that is not the subject under discussion.

Nor is the subject under discussion in this Conference the impression I may have got from the workers and the Portuguese are hospitable people. There are certainly no grounds for complaint as regards the welcome extended to participants in that meeting of the African Consultative Committee—although this is not the point at issue. I am not going to try to drag in other irrelevancies by saying that my chauffeur was a member of the secret police, as indeed were all those who drove cars for the I.L.O. officials. That again is not the point. My chauffeur was a charming man, and I have absolutely nothing to say about him, particularly as he told me quite frankly who he was.

I would add that once I was taking a walk in Luanda alone, looking for a drink, and a fine young man came up to me in the street and asked me why I was alone and if I had been abandoned by my chauffeur. I told him that I had not, that it was I who had dismissed him, since I wanted to have a drink on my own. But that is not the point either.

I shall not call into question the quotations taken from the report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, but I should like to call the attention of the Employers' and Workers' Vice-Chairmen of the Committee to the fact that it is they who are being accused in the statement of the Portuguese Government delegate.

I will read you a passage which justifies the proposal to include Portugal in this famous list. In the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations there is a statement by the Employers' Vice-Chairman of the Committee which I should like to quote: "Certain very pertinent questions asked by the Committee of Experts with regard to Convention No. 105 had received no reply. It was to be hoped that the Government would supply complete and detailed information. For example, information had not been given on the development of the inspectorate in Mozambique, which seemed to be little developed since there were only six inspectors for the whole country." And he continued: "With respect to Convention No. 111, the Committee of Experts had indicated that the possibilities for education and training for Africans were less than for non-Africans in Angola and Mozambique. The Government should supply detailed statistics in its report."

I am not the one who is saying all this; I have just quoted from a statement made by the Employers' Vice-Chairman of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. As regards the Workers' Vice-Chairman, who unfortunately had to leave early, he said this: "It was logical for the Experts to be satisfied on receiving information from governments and it always took note thereof with interest. It was also certain that many parts of the observations by the Experts had been passed over in silence by the Government representative, as for example in the case of the references by the Experts to paragraphs 738, 741, 744, 749 and 754. All these referred to essential information which the Government had not supplied, neither had it been supplied by the Government representative to this Committee. In the absence of such important information, and since the Government had limited itself to giving information only on points of detail, the case of Portugal should be included in the special list, point C." It is most regrettable to have to make a statement merely for the sake of objectivity, and which is not even properly appreciated, just to put Portugal where it really belongs in this list. I do not want to engage in polemics; I just want to show that reading carefully selected passages proves absolutely nothing. I am sure no one here has any doubt concerning the situation which really exists in Angola and Mozambique, and I would go so far as to say in Portugal itself, so far as human rights and respect of freedom of association are concerned.

For all these reasons, I invite the delegates to vote in favour of the proposal which is before the Conference.

The PRESIDENT—Since there are no further speakers I propose to take a vote on the amendment submitted by Mr. Möri on behalf of the Workers' group to insert in paragraph 20, C, the word "Portugal" after the word "Nicaragua".

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is adopted by 218 votes in favour, none against, with 79 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT—I will now put the report, as a whole, as amended, to the Con-
In this connection it becomes clear how wise was the proposal by the Afro-Asian countries two years ago to create a working party of the Conference based on equitable representation of all States Members for the preparation of proposals for the revision of the programme and structure of the I.L.O. In all probability, the best thing would be to come back to this proposal if there is a genuine wish, as the Director-General said in his Report to the 47th Session of the International Labour Conference, "to swing outwards from accustomed courses into a new and larger orbit of action". Such an approach would definitely speed a solution of the problems connected with the programme and structure of the I.L.O., and would increase the role of the most important body of our Organisation, the General Conference. Without enhancing the role of the Conference, and its active annual participation in the formulation of the Organisation's policy and supervision of its activities, it will hardly be possible to carry out the proposals made at the last three sessions. Only the Conference, primarily when discussing the Director-General's Report and the resolutions submitted to it, is fully equipped to study and solve the problems of the I.L.O. and, on the basis of the basic task laid down by the Constitution, to fight for universal and lasting peace, which, as the Constitution states, can be established only if it is based upon social justice.

The present session is taking place at a time when the international situation has become more complicated. In several regions of the world, war is being waged against peoples who are fighting for their independence and for the development of their countries in the interests of their own peoples, and not in the interests of foreigners, who wish to rule and grow rich.

We have not yet achieved the full and final liquidation of colonialism and its consequences. The I.L.O. still has a great deal to do to protect the newly independent countries against exploitation of their natural and human resources by foreign monopolies, and we hope that the
Director-General, in his Report to be devoted to problems of industrialisation, will submit concrete proposals in this connection.

The I.L.O., as has been shown by the present session of the Conference, cannot and is not entitled to remain aloof from these problems, since it is not a purely technical organisation but a body which has to deal with social and economic issues, taking into account all the multifarious aspects of the political situation. The I.L.O. must ensure that our decisions help to maintain and strengthen peace and to uphold the principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social structures, and to work for the social and economic progress of all nations. Nobody must forget this, Mr. President. We must all be guided by these considerations to which all the work of the I.L.O. should be subordinated, including its standard-setting, research and operational activities.

At the present time it is very important to develop and not to cut down on the standard-setting activities of the I.L.O. The unanimous adoption by the Conference of the new instruments on the employment of women with family responsibilities and on the employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds shows that all the groups and countries represented in the I.L.O. desire, not to reduce, but to develop the standard-setting activities of the Organisation, and this, in its turn, leads to the question of the need to think out new subjects for international instruments and to review obsolete Conventions and Recommendations. In this connection it is essential always to remember what the main tasks of the I.L.O. are, as well as the needs of newly independent countries.

In carrying out operational activities, the main emphasis should be laid on increasing the effectiveness of technical assistance programmes, on the choice of priority projects rapidly yielding tangible results, and on strict economy with respect to administrative and other unproductive expenditure. We hope that these considerations will guide the Office when it reviews the operational activities of the I.L.O. We hope it will not forget that most countries will find it difficult to agree with any organisation that does not change basic situations or that leads to an increase in non-productive expenditure.

I would like to greet the new member States of Yemen, Zambia, Malta and Malawi. The ranks of the I.L.O. are constantly growing, but we must point out that it is not yet a genuinely universal organisation, neither as to composition nor as to the position of certain groups and countries within it. We must regret the fact that at the 49th Session the legitimate interests of the socialist countries were infringed. These countries did not fill a single elective post in any of the committees of the Conference, and the principle of autonomy was used in the Workers' group in order to prevent the socialist countries from being represented among the officers; in the Employers' group the delegates of the Western countries isolated themselves from the socialist managers, who represent an economic sector accounting for 38 per cent. of the world's industrial output. Let us hope that next year this situation will be rectified. This would clearly be demonstrated by the unanimous election of a representative of one of the socialist countries as President of the 50th Session of the International Labour Conference. It would be of great value for the activities of the Organisation and its future successful operation if the next session of the Conference elected a Governing Body most fully representing all regions of the world in all three groups.

Mr. President, in closing, I would like to wish the Director-General and all States Members every success in conducting the work of the I.L.O. in such a manner as to ensure that our Organisation is in the vanguard of the forces fighting for peace and social and economic progress.

I must tell you, Mr. Raza, that we admired your intelligence, your tact and your great skill in leading the debates at this Conference, and I should like to wish you good health and every success in your manifold activities.

In conclusion, allow me to thank all of you for the confidence you placed in me and the honour you did my country, the Byelorussian S.S.R., in electing me as Vice-President of the Conference.

Interpretation from French: Mr. ANDRIAN-TSITOHAINA (Employers' delegate, Malagasy Republic; Vice-President of the Conference)—In the reply to the debate on his Report, the Director-General of the International Labour Office reminded us that this session of the Conference was attended by 1,100 delegates and advisers representing 104 States. These figures, better than a long speech, illustrate the vitality and universality of the I.L.O. but above all, as I see it, bear witness to the efforts and spirit of understanding of Members of the Organisation in drawing up the new instruments needed for the establishment of more social justice in the world.

Admittedly we are still a long way from having solved all the problems. The Director-General, in referring to the acute tension which ran through our debates, and to the problems arising out of universality and tripartism, did not conceal all the difficulties which can face us in the future.

I share the Director-General's concern, but the fact that we were able this year again to reach many positive conclusions shows that the Members of the Organisation, in spite of the variety of groups and the diversity of their political systems, are willing to debate and to have fruitful exchanges when it is a matter of fighting poverty and improving the lot of mankind. The clear programme presented by the Director-General, moreover, justifies the highest hopes. Until now the Organisation, confronted with the vast and new problem of underdevelopment, seemed to be moving somewhat hesitantly, and we then had the feeling that this Organisation in which we had placed such high hopes was unable to face up to a changing world. That fear is now dispelled. The decentralisation of services, the increasingly close co-operation between the I.L.O. and other specialised agencies, the research undertaken on international trade and industrialisation meet our desires and our deepest preoccupations.
This 49th Session therefore truly marks a turning point in the life of our Organisation, and I am particularly glad that throughout our debate, in spite of the large number of participants, the tone has throughout remained dignified and the level very high. We owe this success to all participants but we owe it above all to the courteous authority and smiling firmness of our President, to whom I am Workers' to offer my most sincere thanks and warmest congratulations.

My thanks and congratulations go also to the Director-General and through him to all the staff of the International Labour Office. Their competence and devotion have enabled the work of the Conference to proceed most smoothly.

In concluding, I wish to express my deep gratitude to all those who elected me to this high office of Vice-President. I deeply appreciate this token of confidence which is an honour to me and to my country.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. SÁNCHEZ MADARIAGA (Workers' delegate, Mexico; Vice-President of the Conference)—I think it is my duty, first of all, to thank the Workers' group for the high honour which they did me in putting forward my name for nomination as Vice-President of the Conference.

Next, I should like to express my satisfaction that the Workers' group should have given a very significant demonstration of solidarity with our brothers of the African countries when it warmly and enthusiastically supported the resolution put forward by the Government delegate of the United Arab Republic condemning forced labour in Portugal.

I should like also to express my satisfaction because international instruments have been adopted which make it possible to guarantee better possibilities of employment on the one hand for women with family responsibilities and on the other hand for young persons employed underground in mines. I think we should be satisfied also that important resolutions have been adopted which will enable the competent organs of the I.L.O. to concern themselves with the problems set out in the resolutions, particularly on relations in undertakings, domestic employment and the matters with which the other resolutions deal, most of which were submitted by members of the Workers' group.

Our Conference has no doubt done things which will have a positive effect on the future programme of the Organisation. Not only has it adopted the international instruments I have mentioned; it has also dealt in first discussion with the important matters for the Organisation represented by co-operatives and agrarian reform. On this latter point I should like to underline what was said by my colleague from Mexico, Mr. Macin, when he said yesterday that if we really want to secure genuine agrarian reform we must put an end to feudal conditions subsisting in many parts where there is a concentration of land ownership in a few hands, a thing entirely contrary to all the intentions of social justice.

I think that one should also stress that from the Workers' point of view this Conference has constantly heard a restatement of anti-colonialist principles, principles opposed to racial discrimination, principles opposed to forced labour wherever it may be, for wherever it does happen it is a shame to mankind. I think that these very important aspects of the work of the 49th Session of the Conference justify the observation that what it has done is a step forward towards the objectives of the International Labour Organisation.

In closing, I should like to congratulate Mr. Raza, who has directed the Conference with tact and with a determination to respect freedom of speech, one of the principles on which our Organisation is based, one of the principles which we must all accept.

I should also like to congratulate the Director-General and all the staff of the Conference on the very fine effort made to ensure efficient handling of the heavy workload represented by the proceedings of such a Conference as this, for more countries than ever have attended. I also wish to associate myself with previous speakers in welcoming the representatives of all the countries which have attended.

Representing the Workers, I may say that we have to regret the coming departure of an old trade unionist, Mr. Reus, who is leaving his high post in the Office in a short time. I say frankly that we would have wished him to remain for a good many years yet. This has not been possible. He is leaving the Office, and I take this opportunity of saying that we in the Workers' group recognise his achievements and his effective co-operation, side by side with Mr. Morse and the other members of the Directorate and staff and that we wish him great success in his future life and work.

I take this opportunity to thank all those who have been so kind to me at this session and I wish them also the happiest possible return to their homes and success in their work in their own countries.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—It remains for me as Secretary-General of the Conference to say a few words in this closing meeting. I should like first of all to thank the members of the Secretariat of this Conference, the members of the staff of the International Labour Office, for the work that they have done on this occasion. I do not know whether everyone appreciates the nights and days of work that are put in during the course of this Conference by the staff. This is done not only as part of their job, but it is done with pleasure and with complete dedication. I was very grateful to the Vice-Presidents for their expressions of appreciation to them.

I should also like to express my thanks to the Chairmen, the Reporters and to the Secretaries of the various Committees of this Conference for the work that they have done and for the success of their conclusions; also for the fact that they have extended to the Secretariat during the entire period of this session.

At the same time, I would add my appreciation of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference for their co-operation, their courtesy and for all that they have done to assist us all in bringing these proceedings to a successful conclusion.

Finally, I think all of us realise that a Conference of this magnitude year after year demands very close teamwork and co-opera-
tion as between all the officers, secretaries, staff and the Secretary-General of the Conference. It is a co-ordinated performance of a highly complicated nature which does succeed because of the manner in which we work together as a team, but none of this would be possible unless it were properly orchestrated, and on this occasion may I congratulate the President on his orchestration. He has brought us through many difficulties to a final successful conclusion. No one knows better than I do, as Secretary-General of this Conference, the difficulties that he was confronted with at the beginning of the Conference and on other occasions during its course. I congratulate him on the statesman-like conclusions with which he met the difficulties which confronted him.

On behalf of this entire Conference, and in accordance with our great tradition, I now offer Mr. Raza his gavel, properly inscribed, "To S. Hashim Raza, President, International Labour Conference, 49th Session, Geneva 1965". We would ask him to take this with him and place it amongst his fondest souvenirs, with the expressions of goodwill, appreciation and love of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

The President—Before I declare the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference closed, it is my pleasant duty to rise to say a few words to my colleagues whose co-operation, tolerance, good sense, devotion to duty and loyalty to the principles on which this Organisation is founded have brought to a successful end the deliberations of this great assembly.

I am deeply appreciative of the kind words that have been spoken about me by my three partners, the Vice-Presidents of the Conference, Mr. Gurinovich, Mr. Andriantsitohaina and Mr. Sánchez Madariaga, and by the Secretary-General of the Conference. These words have been spoken with a kindness which overwhelms me completely, and since I shall not be present when good friends like them will presumably make obituary references to my demise in due course, I feel gratified at hearing them. I accept these generous words with much humility. Although I did not have to use the gavel, a replica of which has been given to me by Mr. David Morse, Secretary-General of the Conference, I shall keep it as one of my most prized souvenirs.

In many ways this has been a significant Conference. It has been the largest so far held and, thanks to the addition of delegates from four new member States—Malawi, Malta, Yemen and Zambia, the number of delegates and advisers this year was 1,061. Sixty-eight very busy Ministers or Secretaries of State attended this Conference, which denotes its growing importance and prestige. In addition, on 12 June, we had the pleasure of listening to H.E. David Dacko, President of the Central African Republic.

The task of this year's Conference was not an easy one. The Conference was held at a time when daily conflicts were reported from different parts of the globe. When such incidents occur in any part of the world, it is difficult to avoid references to them in any international gathering; although the responsibility for finding solutions to the pressing problems rests on the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations. My appeal to fellow delegates to avoid discussion of the theatres of war in this Conference was based on the conviction that the wise men of the world will find a satisfactory solution of these problems, and that we should do full justice to those matters which appeared on our heavy agenda and which are meant to promote the cause of social justice and economic security. I must express my deep appreciation and thanks to the delegates for their response to my appeal and for the self-restraint shown by so many.

The Conference, this year, had an unusually heavy agenda before it, and it is therefore a matter of deep satisfaction for me, and of gratification for all of us, that the Conference has been able to dispose of its heavy agenda a day before it was scheduled to close. At a time when our Organisation is nearing the fiftieth year of its existence, it is in the fitness of things that the programme and structure of the I.L.O. should receive a thorough examination by the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. Vast changes have occurred during this period. The old order has changed, is changing steadily, and is giving place to new and dynamic forces in world society.

To meet the challenge of the times—with the emergence of so many new nations which have taken their rightful place in this assembly, and whose strivings for social and economic development have the sympathy of all the member States—it is appropriate that the Organisation should readapt its structure and programmes to meet present and future needs, to renew its efforts with new purpose and drive and, by adapting itself to the needs of the times, give a refreshing look to the Organisation and its programmes. The Director-General, with his unprecedented experience of the work of the I.L.O. and his ability, has presented an imaginative Report to the Conference, outlining a programme of work for the I.L.O. for the coming years. This Report was supplemented by the reports of the Governing Body Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O. It should be a matter of great satisfaction for all of us to know that in these matters, despite some divergent views, a large measure of unanimity exists. The broad aim of the I.L.O. has been defined as the improvement of employment and working and living conditions throughout the world. To attain this objective the major programme areas of the Organisation have been defined as (a) human resources development; (b) labour relations and the growth of sound social institutions; and (c) improvement of conditions of life and work.

This programme will not be limited to the work of the I.L.O. in the field of international labour standards but will also include well-balanced technical assistance activities all over the world. The elimination of unemployment, which constitutes a major cause of social and economic backwardness and misery, especially in the developing countries, is a challenging task facing the world, and is a field in which
the I.L.O., with its wealth of experience, can render valuable assistance and give hope to millions of unemployed throughout the world.

The Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of "Apartheid" of the Republic of South Africa provided the Conference with an opportunity of reviewing measures to combat this enormous social evil, which threatens peaceful development in many parts of the world, and of condemning once again the reactionary and inhuman policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa. The Charter of the United Nations reaffirms the equality of man without any distinction of colour, race, religion or sex, and the I.L.O. has once more reaffirmed its faith in these principles. Distinction in human society cannot, obviously, be based on the colour of a person's skin. It can only be conferred on the basis of the qualities of head and heart which one possesses and the service which one is able to render to one's fellow beings. Apartheid and, for that matter, discrimination of any kind have no place in this twentieth century.

In addition to the technical items concerning the employment of young persons and women with family responsibilities, the Conference, this year, has also had occasion to examine, for the first time, items on agrarian reform and the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. These are matters of vital importance for many countries. I trust that our discussions on agrarian reforms, in which the representatives of the United Nations and the F.A.O. took part, will be of use to the United Nations, whose General Assembly reviews the problems of land reform at intervals of three years; to the Economic and Social Council, which is meeting next month in Geneva, and to the F.A.O., which is to convene a world conference on agricultural reform in June 1966.

I do not know what impressions of this Conference you are carrying home, but, for me, fellow delegates, this has been a memorable Conference. By electing me as your President you have put me under a debt of gratitude which I can never repay. And now I ask of you a further favour. Please visit my home and my country—Pakistan—and give me a chance to receive you and show you round. I assure you that there are many things worth seeing in Pakistan.

I offer my grateful thanks to the Officers of the Conference, the Officers of the groups and the Chairmen, Reporters and members of the Committees of the Conference who contributed largely to the smooth passage of all the agenda before us. I offer my sincere thanks to the Secretary-General, the Principal Deputy Secretary-General, the Deputy and Assistant Secretaries-General, the Technical Adviser, the Legal Adviser, the Special Advisers to the Secretary-General, the Clerk of the Conference, the Assistant to the President and the Secretary to the President, and to all those who worked ceaselessly and unostentatiously to make this Conference a success—the interpreters, the secretaries, the typists and the attendants.

I now declare closed the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference.

(The Conference adjourned sine die at 6.45 p.m.)
THIRD PART

APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

Reports of the Selection Committee

(1) First Report.\(^1\)

Election of the Officers of the Committee.

The Selection Committee has elected the following Officers:

Chairman: Mr. Menon (Government Member, India).

Employers' Vice-Chairman: Mr. Bergenström (Sweden).

Workers' Vice-Chairman: Lord Collison (United Kingdom).

Setting Up of Conference Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the Conference should appoint the following committees:

- Resolutions Committee.
- Finance Committee of Government Representatives.
- Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.
- Committee on Employment of Young Miners.
- Committee on Women Workers.
- Committee on Agrarian Reform.
- Committee on Co-operatives.

Discussion of the Director-General's Report.

The Selection Committee recommends that the discussion of the Director-General's Report should open on Friday, 4 June 1965.

In order to ensure the smooth working of the Conference the Selection Committee recommends that delegates who wish to take part in the discussion of the Director-General's Report should hand in their names to the Clerk of the Conference without delay. It also recommends that they should make every effort to be on hand and ready to speak at the sitting at which they are to be called upon. Speakers will be informed in advance by the Clerk of the Conference of the sitting and the time at which the President is likely to call upon them to speak.

The Selection Committee proposes that the list of speakers should be closed on Wednesday, 9 June, at noon, it being understood that it will be for the President to decide whether any member of the Conference should be authorised to speak if he has not put his name down or has already spoken.

The Selection Committee, bearing in mind the suggestion to this effect made by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its 130th Session (November 1955), proposes that the Conference should appeal to speakers in the discussion of the Director-General's Report to concentrate their remarks as far as possible on the Director-General's Report and on the activities of the International Labour Organisation.

Suggestions concerning Facilities for More Negotiation.

At its 145th Session (May 1960) the Governing Body adopted the report of the Committee to Consider the Improvement of the Practical Methods of Working of the International Labour Conference, which contains, among other things, the following passage:

... The Committee suggests that in order to facilitate more continuous negotiation in committees between the several groups, representatives of each group should meet with the Chairman and Reporter of the Committee, and with the representative of the Secretary-General, when this is desirable, to ensure that the leaders of each group know fully the minds of their colleagues in the other groups; it should be regarded as normal to have such meetings after each group has explored each of the major issues which arise but before it has committed itself to a definite attitude. The proposed meetings would have no formal powers or authority, their function would be to afford opportunities for a fuller understanding of differences of view before definite attitudes have crystallised.

The Selection Committee of the 44th Session transmitted this suggestion to the Conference, which approved it on 3 June 1960. The President of the Conference then took the initiative in convening a meeting of chairmen of committees at which he drew attention to the contribution which regular consultation among the officers of each committee could make in securing the widest measure of agreement in the committees.

Reviewing the working of this arrangement, at its meeting in March 1961, the Committee to Consider the Improvement of the Practical Methods of Working of the International Labour Conference welcomed this initiative and trusted that future Presidents of the Conference would make a regular practice of convening similar meetings of chairmen of committees; it suggested that it would be useful if the Employers' and Workers' Vice-Chairmen of committees were convened to future meetings.

\(^1\) See Second Part, p. 12.
of this type. This was done in 1962, 1963 and 1964.

The Selection Committee draws the attention of the Conference and its committees once again to the suggestion reproduced above.

Suggestions regarding the Conference Quorum.

Determination of the Quorum at the Beginning of the Session.

At its 160th and 161st Sessions (November 1964 and March 1965) the Governing Body expressed itself in favour of the adoption of practical measures to improve the application of the Standing Orders on the quorum at the International Labour Conference within the existing constitutional framework.

One aspect of the operation of the quorum which, in the view of the Governing Body, is susceptible of immediate improvement is that of the basis on which the quorum is initially determined at the beginning of the Conference. Under article 20, paragraph 1 (2) of the Standing Orders of the Conference, it rests with the Credentials Committee to determine this quorum after the submission of the brief report submitted by the Chairman of the Governing Body on the eve of the opening sitting (which report merely fixes a provisional quorum). At the present time, therefore, the quorum is determined by the Credentials Committee on the number of valid credentials received. There is, however, no doubt that a certain number of delegates for whom such credentials are received do not in fact come to Geneva or do so very late. If the quorum were fixed on the basis of the registration forms issued to delegates, this would ensure that the level of the quorum from the outset of the session reflected the composition of the Conference realistically. Such a practice could be adopted without a change in the existing Standing Orders.

The Governing Body accordingly decided to recommend to the Selection Committee of the Conference the adoption of the practice of fixing the quorum on the basis of the registration forms issued to delegates.

The Timing of Decisions in Plenary Sittings Requiring a Series of Votes.

At its 151st Session the Governing Body decided to draw the attention of the Selection Committee of the Conference at the beginning of the session to the importance of making appropriate arrangements, in determining the programme of work of the Conference, of matters which will require the holding of votes to come before the Conference at the earliest possible moment.

It further considered that the attention of delegates should be drawn to the fact that acceptance of appointment as delegates implies an obligation to be available in Geneva for the work of the Conference, personally or through an adviser authorised to act as substitute, throughout the Conference. The Governing Body noted that important votes, i.e. the final votes on the adoption of international labour Conventions and/or Recommendations, frequently take place on the last day of the Conference and that, as it is essential that delegates or their duly authorised substitutes should be present when such votes are taken, they should accordingly make arrangements to be available until the very end of the Conference.

Calculation of the Quorum in the Course of the Session.

On the same occasion the Governing Body considered that every effort should be made to ensure an accurate calculation of the quorum at all times, in particular by drawing the attention of delegates who intend to leave the Conference before its termination to the importance of giving advance formal notice of their departure to the Secretariat in writing or of ensuring that an adviser has been duly authorised by a notice addressed to the President of the Conference to act in their place after their departure.

The Governing Body accordingly requested the Selection Committee of the Conference to call the attention of delegates, and in particular of the groups, to this matter so as to ensure that members of delegations are fully aware of the importance of giving advance notice of their departure or of ensuring that an adviser has been duly authorised to act as substitute, during their absence or after their departure. A standard form for giving such notice has been prepared and it is available from the Clerk of the Conference or the Information Desk.

At its 160th and 161st Sessions the Governing Body felt that there may still be room for improvement in the manner in which account is taken of the departure of delegates. Under article 20, paragraph 1 (3), of the Standing Orders of the Conference, any delegate who finally leaves the Conference before its termination and who gives formal notice of his departure to the Secretariat is no longer taken into account for the calculation of the quorum. As a result of repeated reminders to delegates, there has been an increase in the last few years in the number of delegates who, on leaving, have done so. It might, however, be possible to ensure an even more accurate relationship between the quorum and the persons present at the Conference for its last sittings if, in certain circumstances, and within clear limits, certain other persons were able to draw attention to the departure of delegates. In particular, it might be possible for one Government delegate of a country to inform the Secretariat of the departure of another Government delegate of that country, while the secretaries of the Employers' and Workers' groups might be associated with the responsibility for ensuring that the quorum reflects the composition of the Conference by being authorised to notify the Conference of the final departure of members of the group without authorising advisers to act in their place. It was further envisaged that the Office might itself get into touch with the group secretariats in order to make the necessary arrangements. The Governing Body considers that the necessary substitutions could be put into practice immediately at the Conference on a provisional basis, under a liberal interpretation of the terms of the Standing Orders; the Standing Orders could subsequently be amended in the light of experience.

The Governing Body accordingly decided to recommend to the Selection Committee of the
Conference that the suggestions made in the previous paragraph should be put into practice on a provisional basis.
The Selection Committee recommends the Conference to adopt the suggestions reproduced above.

Participation of Non-Governmental International Organisations in the Work of the Conference.
The Selection Committee recommends the Conference to invite the following non-governmental international organisations to be represented at the Conference by observers, in accordance with the provisions of article 2 (3) (f) of the Standing Orders of the Conference:
- International Federation of Christian Trade Unions of Salaried Employees, Technicians, Managerial Staff and Commercial Travellers.
- International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees.
- International Metalworkers' Federation.

Participation of Non-Governmental International Organisations in the Work of Certain Committees.
In accordance with article 18 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and the practice of the Conference in previous years, the Selection Committee recommends to the Conference that the representatives of the following organisations be added as technical experts without power to vote to the Committees stated:
- Committee on Employment of Young Miners.
  - International Confederation of Executive Staffs.
  - International Young Christian Workers.
  - Miners' International Federation.
  - Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
  - World O.R.T. Union.
- Committee on Agrarian Reform.
  - International Association for Social Progress.
  - International Confederation of Executive Staffs.
  - International Confederation of Senior Officials.
  - International Young Christian Workers.
  - Pan-American Confederation of Commercial Travellers.
  - World O.R.T. Union.
- Committee on Co-operatives.
  - International Association of Crafts and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises.
  - International Association for Social Progress.
  - International Confederation of Executive Staffs.
  - International Confederation of Senior Officials.
  - International Council of Commerce Employers.
  - International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees.
  - International Metalworkers' Federation.
  - International Young Christian Workers.
  - Pan-American Confederation of Commercial Travellers.
  - Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
  - World Young Women's Christian Association.

Appointment of the Drafting Committee of the Conference.
The Selection Committee recommends that, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of article 6 of the Standing Orders, the Drafting Committee of the Conference be composed as follows:
- The President of the Conference;
- The Secretary-General of the Conference;
- Mr. Jenks, Deputy Secretary-General of the Conference;
- Mr. Wolf, Legal Adviser of the Conference;
- Mr. Valticos, Chief of the International
Labour Standards Department of the International Labour Office.

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 advisers 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.

Appointment of Members of the Appeals Board Panel.

On 8 June 1959 the Conference adopted proposals relating to the procedure for the appointment of committees by the Conference. Pursuant to section III, paragraph 5(a) of these proposals, the Governing Body is required to recommend, on the basis of nominations by the Director-General, a panel of five persons of internationally recognised independence and impartiality for appointment by the Conference and from which an Appeals Board of three persons is to be selected prior to each session of the Conference.

On 6 June 1963 the Conference appointed as a member of the panel, for a term of three years, Mr. H. H. Koch (Denmark) to succeed the late Mr. A. Emil F. Sandström (Sweden). On 18 June 1964 the Conference appointed as members of the panel, for a further term of three years, the four other persons who were members of the previous panel, that is to say, Mr. René Cassin (France), Mr. M. K. Vellodi (India), Sir Hector Hetherington, G.B.E. (United Kingdom) and Mr. C. Parra-Pérez (Venezuela). The two last-mentioned members having since died, the panel now consists of only three members.

At its 161st Session the Governing Body decided to recommend that the Conference, to fill the vacancies thus created, should appoint the following persons as members of the panel for a term of three years, i.e. until June 1968:

Sir Harold Emmerson, G.C.B., K.C.V.O. (United Kingdom), Former Chief Industrial Commissioner of the Ministry of Labour, former Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Home Security, former Deputy Secretary and Director-General of Manpower, and former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Works and Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Julio Augusto Barboza-Carneiro (Brazilian), Ambassador of Brazil (retired); former Brazilian Minister or Ambassador to Greece, Egypt, Paraguay, Chile, Japan, etc. etc.; Acting Chief, Political and Cultural Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1946; Chief of the Brazilian Permanent Delegation in Geneva 1955-56; Chief of the Brazilian Delegation to G.A.T.T., 1958-59; Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, 1953-59; Brazilian Government Delegate to the International Labour Conference, 1922-24; 1955-64.

The mandate of Mr. H. H. Koch having begun on 6 June 1963 and therefore expiring prior to the 50th Session of the Conference in June 1966, the Governing Body decided at its 161st Session to recommend that the International Labour Conference should reappoint Mr. Hans Henrik Koch (Denmark) as a member of the panel for a further term of three years, i.e. until June 1969.

The Selection Committee transmits these recommendations of the Governing Body to the Conference for approval.

The Employers' members asked that it should be placed on record that they took no part in this decision.

(2) Second Report.

(The second report was submitted orally to the Conference. See Second Part, p. 12.)

ANNEX TO THE SECOND REPORT: COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

Resolutions Committee

Government members:

Afghanistan.
Algeria.
Argentina.
Australia.
Belgium.
Brazil.
Bulgaria.
Byelorussia.
Cameroon.
Canada.
Central African Republic.
Chad.
China.
Colombia.
Cuba.
Czechoslovakia.
Denmark.
France.
Gabon.
Federal Republic of Germany.
Ghana.
Hungary.
India.
Iran.
Iraq.
Israel.
Italy.
Ivory Coast.
Jamaica.
Japan.
Kuwait.
Liberia.
Libya.
Malaysia.
Mali.
Mexico.
Morocco.
New Zealand.
Niger.
Nicaragua.
Norway.
Pakistan.
Panama.
Peru.
Poland.
Appendix I: Reports of the Selection Committee

Portugal.
Rumania.
Somalia.
Spain.
Sudan.
Sweden.
Switzerland.
Syrian Arab Republic.
Tanzania.
Trinidad and Tobago.
Tunisia.
Turkey.
Ukraine.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic.
United Kingdom.
United States.
Uruguay.
Venezuela.
Yemen.
Yugoslavia.
Zambia.

Deputy members:
Costa Rica.
Ethiopia.
Lebanon.
Togo.

Employers' members:
Mr. Bannerman-Menson; substitute: Mr. Boateng (Ghana).
Mr. Campanella; substitutes: Mr. Mochi-Onori, Mr. Boccardi, Mr. Chericoni (Italy).
Mr. Chini; substitute: Mr. Rao (India).
Mr. Erdmann; substitute: Mr. Schlotfeldt (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Fennema; substitute: Mr. Renaud (Netherlands).
Mr. Ghali (Tunisia).
Mr. Ghayour; substitutes: Mr. Shaheed-Saless, Mr. Farbood (Iran).
Mr. Gibson; substitute: Mr. Polites (Australia).
Mr. Hallsworth; substitute: Mr. Whittaker (Canada).
Mr. Karpatis (Cyprus).
Mr. Lovina; substitute: Mr. Arcinas (Philippines).
Mr. Marques Andrade; substitute: Mr. Wagner Battendieri (Brazil).
Mr. Martinez-Espino; substitutes: Mr. Villalobos, Mr. Oyarzabal, Mr. Vivas Berthier (Venezuela).
Mr. Mildh; substitutes: Mr. Laatunen, Mr. Relander, Mr. Vilma (Finland).
Mr. Nasr (Lebanon).
Mr. Pereira; substitute: Mr. Hughes (Trinidad and Tobago).
Sir George Pollock; substitute: Mr. Miller (United Kingdom).
Mr. Recalde; substitute: Mr. Rodheavy (Argentina).
Mr. Tucker; substitute: Mr. Luxford (New Zealand).
Mr. Ubaidulla; substitute: Mr. Thio (Malaysia).
Mr. Verschuuren; substitutes: Mr. Bermaert, Mr. De Bruyn, Mr. Gilbert (Belgium).
Mr. Wagner; substitute: Mr. Lambeth (United States).
Mr. Waine; substitutes: Mr. Leblanc, Mr. Mermillod (France).
Mr. Walker (Uganda).

Deputy members:
Mr. Ben Halim (Libya).
Mr. Bergensstrom; substitutes: Mr. Strangh, Mr. Forstadius, Mr. Gerdhason, Mr. Sandell (Sweden).
Mr. Cheng; substitute: Mr. Liu (China).
Mr. Donayre Barrios; substitute: Mr. Galdos Tanguis (Peru).
Mr. Georget (Niger).
Mr. Hausman (Israel).
Mr. Kuntschen; substitutes: Mr. Fink, Mr. Due (Switzerland).
Mr. Lund; substitute: Mr. Poulsen (Denmark).
Mr. Mautner-Markhof; substitute: Mr. Kinzel (Austria).
Mr. Morales de los Rios Leitao (Portugal).
Mr. Morgan Carrillo (Costa Rica).
Mr. Ranaley; substitute: Mr. Gasan (Malta).
Mr. Taoug; substitute: Mr. Khaznadji (Algeria).

Observer:
Mr. de Chasteignier du Mee (Mauritius).

Workers' members:
Mr. Abid Ali (India).
Mr. Albeda (Netherlands).
Mr. Al-Joundi (Syrian Arab Republic).
Mr. Altenburger (Austria).
Mr. Beermann (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Borha (Nigeria).
Mr. Bouladoux (France).
Mr. ben Ezzedine (Tunisia).
Mr. Ghelfi (Switzerland).
Mr. Gomes de Castro (Brazil).
Mr. Gregor (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Hernandez (Philippines).
Mr. Kanaev (U.S.S.R.).
Mr. Kaplansky (Canada).
Mr. Lopes Ribeiro (Portugal).
Mr. Lubembe (Kenya).
Mr. McPherson (Jamaica).
Mr. Marx (Israel).
Mr. Mazri (Algeria).
Mr. Monk (Australia).
Mr. del Pino (Venezuela).
Mr. Plant (United Kingdom).
Mr. Raffo (Italy).
Mr. ben Seddik (Morocco).
Mr. Seidman (United States).
Appendix I: Reports of the Selection Committee

Mr. Skinner (New Zealand).
Mr. Tabor (Yugoslavia).
Mr. Tamariz Sánchez (Peru).
Mr. Tampungu (Congo (Leopoldville)).
Mr. Thondaman (Ceylon).
Mr. Tudor (Romania).
Mr. Vognbjerg (Denmark).
Mr. Zivanas (Cyprus).

Deputy members:
Mr. Ampah (Ghana).
Mr. De Bock (Belgium).
Mr. Heise (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Kane (Mauritania).
Mr. Kenfaoui (Morocco).
Mr. Koljonen (Finland).
Mr. Louet (France).
Mr. Mimouni (Algeria).
Mr. Pimenov (U.S.S.R.).
Mr. Roberts (Ireland).
Mr. Sánchez Madariaga (Mexico).
Mr. Velissaratos (Greece).
Mr. Weissenberg (Austria).
Mr. Zimbihile (Tanzania).
Mr. Zosel (United States).

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Government members:
Algeria.
Australia.
Belgium.
Brazil.
Bulgaria.
Byelorussia.
Cameroon.
Canada.
Congo (Brazzaville).
Congo (Leopoldville).
Cuba.
Czeckoslavonavia.
Ethiopia.
Finland.
France.
Gabon.
Federal Republic of Germany.
Ghana.
Greece.
Hungary.
Iran.
Iraq.
Israel.
Italy.
Jamaica.
Kenya.
Liberia.
Mali.
Malta.
Mauritania.
Mexico.
Morocco.
Nigeria.
Panama.
Philippines.
Poland.
Portugal.

Rumania.
Rwanda.
Senegal.
Sierra Leone.
Spain.
Sudan.
Sweden.
Switzerland.
Syrian Arab Republic.
Trinidad and Tobago.
Uganda.
Ukraine.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic.
United Kingdom.
United States.
Upper Volta.
Venezuela.
Yugoslavia.

Deputy members:
Central African Republic.
Chile.
Dahomey.
Japan.
Kuwait.
Luxembourg.
Malaysia.
Nicaragua.
Niger.
Peru.
Turkey.
Zambia.

Employers' members:
Mr. Bergenström; substitutes: Mr. Forstadius, Mr. Strångh, Mr. Sandell, Mr. Gerhardsson (Sweden).
Mr. Campanella; substitutes: Mr. Chericoni, Mr. Boccardi (Italy).
Mr. Canning-Cooke (Zambia).
Mr. Erdmann; substitutes: Mr. Schlotfeldt, Mr. Löw (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Ghayour; substitutes: Mr. Arfazanganeh, Mr. Farshi (Iran).
Mr. Kuntschen; substitutes: Mr. Due, Mr. Müller (Switzerland).
Mr. Morales de los Ríos Leitão; substitute: Mr. Bustorff Silva (Portugal).
Sir George Pollock; substitute: Mr. Houghton (United Kingdom).
Mr. Richmond (Kenya).
Mr. Selvig; substitute: Mr. Ofstad (Norway).
Mr. Tucker; substitute: Mr. Luxford (New Zealand).
Mr. Wagner; substitute: Mr. Fogarty (United States).

Deputy members:
Mr. Donayre Barrios; substitute: Mr. Galdós Tanguís (Peru).
Mr. Georget (Niger).
Mr. Lovina; substitute: Mr. Imperial (Philippines).
Mr. Plechac (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Polyakov; substitute: Mr. Pletnev (U.S.S.R.).
Appendix I : Reports of the Selection Committee

Mr. Recalde ; substitute : Mr. Bartomeo (Argentina).
Mr. Sauvenier (Rwanda).
Mr. Sepúlveda Latapit (Chile).
Mr. Waline ; substitutes : Mr. Saintigny, Mr. Mermillod, Mr. Leblanc (France).

Workers' members :
Mr. Al-Dabbas (Iraq).
Mr. Alders (Netherlands).
Mr. Angeleri (Argentina).
Mr. Araya Bernal (Panama).
Mr. Boesiger (Switzerland).
Mr. Booka (Congo (Leopoldville)).
Mr. Cool (Belgium).
Mr. Cruzado Zavala (Peru).
Mr. Freites (Venezuela).
Mr. Halden (Norway).
Mr. Heise (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Hickey (United States).
Mr. Keren-Zvi (Israel).
Mr. Liukkonen (Finland).
Mr. Louet (France).
Mr. Mendoza (Philippines).
Mr. Mimouni (Algeria).
Mr. Morris (Canada).
Mr. Obukhovich (Byelorussia).
Mr. O'Hagan (United Kingdom).
Mr. Okongwu (Nigeria).
Mr. Palmer (Sierra Leone).
Mr. Scheer (Austria).
Mr. Tandau (Tanzania).
Mr. Trubnikov (U.S.S.R.).
Mr. J. Wagner (Brazil).
Mr. L. Wagner (Luxembourg).
Mr. Zaidi (Malaysia).

Deputy members :
Mr. Baradhi (Lebanon).
Mr. Darian (Lebanon).
Mr. Hermández (Venezuela).
Mr. Kelly (Jamaica).
Mr. Martucci (Italy).
Mr. Mazri (Algeria).
Mr. Masula (Portugal).
Mr. Pedroso de Lima (Portugal).
Mr. Rocchi (Italy).
Mr. Schockmel (Luxembourg).
Mr. Vitoris (Greece).

Committee on Employment of Young Miners

Government members :

Afghanistan.
Algeria.
Australia.
Austria.
Belgium.
Brazil.
Cameroon.
Canada.
Central African Republic.
France.

Federal Republic of Germany.
Ghana.
India.
Iran.
Italy.
Japan.
Jordan.
Kuwait.
Luxembourg.
Netherlands.
New Zealand.
Nigeria.
Norway.
Poland.
Romania.
Sierra Leone.
Spain.
Sweden.
Syrian Arab Republic.
Turkey.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic.
United Kingdom.
United States.
Venezuela.

Deputy members :

Burma.
Chile.
Congo (Leopoldville).
Hungary.
Iraq.
Morocco.
Peru.
Philippines.
Portugal.

Employers' members :

Mr. Abebe ; substitute : Mr. Keylock (Nigeria).
Mr. Bergenström ; substitutes : Mr. Gerhardsson, Mr. Sandell, Mr. Strängh, Mr. Forstadius (Sweden).
Mr. Campanella ; substitutes : Mr. Giove, Mr. Misserville, Mr. Chericoni (Italy).
Mr. Canning-Cooke ; substitute : Mr. Ray Phiri (Zambia).
Mr. Kapartis ; substitute : Mr. Pterides (Cyprus).
Mr. Erdmann ; substitutes : Mr. Goebel, Mr. Hampe (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Fennema ; substitute : Mr. Grotens (Netherlands).
Mr. Ghayour ; substitutes : Mr. Farshi, Mr. Arfazanagheh (Iran).
Mr. Gibson ; substitute : Mr. Pryke (Australia).
Mr. Hallsworth ; substitute : Mr. Despré (Canada).
Mr. Lovina ; substitute : Mr. Macaranas (Philippines).
Mr. Mautner-Markhof ; substitute : Mr. Utner (Austria).
Mr. Mishiro ; substitutes : Mr. Tawara, Mr. Kondo (Japan).
Mr. Padmore ; substitute : Mr. Benson (Liberia).
Sir George Pollock ; substitute : Mr. Mitchell (United Kingdom).
Appendix I: Reports of the Selection Committee

Mr. Selvig; substitute: Mr. Ofstad (Norway).
Mr. Verschuuren; substitutes: Mr. Gilbert,
Mr. Sladden (Belgium).
Mr. Walne; substitute: Mr. Negre (France).

Deputy members:
Mr. Al-Dabbagh; substitutes: Mr. Al-Fadhl,
Mr. Al-Jumaili (Iraq).
Mr. Hayot; substitutes: Mr. Beissel, Mr. Rollinger (Luxembourg).
Mr. Kazantsev (Byelorussia).
Mr. Kieffer (Gabon).
Mr. Kocatopçu; substitute: Mr. Öztürk (Turkey).
Mr. Marques Andrade; substitute: Mr. Fernandes (Brazil).
Mr. Mildh; substitutes: Mr. Laatunen,
Mr. Belander, Mr. Vihma (Finland).
Mr. Olteanu (Romania).
Mr. Recalde; substitute: Mr. Tartara (Argentina).
Mr. Wagner; substitute: Mr. Doherty (United States).

Workers' members:
Mr. Akhavankaldai (Iran).
Mr. Al Arif (Kuwait).
Mr. Atim (Ghana).
Mr. Bolteija (United Arab Republic).
Mr. Carbonell Horruitiner (Cuba).
Mr. Chuyev (U.S.S.R.).
Mr. Fassbender Teixeira (Brazil).
Mr. Haraguchi (Japan).
Mr. Hernandez (Venezuela).
Mr. Jones (United Kingdom).
Mr. Lindell (Sweden).
Mr. Loli Cepero (Peru).
Mr. McCartin (United States).
Mr. Monnerot (France).
Mr. Okei-Achamba (Nigeria).
Mr. Poida (Ukraine).
Mr. Policarpio (Philippines).
Mr. Sauvage (Belgium).
Mr. Semaan (Lebanon).
Mr. Strand (Norway).
Mr. Walter (Canada).
Mr. Weise (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Weiss (Luxembourg).
Mr. Žila (Czecho-Slovakia).

Deputy members:
Mr. Fogam (Cameroon).
Mr. Houmani (Lebanon).
Mr. Jurek (Poland).
Mr. Lázár (Hungary).
Mr. Lotþpour (Iran).
Mr. Matar (Lebanon).
Mr. del Pino (Venezuela).
Mr. Sinha (India).
Mr. Teng (China).
Mr. Tili (Tunisia).
Mr. Turowski (Federal Republic of Germany).

Committee on Women Workers

Government members:
Afghanistan.
Algeria.
Australia.
Austria.
Belgium.
Cameroon.
Canada.
Central African Republic.
Chad.
China.
Colombia.
Congo (Leopoldville).
Cyprus.
Czecho-Slovakia.
Denmark.
Ecuador.
Finland.
France.
Gabon.
Federal Republic of Germany.
Ghana.
Greece.
Hungary.
Ireland.
Iraq.
Italy.
Japan.
Jordan.
Kenya.
Kuwait.
Lebanon.
Libya.
Luxembourg.
Malaysia.
Mali.
Mauritania.
Netherlands.
New Zealand.
Nigeria.
Norway.
Panama.
Poland.
Sierra Leone.
Somalia.
Spain.
Sudan.
Sweden.
Switzerland.
Syrian Arab Republic.
Trinidad and Tobago.
Tunisia.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic.
United Kingdom.
United States.
Uruguay.
Venezuela.
Yugoslavia.
Zambia.

Deputy members:
Brazil.
Congo (Brazzaville).
Costa Rica.
India.
Morocco.
Peru.
Philippines.
Portugal.
Appendix I : Reports of the Selection Committee

Rwanda.
Tanzania.
Thailand.
Uganda.
Viet-Nam.

Employers' members:

Mr. Abebe; substitute: Mrs. Asuni (Nigeria).
Mr. Al-Dabbagh (Iraq).
Mr. Asfour; substitute: Mr. Soussah (Jordan).
Mr. Bekombo; substitute: Mr. Agbabiaka (Cameroon).
Mr. Campanella; substitutes: Mr. Boccardi, Mr. Tosti (Italy).
Mr. Charabati (Syrian Arab Republic).
Mr. Cheng; substitute: Mr. Liu (China).
Mr. Diop; substitute: Mr. Antoine (Senegal).
Mr. Erdmann; substitute: Mr. Keller (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Fennema; substitute: Mr. Swarttouw (Netherlands).
Mr. Ghayour; substitutes: Mr. Farbood, Mr. Shaheed-Saless (Iran).
Mr. Gibson; substitute: Mr. Anderson (Australia).
Mr. Griffiths; substitute: Mr. McCarthy (Ireland).
Mr. Kuntschen; substitutes: Mr. Müller, Mr. Due (Switzerland).
Mr. Lund; substitute: Mr. Tarp (Denmark).
Mr. Marques Andrade; substitute: Mr. Noqueira Martins (Brazil).
Mr. Mautner-Markhof; substitute: Mr. Tutschka (Austria).
Mr. Milh; substitutes: Mr. Laatunen, Mr. Rlander, Mr. Vihma (Finland).
Mr. Mishiro; substitutes: Mr. Ogawa, Mr. Kondo (Japan).
Mr. Nguyen-Van-Lan; substitutes: Mr. Bui-Khac-Chien, Mrs. Nguyen-Thi-Hai (Viet-Nam).
Mr. Rajasuriya (Ceylon).
Mr. Recalde; substitute: Mr. Araya (Argentina).
Mr. Rifaa; substitute: Mr. Orphy (United Arab Republic).
Mr. Wagner; substitute: Mr. Anton (United States).
Mr. Waline; substitutes: Mr. Monsempes, Mr. Saintigny (France).

Deputy members:

Mr. Bergenström; substitutes: Mr. Sandell, Mr. Strång, Mr. Gerhardsson, Mr. Forstadius (Sweden).
Mr. Bogacki (Poland).
Mr. Ghali; substitute: Mr. Star (Tunisia).
Mr. Hallsworth; substitute: Mr. Schmidt (Canada).
Mr. Hausman (Israel).
Mr. Hayot; substitutes: Mr. Müller, Mr. Pauly (Luxembourg).

Mr. Kieffer (Gabon).
Mr. Lotsu (Dahomey).
Mr. Lovina; substitute: Mr. Imperial (Philippines).
Mr. Martínez-Espino; substitutes: Mr. Oyarzábal, Mr. Vivas Berthier, Mr. Villalobos (Venezuela).
Mr. Morúa Carrillo (Costa Rica).
Mr. Naar (Lebanon).
Mrs. Peeva (Bulgaria).
Sir George Pollock; substitute: Miss Masterton (United Kingdom).
Mr. Samarou (Togo).
Mr. Salvig; substitutes: Mr. Aarvig, Mr. Olstad (Norway).
Mr. Talabi-Coker (Sierra Leone).
Mr. Verschueren; substitutes: Mr. De Bruyne, Mr. Bernaert (Belgium).

Workers' members:

Mr. Callus (Malta).
Mr. Camaecho (Venezuela).
Miss Clarke (Ghana).
Mrs. Defilippí Moreno (Chile).
Mr. Delanne (Niger).
Mrs. Ekendahl (Sweden).
Miss El Demerdash Mohamed (United Arab Republic).
Mr. Fayad (Lebanon).
Mr. Florea (Rumania).
Mr. Hayes (Australia).
Mr. Hill (New Zealand).
Mr. Hyppönen (Finland).
Mrs. Lazareva (U.S.S.R.).
Mr. Ly (Senegal).
Mr. Macgougan (Ireland).
Mr. Marinho (Brazil).
Mr. Martucci (Italy).
Mr. Mattenje (Malawi).
Mrs. M'Bemba (Congo (Brazzaville)).
Mr. Mertens (Belgium).
Mrs. M'Samba (Democratic Republic of Congo).
Mr. M'Samba (Cameroon).
Mr. Nwofili Ebo (Nigeria).
Miss Plamondon (Canada).
Mrs. Planojevic (Yugoslavia).
Mr. Reiser (United States).
Mrs. Restano Castro (Cuba).
Mr. Salami (Togo).
Mr. Sarhan (Iraq).
Mrs. Sedeño Fuentes (Spain).
Mr. Shioji (Japan).
Mrs. Simhoni (Israel).
Mrs. Smirnova (Byelorussia).
Mr. Stylianos (Cyprus).
Miss Tegelaar (Netherlands).
Mr. Theisen (Luxembourg).
Mrs. Troisgros (France).
Miss Veitch (United Kingdom).
Mrs. R. Weber (Austria).
Mrs. Zaugg-Alt (Switzerland).
Deputy members:

Mr. Aimoto (Japan).
Mr. Bolin (Sweden).
Mr. Boudali (Tunisia).
Mrs. Bystedt (Sweden).
Miss Dupeyron (France).
Miss Edward (Tanzania).
Mr. Fadl (Sudan).
Mr. Ilboudo (Upper Volta).
Mrs. Junker-Seeliger (Federal Republic of Germany).
Miss Lachaine (Canada).
Mr. Liukkonen (Finland).
Mr. Loh (China).
Mr. Lopes Ribeiro (Portugal).
Mrs. Meyer-Biekenberg (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Ngom (Cameroon).
Mr. Oca (Philippines).
Mrs. Peuvrier (France).
Mr. Raveroson (Malagasy Republic).
Mr. Sultan (Lebanon).
Mr. Thondaman (Ceylon).

Employer members:

Mr. Al-Dabbagh (Iraq).
Mr. Barón Lupiac (Honduras).
Mr. Campanella; substitutes: Mr. Miser - ville, Mr. Mochi-Onori, Mr. Giove (Italy).
Mr. Chambers (Jamaica).
Mr. Chinai (India).
Mr. Dembele (Mali).
Mr. Donayre Barrios; substitute: Mr. Gal- dós Tanguis (Peru).
Mr. Erdmann; substitute: Mr. Schnieders (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Fennema; substitute: Mr. Vaandrager (Netherlands).
Mr. Galdós García; substitute: Mr. Lozano Bergua (Spain).
Mr. Ghali; substitute: Mr. Letaief (Tunisia).
Mr. Hallsworth; substitute: Mr. Lach (Canada).
Mr. Jonckheere; substitute: Mr. Masangu (Congo (Leopoldville)).
Mr. Konian Kodjo; substitute: Mr. Bastid (Ivory Coast).
Mr. Lovina; substitute: Mr. Gloria (Philippines).
Appendix I: Reports of the Selection Committee

Mr. Martínez-Espino; substitutes: Mr. Vivas Berthier, Mr. Villalobos, Mr. Oyarzábal (Venezuela).
Mr. Mautner-Markhof; substitute: Mr. Schuhberth (Austria).
Mr. Morúa Carrillo (Costa Rica).
Mr. Nelms (Malawi).
Mr. Nguyễn-Van-Lán; substitutes: Mr. Bùi-Khắc-Chiên, Mrs. Nguyễn-Thi-Hai (Viet-Nam).
Mr. Recalde; substitute: Mr. Gelbard (Argentina).
Mr. Sepúlveda Latapiat (Chile).
Mr. Verschueren; substitutes: Mr. Hiemeleurs, Mr. Sladden (Belgium).
Mr. Wagner; substitute: Mr. Norris (United States).

Deputy members:

Mr. Abebe; substitutes: Mr. Coker-Dickens, Mr. Borrie (Nigeria).
Mr. Fernández Landero (Mexico).
Mr. Kapartis; substitute: Mr. Stellakis (Cyprus).
Mr. Kieffer (Gabon).
Mr. Kuntschen; substitutes: Mr. Neu-komm, Mr. Fink (Switzerland).
Mr. Maboungou-M'bimba; substitute: Mr. Ducup de Saint-Paul (Congo (Brazzaville)).
Mr. Marques Andrade; substitute: Mr. Gonzales Blanco (Brazil).
Mr. Morales de los Ríos Leitão; substitute: Mr. Pena da Costa (Portugal).
Mr. Polyakov; substitute: Mr. Usikov (U.S.S.R.).
Sir George Pollock; substitute: Mr. Hill (United Kingdom).
Mr. Rifaat; substitute: Mr. Orphy (United Arab Republic).
Mr. Samarou (Togo).
Mr. Sauvenier (Rwanda).
Mr. Souiri; substitute: Mr. Zemmouri (Morocco).
Mr. Waline; substitutes: Miss Chauvel, Mr. Sallenave (France).

Observer:

Mr. Lewis (Barbados).

Workers' members:

Mr. Ali (Pakistan).
Mr. Balogun (Ghana).
Mr. Beard (United Kingdom).
Mr. Boudali (Tunisia).
Mr. Briki (Algeria).
Mr. Coleman (Australia).
Mr. Coppo (Italy).
Mr. Cuevas (Colombia).
Mr. Efremenko (Ukraine).
Mr. Fogam (Cameroon).

Mr. Fugardo Sanz (Spain).
Mr. González Navarro (Venezuela).
Mr. Goodluck (Nigeria).
Mr. Gorallah (Chad).
Mr. Haiden (Austria).
Mr. Ivanov (Bulgaria).
Mr. Kenfaoui (Morocco).
Mr. Krugly (U.S.S.R.).
Mr. Lappas (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. López Chinchilla (Costa Rica).
Mr. Machielsen (Belgium).
Mr. Macín (Mexico).
Mr. Monteiro Maury (Portugal).
Mr. Mugala (Zambia).
Mr. Mukherjee (India).
Mr. Nilsson (Finland).
Mr. Pospiołowski (Poland).
Mr. Principe (Brazil).
Mr. Quyên-Trân-Huu (Viet-Nam).
Mr. Racchini (Argentina).
Mr. Ramos Alvarado (Honduras).
Mr. Sens (Netherlands).
Mr. Solís Reaño (Peru).
Mr. Sutton (Trinidad and Tobago).
Mr. Tan (Philippines).
Mr. Tekie (Ethiopia).

Deputy members:

Mr. Álvarez Avellán (Spain).
Mr. Aoun (Lebanon).
Mr. Berkač (Algeria).
Mr. Carbonell Horruitiner (Cuba).
Lord Collison (United Kingdom).
Mr. Dayeh (Lebanon).
Mr. Dessev (Bulgaria).
Mr. Duhamel (France).
Mr. Ferrer Anguízola (Panama).
Mr. Koljonen (Finland).
Mr. McPherson (Jamaica).
Mr. Odhner (Sweden).
Mr. Papaioannou (Greece).
Mr. Pimenov (U.S.S.R.).
Mr. Ploeg (Netherlands).
Mr. Poida (Ukraine).
Mr. Rocchi (Italy).
Mr. ben Seddik (Morocco).
Mr. Vasiljevic (Yugoslavia).
Mr. Zivanas (Cyprus).
Mr. Zosel (United States).

Committee on Co-operatives

Government members:

Algeria.
Argentina.
Australia.
Austria.
Belgium.
Bulgaria.
Byelorussia.
Cameroon.
Canada.
Central African Republic.
Ceylon.
Chad.
Chile.
China.
Costa Rica.
Cuba.
Cyrpus.
Czechoslovakia.
Dahomey.
Denmark.
Ecuador.
Ethiopia.
Finland.
France.
Gabon.
Federal Republic of Germany.
Ghana.
Greece.
India.
Iran.
Iraq.
Ireland.
Israel.
Italy.
Japan.
Kenya.
Kuwait.
Lebanon.
Libera.
Libya.
Malagasy Republic.
Malawi.
Malta.
Morocco.
Netherlands.
Nigeria.
Norway.
Panama.
Peru.
Portugal.
Rumaniia.
Ruanda.
Senegal.
Sierra Leone.
Somalia.
Spain.
Sudan.
Sweden.
Switzerland.
Syrian Arab Republic.
Tanzania.
Thailand.
Togo.
Uganda.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic.
United Kingdom.
United States.
Upper Volta.
Venezuela.
Yugoslavia.
One seat vacant.

Deputy members:
Burma.

Congo (Leopoldville).
Jordan.
Malaysia.
Philippines.
Turkey.
Uruguay.
Zamibia.

Employers' members:
Mr. Al-Dabbagh (Iraq).
Mr. Anguelis (Upper Volta).
Mr. Asfour; substitute: Mr. Soussah (Jordan).
Mr. Bannerman-Menson; substitute: Mr. Boateng (Ghana).
Mr. Bekombo; substitute: Mr. Agbabiaka (Cameroon).
Mr. Chinal; substitute: Mr. Ross (India).
Mr. Diop; substitute: Mr. Antoine (Senegal).
Mr. Donayre Barrios; substitute: Mr. Gal-
dos Tanguis (Peru).
Mr. Georget (Niger).
Mr. Ghali; substitute: Mr. Darghouth (Tu-
nisia).
Mr. Ghayour; substitute: Mr. Maleknia (Iran).
Mr. Halle (Central African Republic).
Mr. Hallsworth; substitute: Mr. Davidson (Canada).
Mr. Issenmann; substitute: Mr. Schambur (Chad).
Mr. Jonckheere; substitute: Mr. Masangu (Congo (Leopoldville)).
Mr. Kocatopçu; substitute: Mr. Altinelli (Turkey).
Mr. Lotsu (Dahomey).
Mr. Lovina; substitute: Mr. Eusebio (Philippines).
Mr. Maboungou-M'Bimba; substitute: Mr. Duquep de Saint-Paul (Congo (Brazza-
ville)).
Mr. Marques Andrade; substitute: Mr. Font-
enelle de Araiyo (Brazil).
Mr. Martinez-Espino; substitute: Mr. Villa-
lbos (Venezuela).
Mr. Mildh; substitutes: Mr. Laatunen, Mr. Relander, Mr. Vihma (Finland).
Mr. Osman (Sudan).
Mr. Padmore; substitute: Mr. Greve (Liberia).
Mr. Pereira; substitute: Mr. Hughes (Trini-
dad and Tobago).
Mr. Ransley; substitute: Mr. Gasan (Malta).
Mr. Beculde; substitute: Mr. Bartomeo (Argentina).
Mr. Bifaat; substitute: Mr. Orphy (United Arab Republic).
Mr. Samarou (Togo).
Mr. Selvig; substitute: Mr. Aarvig (Nor-
way).
Mr. Verschueren; substitutes: Mr. Sladden,
Mr. Hiemeleers (Belgium).
Mr. Wagner; substitute: Mr. Neilan (United States).
Ms. Waline; substitutes: Mr. Sallenave, Miss Chauvel (France).

Deputy members:

Mr. Abebe; substitute: Mr. Ofurum (Nigeria).
Mr. Al-Tuwaini (Kuwait).
Mr. Campanella; substitutes: Mr. Malfettani, Mr. Mochi-Onori (Italy).
Mr. Cheng; substitute: Mr. Liu (China).
Mr. Dembele (Mali).
Mr. Dominguez Oceja (Cuba).
Mr. Fennema; substitute: Mr. Vaandrager (Netherlands).
Mr. Han (Burma).
Mr. Konian Kodjo; substitute: Mr. Bastid (Ivory Coast).
Mr. Kucherov (Ukraine).
Mr. Lund; substitute: Mr. Tarp (Denmark).
Mr. Morales de los Ríos Leitão; substitute: Mr. Bernardo (Portugal).
Mr. Moráa Carrillo (Costa Rica).
Mr. Nguyên-Vân-Lân; substitutes: Mr. Bùi-Khắc-Chiên, Mrs. Nguyên-Thi-Hai (Viet-Nam).
Sir George Pollock; substitute: Mr. Hill (United Kingdom).
Mr. Polyakov; substitute: Mr. Loza (U.S.S.R.).
Mr. Souiri; substitutes: Mr. Seif, Mr. Taieb (Morocco).
Mr. Tucakovic (Yugoslavia).

Observer:

Mr. Thomson (British Guiana).

Workers' members:

Mr. Aimoto (Japan).
Mr. Attard Kingswell (Malta).
Mr. Berkache (Algeria).
Mr. Bierzanek (Poland).
Mr. Chua (Malaysia).
Mr. Dahy (Kuwait).
Mr. Diallo (Niger).
Mr. Diallo (Congo (Brazzaville)).
Mr. Fernandez (Philippines).
Mr. Fitzpatrick (Ireland).
Mr. Gawher (Sudan).
Mr. Hackshaw (Trinidad and Tobago).
Mr. Harradine (Australia).
Mr. Hill (United Kingdom).
Mr. Iboudo (Upper Volta).
Mr. Jawhar (Jordan).
Mr. Jensen (Denmark).
Mr. Jensen (Norway).
Mr. Kaltungo (Nigeria).
Mr. Kane (Mauritania).
Mr. Kelly (Jamaica).
Mr. Kibuka (Uganda).
Mr. Kokey (Central African Republic).
Mr. Korolkov (U.S.S.R.).
Mr. MacDonald (Canada).
Mr. Mario (France).
Mr. Markmann (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Marson (Luxembourg).
Mr. Mercado (Colombia).
Mr. Morisod (Switzerland).
Mr. Ngom (Cameroon).
Mr. Niyitengeka (Rwanda).
Mr. Ntutume (Gabon).
Mr. Odnner (Sweden).
Mr. Pereira Magaldi (Brazil).
Mr. Poursate (Iran).
Mr. Rojas Rojas (Venezuela).
Mr. Shaghati (Iraq).
Mr. Sinha (India).
Mr. Sissoko (Mali).
Mr. Solomon (Ethiopia).
Mr. Sow (Senegal).
Mr. Stanley (United States).
Mr. Tarshish (Israel).
Mr. Tlili (Tunisia).
Mr. Vasiljević (Yugoslavia).
Mr. Zainati (Lebanon).
Mr. Ziartides (Cyprus).

Deputy members:

Mr. Briki (Algeria).
Mr. Camacho (Venezuela).
Mr. Dessev (Bulgaria).
Mr. Faheem (United Arab Republic).
Mr. Ghodraty (Iran).
Mr. Gilboa (Israel).
Mr. Htein (Burma).
Mr. Ivanov (Bulgaria).
Mr. Khoury (Lebanon).
Miss Nordahl (Norway).
Mr. Pedroso de Lima (Portugal).
Mr. Peter (Federal Republic of Germany).
Mr. Raffo (Italy).
Mr. Raveroson (Malagasy Republic).
Mr. Raviwongse (Thailand).
Mrs. Restano Castro (Cuba).
Mr. Shoji (Japan).
Mr. Sumbwe (Zambia).

(3) Third Report.

Participation of Non-Governmental International Organisations in the Work of Certain Committees.

In accordance with article 18 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and the practice of the Conference in previous years, the Selection Committee recommends to the Conference that the representatives of the following organisations be added as technical experts without power to vote to the Committees stated:

1 See Second Part, p. 46.
Committee on Employment of Young Miners: Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.

Committee on Agrarian Reform:

Committee on Co-operatives:

The Selection Committee further recommends to the Conference that the All-African Trade Union Federation should be invited to be represented at the Committee on Women Workers in accordance with article 56 (9) of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of committees:

Selection Committee. Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Jones (United Kingdom); Mrs. Weber (Austria); Mr. Kane (Mauritania); Mr. Cool (Belgium); Mr. González Navarro (Venezuela).

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. Government observers: add British Guiana; Mauritius. Employers' members: add Mr. Tosti (Italy) as substitute for Mr. Campanella.

Committee on Women Workers. Employers' deputy members: add Mr. Terra Ilarraz (Uruguay).

Committee on Agrarian Reform. Government observers: add British Guiana; Mauritius. Employers' deputy members: add Mr. Eisner (Guatemala); Mr. Campos Páiz (Nicaragua); Mr. Terra Ilarraz (Uruguay).

Committee on Co-operatives. Government observers: add British Guiana; Mauritius. Employers' members: add Mr. Oyarzábal and Mr. Vivas Berthier (Venezuela) as substitutes for Mr. Martínez-Espino; Employers' deputy members: add Mr. Bardas (Greece) and Mr. Terra Ilarraz (Uruguay). Workers' observers: add Mr. Pollydore (British Guiana).

Committee on Co-operatives. (Cameroon). Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Bah (Guinea).

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. Government deputy members: add Guinea; Ivory Coast. Employers' members: add Mr. Farhood (Iran) as substitute for Mr. Ghayour.

Committee on Employment of Young Miners. Workers' deputy members: delete Mr. Fogam (Cameroon).

Committee on Women Workers. Employers' members: add Mr. Farshie (Iran) as substitute for Mr. Ghayour. Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Fogam (Cameroon), Mr. Coffie (Ivory Coast), Mr. Rahman (Liberia).

Committee on Agrarian Reform. Employers' deputy members: add Mr. Aizpurúa (Panama) and Mr. Gebregziabher (Ethiopia). Workers' members: delete Mr. Fogam (Cameroon); add Mr. McPherson (Jamaica). Workers' observers: add Mr. Walcott (Barbados).

Committee on Co-operatives. Government members: add Honduras. Employers' members: add Mr. Taeši and Mr. Arıazanganhe (Iran) as substitutes for Mr. Ghayour. Employers' deputy members: add Mr. Hetzel (Guinea). Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Kassy (Ivory Coast), Mr. Figueiras (Uruguay). Workers' observers: add Mr. Walcott (Barbados).

Committee on Employment of Young Miners. Committee on Women Workers. Committee on Agrarian Reform. Committee on Co-operatives.

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of Committees:

Resolutions Committee. Employers' members: add Mr. Habib (Lebanon) as substitute for Mr. Nasr. Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Morris (Canada).

Committee on Women Workers. Employers' members: add Mr. Al Dhahi and Mr. Ismail (Iraq) as substitutes for Mr. Al-Dabbagh; Employers' deputy members: add Mr. Habib (Lebanon) as substitute for Mr. Nasr; add Mr. Aribarg (Thailand) and Miss Barletta (Panama).

1 See Second Part, p. 111.

2 See Second Part, p. 204.
(6) Sixth Report.\(^1\)

**Composition of Committees.**

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of Committees:

**Resolutions Committee.** Workers' deputy members: add Mr. MacGougan (Ireland) and Mr. Monteiro Maury (Portugal).

(7) Seventh Report.\(^2\)

**Composition of Committees.**

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of Committees:

**Resolutions Committee.** Workers' members: delete Mr. Kanaev (U.S.S.R.) ; add Mr. Trubnikov (U.S.S.R.). Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Amlon (Dahomey).

**Committee on Co-operatives.** Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Amlon (Dahomey).

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\(^1\) See Second Part, p. 245.

\(^2\) See Second Part, p. 337.

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Transmittal of Certain Conclusions of the Committee on Agrarian Reform to the Committee on Co-operatives.

The Committee on Agrarian Reform has in the course of its discussions reached certain conclusions concerning the role of co-operatives in connection with agrarian reform. It suggests that these conclusions might appropriately be considered at this point by the Conference Committee on Co-operatives, which is preparing in first discussion a draft Recommendation.

The Selection Committee recommends the Conference to transmit points 23 and 46 to 62 of the draft Conclusions of the Committee on Agrarian Reform to the Committee on Co-operatives, on the understanding that the latter Committee would not be expected to have any substantive discussion of them at this stage.

(8) Eighth Report.\(^1\)

**Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of “Apartheid” of the Republic of South Africa.**

The Selection Committee recommends that the Conference take note of the Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of “Apartheid” of the Republic of South Africa.

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\(^1\) See Second Part, p. 466.
APPENDIX II

Credentials


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 26 of the Standing Orders of the International Labour Conference.

The composition of each delegation and the method of appointment of delegates and advisers to the sessions of the International Labour Conference are governed by paragraphs 8 and 9 of article 3 of the Constitution; these paragraphs are as follows:

8. The names of the delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the International Labour Office by the government of each of the Members.

9. 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.

Thus, it is for the governments to communicate to the International Labour Office the nominations made. The Conference decides, especially in the case of dispute, whether delegates and advisers have been nominated in accordance with article 3 of the Constitution.

In order to facilitate the verification of credentials the International Labour Conference has included certain provisions in article 26 of its Standing Orders; this article is as follows:

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 and shall be published as an appendix to the record of the first sitting.

3. The Credentials Committee appointed by the Conference in pursuance of article 5 of the Standing Orders of the Conference shall consider any objection concerning the nomination of any delegate or adviser which may have been lodged with the Secretary-General.

4. An objection shall not be receivable in the following cases:
(a) if the objection is not lodged with the Secretary-General within 72 hours from 10 o'clock a.m. of the date of the publication in the Provisional Record of the name and function of the person to whose nomination objection is taken: Provided that the above time limit may be extended by the Credentials Committee in the case of objections to the nomination of a delegate or adviser from a distant country;
(b) if the authors of the objection remain anonymous;
(c) if the author of the objection is serving as adviser to the delegate to whose nomination objection is taken;
(d) if the objection is 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.

5. The procedure for the determination of whether an objection is receivable shall be as follows:
(a) the Credentials Committee shall consider in respect of each objection whether on any of the grounds set forth in paragraph 4 the objection is irreceivable;
(b) if the Committee reaches a unanimous conclusion concerning the receivability of the objection its decision shall be final;
(c) if the Credentials Committee does not reach a unanimous conclusion concerning the receivability of the objection it shall refer the matter to the Conference, which shall, on being furnished with a record of the Committee's discussions and with a report setting forth the opinion of the majority and minority of its members, decide without further discussion whether the objection is receivable.

6. In every case in which the objection is not declared irreceivable the Credentials Committee shall consider whether the objection is well founded and shall as a matter of urgency submit a report thereon to the Conference.

7. If the Credentials Committee or any member thereof submits a report advising that the Conference should refuse to admit any delegate or adviser, the President shall submit this proposal to the Conference for decision, and the Conference, if it deems that the delegate or adviser has not been nominated in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution, may, in accordance with paragraph 9 of article 3 thereof, refuse by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present to admit the delegate or adviser. Delegates who are in favour of refusing to admit the delegate or adviser shall vote "Yes"; delegates who are opposed to refusing to admit the delegate or adviser shall vote "No".

8. 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 article 5 of the Standing Orders referred to above:

1. The Conference shall, on the nomination of the Selection Committee, appoint a Credentials Committee consisting of one Government delegate, one Employers' delegate and one Workers' delegate.

2. The Credentials Committee shall examine the credentials of delegates and their advisers, and any objection relating thereto, in accordance with the provisions of section B of Part II.

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1 Article 26 cited above constitutes Section B of Part II of the Standing Orders of the Conference. (Note appended to the original text.)
Appendix II: Credentials

The present report is submitted in compliance with the provisions quoted above. The attached list was closed on Tuesday, 1 June 1965, at 10 a.m. in order that it might be available for inspection by the members of the delegations on the day before the opening of the Conference.

It should be pointed out, as has been done in previous years, that the provisions of article 26 of the Standing Orders are especially intended to facilitate the work of verifying the credentials. They do not have the binding character of the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation.

Any credentials sent in after the signature of the present report will be communicated to the Conference by the Secretary-General and will be referred by the Conference to the Credentials Committee. This Committee will examine them together with any objections received by the Officers of the Conference within the time limits laid down in paragraphs 4 and 5 of article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

The present report serves for fixing provisionally the quorum necessary to give validity to the votes taken. The last paragraph of article 17 of the Constitution provides that—

The voting is void unless the total number of votes cast is equal to half the number of the delegates attending the Conference.

And article 20, paragraph 1 (2), of the Standing Orders of the Conference adds—

This number shall be provisionally fixed after the presentation of the brief report referred to in paragraph 2 of the rules of procedure concerning credentials set forth in article 26. It shall then be determined by the Credentials Committee.

The following table, based on the files containing 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, shows the numerical composition of the Conference.

The following observations may be made as regards the nominations of the delegates and advisers. Up to date 94 States have notified the nominations of the members of their delegations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Government delegates</th>
<th>Employers' delegates</th>
<th>Workers' delegates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byelorussia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo (Brazzaville)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
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<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
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<td>Denmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Total: 186 323 92 144 90 179
communicated credentials (official instruments) or official letters to the International Labour Office; others have forwarded official telegrams.

Although nomination by official letter or telegram is not in accordance with customary diplomatic procedure the Conference has always considered this method of nomination as satisfactory.

It may be pointed out that two countries have so far nominated Government delegates only, and two countries have so far nominated only one Government delegate.

Two countries have so far nominated an Employers' but not a Workers' delegate.

The Conference and the Credentials Committee have emphasised on previous occasions that article 3 of the Constitution lays an obligation on each government to send a complete delegation to the Conference.

It should be noted that, in the letters or telegrams communicating their nominations, various governments have mentioned the employers' and workers' organisations which they have consulted and with which they have come to an agreement in appointing Employers' and Workers' delegates in accordance with paragraph 5 of article 3 of the Constitution of the Organisation.

Composition of the Conference, and Quorum.

At present the Conference is composed of 186 Government delegates, 92 Employers' delegates and 90 Workers' delegates—a total of 368 delegates.

There are in addition 323 Government advisers, 144 Employers' advisers and 179 Workers' advisers—a total of 646 advisers.

In the letters communicating the nominations some persons have been nominated both as substitute delegates and as advisers. For the purpose of the above total they have been included among the advisers.

The total number of delegates and advisers who have been nominated in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation to take part in the work of the Conference is 1,014.

Since two countries have nominated an Employers' but no Workers' delegate, two non-government delegates are left out of account in the calculation of the quorum.

In conformity with article 17 of the Constitution of the Organisation and with article 29 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the necessary quorum to give a vote validity will provisionally be 183.

Observers.

Following invitation from the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, tripartite observer delegations have been appointed by Barbados, British Guiana and Mauritius. The total number of observers present at the Conference is 11.

Representatives of the United Nations, Specialised Agencies, and Other Official International Organisations.

In accordance with paragraph 1 of article II—relating to reciprocal representation—of the Agreement between the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, which came into force on 14 December 1946, representatives of the United Nations are attending the Conference.

Up to date the following official international organisations have also accepted the invitation to attend the Conference, which was addressed to them in accordance with the decisions taken by the Governing Body:

Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
World Health Organisation.
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
Council of Europe.
European Economic Community.
Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.
League of Arab States.

Representatives of Non-Governmental International Organisations with Which Consultative Relationships Have Been Established.

Of the non-governmental international organisations with which consultative relationships have been established the following have already accepted the invitation to attend the Conference which was addressed to them in accordance with the arrangements in force between these organisations and the International Labour Organisation:

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
International Co-operative Alliance.
International Federation of Agricultural Producers.
International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.
International Organisation of Employers.
World Federation of Trade Unions.

Representatives of Non-Governmental International Organisations Which Have Been Invited by the Governing Body to Be Represented at the Conference.

The following organisations have accepted the invitation to attend the Conference which was addressed to them in pursuance of a decision of the Governing Body:

African Trade Union Confederation.
All-African Trade Union Federation.
Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.
Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production.
International Alliance of Women.
International Association for Social Progress.
International Confederation of Executive Staffs.
International Confederation of Senior Officials.
International Council of Commerce Employers.
International Council of Nurses.
International Council of Social Democratic Women.
International Council of Women.
International Federation of University Women.
International Federation of Women in the Legal Profession.
International Social Security Association.
Interparliamentary Union.
Miners' International Federation.
Open Door International (for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker).
Organisation of Employers' Federations and Employers in Developing Countries.
Public Services International.
World O.R.T. Union.

Geneva, 1 June 1965.

(Signed) GEORGE V. HAYTHORNE.

(2) First Report of the Credentials Committee.

1. The Credentials Committee of the 49th Session of the Conference is composed of Mr. Bernardo Zanetti, substitute Government delegate, Switzerland, Chairman; Mr. P. Schade Poulsen, substitute Employers' delegate, Denmark; and Mr. Bertil Bolin, Workers' delegate, Sweden.

Composition of the Conference.

2. Since the brief report made by the Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, a number of modifications have occurred in the composition of the Conference.

3. The number of member States of the International Labour Organisation represented at the Conference is at present 103.

Accredited Delegates and Advisers.

4. The total number of accredited delegates is 401, comprising 203 Government delegates, 100 Employers' delegates and 98 Workers' delegates.

5. There are 720 accredited advisers, comprising 361 Government advisers, 161 Employers' advisers and 198 Workers' advisers.

6. The total number of accredited delegates and advisers is 1,121.

Registered Delegates and Advisers.

7. Since the present session of the Conference has decided to adopt the new practice of fixing the quorum on the basis of the registration forms issued to delegates, the Committee considers it desirable to advise the Conference on the situation concerning the registration of delegates.

8. At this time the number of registered delegates is 381, comprising 189 Government delegates, 96 Employers' delegates and 96 Workers' delegates.

9. In addition, the number of registered advisers is 631, comprising 316 Government advisers, 134 Employers' advisers and 181 Workers' advisers.

Quorum.

10. The Committee considers that when an accredited delegate is not registered at the Conference but one of his advisers is accredited as substitute delegate and is registered, this substitute delegate should be counted in fixing the quorum.

11. Consequently, in addition to the registered Government delegates and registered Employers' and Workers' delegates, account should be taken of six Government substitute delegates and one Employers' substitute delegate in fixing the quorum.

12. Two States have designated an Employers' delegate but no Workers' delegate. Therefore, these two Employers' delegates are not taken into consideration in fixing the quorum.

13. At the present time the quorum required to give a vote validity is 193.

14. The Committee notes that if the quorum had been calculated on the basis of the number of accredited delegates, it would have reached the figure of 200. The difference between the quorum calculated on the basis of the number of registered delegates and that calculated on the basis of the number of accredited delegates is due to the fact that some accredited delegates have not yet registered. The Committee urgently appeals to delegates present at the Conference to register so that the quorum will be as exact as possible and that their presence can be taken into account in its calculation.

Incomplete Delegations.

15. The Committee notes that a certain number of delegations are incomplete, some of these consisting of no non-governmental delegates while all and some of one non-governmental delegate. It wishes to affirm once again the necessity for governments to comply with the requirements of article 3 of the Constitution that a complete tripartite delegation be sent to the Conference.

16. The Committee also notes that there is some imbalance between the number of advisers to the delegates of each group. It once again draws the attention of governments to the fact that it would be desirable to take greater account, when delegations are designated, of the proportions in the composition of the Conference envisaged by paragraphs 1 and 2 of article 3 of the Constitution.

Representatives of the United Nations, Specialised Agencies and Other Official International Organisations.

17. In addition to the organisations listed in the brief report of the Chairman of the Governing Body, the following official international organisations have accepted the invitation to attend the Conference which was addressed to them:

Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees;
Organisation of American States.

Representatives of Non-Governmental International Organisations.

18. In addition to the organisations listed in the brief report of the Chairman of the Governing Body, the following organisations have accepted the invitation to attend the Conference which was addressed to them:

International Association of Crafts and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises.

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1 See Second Part, p. 215.
2 See p. 488.
3 See Appendix I, p. 474, and Second Part, p. 12.
Appendix II: Credentials

International Federation of Chemical and General Workers’ Unions.
International Federation of Christian Trade Unions of Salaried Employees, Technicians, Managerial Staff and Commercial Travellers.
International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees.
International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers.
International Union of Family Organisations.
Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom.
World Union of Catholic Women’s Organisations.
World Young Women’s Christian Association.

Objections.

19. The Committee has before it several objections to the credentials of certain delegates and advisers. It is examining these and will not fail to submit, as soon as possible, reports relating thereto.

* * *

20. The Credentials Committee submits the present report to the Conference in order that the Conference may take note of it.

Geneva, 7 June 1965.

(Signed) B. ZANETTI,
Chairman.

P. SCHADE POUlsen,
Bertil Bolin.
Objections to the Nomination of the Chinese Delegation.

1. The Committee had before it objections to the nomination of the Chinese delegation submitted by the delegations of Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine and the U.S.S.R.

2. The objections are based on the assertion that only the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and not the Government of the Republic of China, is legally competent to appoint the delegation.

3. Similar objections have been presented to all sessions of the Conference since 1950. On each occasion the Credentials Committee has noted that the General Assembly of the United Nations has recommended that the position it adopts on conflicting claims to represent a State should be taken into account by the specialised agencies. Consequently, the Committee has always taken the view that the I.L.O. should so far as possible take the same position as the United Nations.

4. As in prior years the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China continue to be seated in the General Assembly, and no decision has so far been taken on the proposal for their exclusion. Under these circumstances the Credentials Committee finds that the situation remains the same as at the last session of the Conference and, as on that occasion, it therefore finds that it cannot accept the objections.

Objection to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegate of Israel.

5. The Credentials Committee had before it an objection to the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Israel, submitted by the National Labour Federation in Eretz-Israel.

6. The objection is based on the assertion that the General Federation of Labour, to which the Workers' delegate of Israel belongs, is not an independent trade union but the tool of a political party. The objection also claims that the General Federation of Labour has no right to represent the workers of Israel inasmuch as it is itself the largest employer in the country. Finally, the objection asserts that the Workers' delegate of Israel has not been chosen in agreement with the organisations which are the most representative of workers.

7. The Committee notes that the arguments put forward by the objecting organisation are essentially the same as those contained in the objection to the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Israel in 1964. This objection was rejected by the Committee and the Conference took note of this decision.

8. On the basis of the information supplied by the objecting organisation, the situation has not changed since last year.

9. Accordingly, the Committee unanimously decides that the objection is irreceivable under article 26, paragraph 4 (d), of the Standing Orders.

Communication concerning the Nomination of the Workers' Delegate of France.

10. The Credentials Committee had before it a letter dated 25 May 1965 sent by the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) which concerned the nomination of the Workers' delegate of France. The C.G.T. requests the Credentials Committee to take note of the recent decision of the French Government henceforth to nominate the Workers' delegate by rotation between the French Democratic Confederation of Labour (C.F.D.T.), the General Confederation of Labour—Force ouvrière (C.G.T.-F.O.) and the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).

11. The C.G.T. moreover requests that it be recalled to the Government that in the absence of a general agreement among the trade union organisations in respect of the present session of the Conference, "the rotation rule should normally have been put into effect with the designation of the C.G.T."

12. At the same time the Committee had before it a letter dated 2 June 1965 from the Minister of Labour of France confirming that the French Government, under the system of rotation between the three most representative workers' organisations, decided to accord the position of French Workers' delegate at the present session of the Conference to the C.F.D.T. (C.F.T.C.).

13. The Credentials Committee, taking note of this decision, appreciates the result of the efforts undertaken by the French Government which, moreover, were in conformity with the views often expressed by the Committee in recent years.

14. As regards the opinion of the C.G.T. that the rotation rule henceforth applicable should have been put into effect as from this session of the Conference with the nomination of a Workers' delegate affiliated to the C.G.T., the Committee notes that this is a matter of judgment to be decided upon by the French Government and not by the Credentials Committee.

15. The Credentials Committee submits the present report to the Conference in order that the Conference may take note of it.

Geneva, 8 June 1965.

(Signed) B. ZANETTI, Chairman.

P. SCHADE POULSEN.
BERTIL BOLIN.

Objections to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegation of Greece.

1. The Credentials Committee had before it objections to the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Greece contained in a telegram from the administration of the Greek Rail-

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1 See Second Part, p. 215.

The present session of the Conference, composed as follows: Dr. Estrella Sahadala, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Constitutional Government, and announcing the nomination of a delegation of the Dominican Republic to the Conference received a telegram from Santo Domingo, signed by Dr. Jottin Cury, Minister of Foreign Affairs, informing him of the formation in the Dominican Republic of a “Government of National Reconstruction”, and enclosing a copy of a telegram on the subject addressed to the “Permanent Delegation” on 11 May 1965 by Mr. Horacio Vicioso Soto, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

On 3 June 1965 the Secretary-General received a Note Verbale from the “Permanent Delegation of the Dominican Republic to the International Organisations in Geneva”, informing him of the formation in the Dominican Republic of a “Government of National Reconstruction”, and enclosing a copy of a telegram on the subject addressed to the “Permanent Delegation” on 11 May 1965 by Mr. Horacio Vicioso Soto, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

On 4 June 1965 the “Permanent Delegation” further informed the Secretary-General that the “Government of National Reconstruction” was, owing to recent events, unable to send representatives to the Conference at the present time, but that that “Government”, legally represented by the “Permanent Delegation”, reserved its position in case of the arrival of another delegation.

On 8 June 1965 the Secretary-General received a telegram from Santo Domingo, signed by Mr. Horacio Vicioso Soto, “Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs”, and informing him that Mr. Manuel Sosa Vassallo and Mr. Salvador Paradas, respectively Ambassador and Honorary Councillor of the Permanent Delegation to the I.L.O., had been appointed Government delegates to the 49th Session of the Conference.

On 9 June 1965 several communications were received from Dr. Claudio Carrón, including a letter to the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, emphasising that only his “delegation” lawfully represented the Dominican Republic at the Conference. At the same time a telegram was received from the “Ambassador of the Dominican Republic to Washington and to the Organisation of American States”, reiterating that only Dr. Sosa Vassallo and any person nominated through him were the representatives of the Dominican Republic at the Conference.

Three of the persons appointed by the “Constitutional Government”, namely Mr. Carrón, Dr. Alburquerque and Mr. Morales, are in Geneva, as well as the two persons appointed by the “Government of National Reconstruction”, Mr. Sosa Vassallo and Mr. Paradas.

Neither the “Constitutional Government” nor the “Government of National Reconstruction” has so far been recognised by any State as the Government of the Dominican Republic.

The question of the capacity of either of these contending authorities to accredit representatives in the name of the Dominican Republic arose recently in the United Nations in the following circumstances:

(a) On 5 May 1965 the Secretary-General of the United Nations received a telegram signed by Dr. Jottin Cury, “Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Re-

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**Communications concerning the Workers’ Delegate of Libya.**

Two telegrams concerning the Workers’ delegate of Libya were before the Committee. One was sent by Mr. E. Ghadamsi and the other by Mr. Rajab Neman, GSUFU in Cyrenaica. It seems probable, although verification is not possible, that the former name is that of Mr. El-Gudamsi, Workers’ adviser of Libya at the present session of the Conference, and the latter Mr. Rajab Annahum, the letters standing for the Federation of Libyan Trade Unions in Cyrenaica.

The texts of both communications are essentially similar in stating that the Workers’ delegate of Libya does not represent Libyan workers and calling for an I.L.O. investigation.

Neither of the communications, in the view of the Committee, raises an objection to the credentials of the Workers’ delegate of Libya and, moreover, the information contained in the communications is insufficient to support a possible objection.

In addition, if the first telegram has indeed been sent by Mr. El-Gudamsi, it must be pointed out that, being accredited as Workers’ adviser of Libya, any possible objection on his part to the credentials of the Workers’ delegate of Libya would be irre receivable under article 26, paragraph 4, of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

7. The Credentials Committee submits the present report to the Conference in order that the Conference may take note of it.

Geneva, 9 June 1965,

(Signed) B. ZANETTI
Chairman.

P. SCHADE POULSEN.
BERTIL BOLIN.

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(5) Fourth Report of the Credentials Committee

**Representation of the Dominican Republic.**

1. On 2 June 1965 the Secretary-General of the Conference received a telegram from Santo Domingo, signed by Dr. Jottin Cury, “Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Constitutional Government”, and announcing the nomination of a “delegation of the Dominican Republic” to the present session of the Conference, composed as follows: Dr. Estrella Sahadala, Deputy Minister of Labour”, and Dr. Claudio Carrón, “Government delegates”; Dr. Rafael Alburquerque, “Government adviser”; Mr. Manuel Fernández Mármol, “Employers’ delegate”; and Mr. Próspero Morales, “Workers’ delegate”.

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*See Second Part, p. 216.*
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public", informing him that the "Constitutional Government" had appointed Mr. Rubén Brache as Permanent Representative ad interim of the Dominican Republic to the United Nations. On 10 May the Secretary-General received a telegram from the "Government of National Reconstruction" confirming Ambassador Guarao Velázquez—who already occupied the post of Permanent Representative—in his functions. On the same date the Secretary-General received a letter from Mr. Guarao Velázquez informing him of the composition of the "Government of National Reconstruction". Several other communications were received between 10 and 13 May. One communication from the "Constitutional Government" indicated that Dr. de Soto was replaced by Mr. Rubén Brache as Permanent Representative of the Dominican Republic to the United Nations. Both Mr. Rubén Brache and Mr. Guarao Velázquez were instructed by their respective authorities to represent the Dominican Republic before the Security Council on the occasion of the examination by the Council of the situation in the Dominican Republic.

(b) Following the receipt of these various documents, the Secretary-General submitted a report to the Security Council (document S/6353) "concerning the credentials of representatives of the Dominican Republic". After setting out the facts, the Secretary-General came to the following conclusions:

8. From the statements which were made in the Security Council and the communications received from the United Nations, it is apparent that the situation in that country is still unclear as to which of the contending authorities constitutes the government of the country. Furthermore, no information is available as to which of the contending authorities is regarded as the government by a majority of States Members of the United Nations.

9. In the light of the circumstances mentioned above, the Secretary-General feels that at this stage he does not have sufficient information to formulate, in pursuance of rule 15 of the provisional rules 1 of procedure of the Security Council, any opinion as to the adequacy of the credentials which have been submitted.

(c) At its sitting of 14 May 1965, presided over by the representative of Malaysia and attended by representatives of Bolivia, China, France, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Netherlands, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay, the Security Council took note, without objection, of the report of the Secretary-General.

(d) There has been no other decision on this subject of the United Nations since that date modifying the situation.

9. The Credentials Committee notes that this is the first time in the history of the I.L.O. that "delegations" have been appointed by bodies which are not recognised by any State Member of the Organisation as the government of the country which they claim to represent.

10. The Committee further considers it appropriate to recall—

1 Rule 15 provides that the credentials of representatives on the Security Council shall be examined by the Secretary-General who shall submit a report to the Security Council for approval. (Note appended to original text.)

(a) the terms of the resolution adopted on 14 December 1950 by the General Assembly of the United Nations and recommending that, whenever more than one authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a State, the attitude adopted by the General Assembly concerning any such question should be taken into account in other organs of the United Nations and in the specialised agencies; and

(b) the decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office of 10 March 1951 to draw the attention of the International Labour Conference to that resolution in order that the Conference take into account the position adopted by the United Nations.

11. In the light of the considerations and facts set out above, and in particular in the light of the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, cited in paragraph 8 above, which the Security Council decided, without objection, to take note of, the Credentials Committee does not consider it possible to diverge from the conclusion of the Secretary-General that he was not able at this stage to formulate any opinion as to the adequacy of the credentials which had been submitted. The Committee thus considers that it is not at present able to conclude that either the "Constitutional Government" or the "Government of National Reconstruction" is competent validly to communicate the composition of a delegation to the International Labour Conference in accordance with article 3, paragraph 8, of the Constitution. Consequently, it is the view of the Committee that the Dominican Republic cannot at this stage be considered as being represented at this session of the Conference and that therefore the above-mentioned communications do not call for any action.

Geneva, 10 June 1965.

(Signed) B. ZANETTI
Chairman.

P. SCHADE POULSEN.
BERTIL BOLIN.

(6) Fifth Report of the Credentials Committee, 1

Objection to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegate of Somalia.

1. The Committee had before it a telegram and letter from the Somali Workers' Confederation containing an objection to the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Somalia. The Committee had also before it a letter from the General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in which that organisation expressed its support of the objection raised by the Somali Workers' Confederation.

2. The objection is based on the claim that the objections organisation represents the majority of trade unions in Somalia whereas the delegate nominated by the Government does not represent Somali workers and was merely a tool of the Government. Moreover, it was
alleged that the Government had cancelled the nomination of a representative of the objecting organisation.

3. The Committee heard the Government delegates of Somalia who explained that there exist four central trade union organisations in Somalia, all of which are independent of the Government. The Workers' delegate is Secretary-General of the General Confederation of Workers and the Workers' adviser is President of the African Confederation of Workers of Somalia. They further explained that the trade union situation in their country was at present unstable and that the Government did not at this time know the number of members represented by any of the central trade union organisations in Somalia, nor their relative strength. The Government consequently convened all four organisations in an effort to have these four organisations agree among themselves on a representation. Upon failure of agreement in this regard, the four organisations nevertheless agreed, according to the Government representatives, that the selection of the Workers' representatives be effected by drawing lots. In this manner two representatives were selected, one of whom was a member of the objecting organisation. When the Government thereafter decided that it could finance the participation of only one Workers' representative at the Conference, the delegate to whose credentials objection is raised was nominated after a second drawing of lots. The other organisations were given the possibility of sending an adviser to the Conference at their own expense. Taking advantage of this possibility, the African Confederation of Workers of Somalia sent an adviser to the Conference at its own expense.

4. While the Committee appreciates that there may be difficulties, in a case such as this, in knowing the exact membership of central trade union organisations, it cannot but express its great surprise at the inability of a Government to give an indication regarding the relative strength of the organisations existing in the country. Moreover the Committee feels constrained to recall that under paragraph 2 (a) of article 13 of the I.L.O. Constitution, member States are required to pay the travelling and subsistence expenses not only for delegates but also for advisers included in their delegation to the Conference.

Communication concerning the Nomination of the Workers' Delegate of Panama.

7. The Credentials Committee had before it a communication dated 1 June 1965, and despatched on 2 June, from the Federation of Workers of the Republic of Panama.

8. It is not clear what interpretation should be placed on this communication since it seems to relate to the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Panama to the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference, without, however, expressly requesting the invalidation of the credentials of the delegate in question but rather an I.L.O. investigation of the trade union situation in the Republic of Panama.

9. Irrespective of the above, the communication from the Federation of Workers of the Republic of Panama was only received by the Secretary-General of the Conference on 9 June 1965, i.e. after the expiry of the time limit of 72 hours laid down in article 26, paragraph 4 (a), of the Standing Orders (the name of the Workers' delegate of Panama appeared in Addendum No. 2 to the Provisional List of Delegations and Secretariat, published on 3 June 1965).

10. The Credentials Committee can therefore only conclude that this communication, in so far as it might constitute an objection, is irreceivable in accordance with the above-mentioned provision of the Standing Orders.

11. The Credentials Committee submits the present report to the Conference in order that the Conference may take note of it.

Geneva, 10 June 1965.

(Signed) B. ZANETTI,
Chairman.

P. SCHADE POULSEN.
BERTIL BOLIN.

(7) Sixth Report of the Credentials Committee.¹

Objection to the Nomination of a Workers' Adviser of Morocco.

1. The Committee had before it an objection from the Moroccan Federation of Labour (U.M.T.) concerning the nomination of Mr. Smires, one of the two Workers' advisers of Morocco. This adviser belongs not to the U.M.T. but to the Moroccan General Federation of Labour (U.G.T.M.).

2. The objection, contained in a telegram from the U.M.T., was supplemented by a letter from Mr. ben Seddik, Workers' delegate of Morocco and himself Secretary-General of the U.M.T.

3. In addition, the Committee heard first Mr. ben Seddik and then Mr. Gourja, Government adviser and substitute delegate of Morocco, who were good enough to afford certain clarifications.

4. In substance, according to Mr. ben Seddik, the U.G.T.M. has only an extremely small number of active members and therefore no representative character. It engages in no social or trade union activities in Morocco and is only an artificial creation of the Government aimed at competing with the U.M.T. At the last proportional representation elections of staff delegates of undertakings in Morocco the U.G.T.M. obtained practically no posts. Finally, Mr. Smires, who was not nominated with the agreement of the U.M.T., is in no way qualified to represent the workers of Morocco; moreover, he exercises no trade union functions.

5. Mr. Gourja explained to the Committee the circumstances in which the Workers' delegation of Morocco to the 49th Session of the Conference was nominated. He indicated that only the U.M.T. and the U.G.T.M. were at this time sufficiently representative to be considered in designating the delegation to the Conference.

6. In fact, at the staff delegate elections of 1964 (to the extent that the results are available) the U.M.T. obtained 63.1 per cent. of the total votes cast (as opposed to 56.3 per cent. in 1963) and 76.5 per cent. of the votes of unionised workers (the same percentage as in 1963); the U.G.T.M. obtained 16.8 per cent. of the total votes cast (as opposed to 13.6 per cent. in 1963) and 20.4 per cent. of the votes of unionised workers (as opposed to 18.4 per cent. in 1963).

7. In these circumstances the Moroccan Government convened representatives of the U.M.T. and the U.G.T.M. with a view to determining the composition of the Workers' delegation of Morocco to the 49th Session of the Conference. The Government attempted in vain to arrive at an agreement between the two organisations. Considering that the I.L.O. Constitution calls for consultation of the organisations which can be considered as the most representative and not only of the numerically largest organisation, with a view to nominating Workers' representatives, and relying in this regard on Advisory Opinion No. 1 of the Permanent Court of International Justice (which deals particularly with countries where there is trade union plurality), the Moroccan Government finally decided to grant the position of delegate and one of the two advisers' position to candidates of the U.M.T. and the second adviser position to one of the candidates of the U.G.T.M.

8. Finally, Mr. Gourja informed the Committee that Mr. Smires is at present Deputy Secretary-General of the central executive of the U.G.T.M.

9. The Credentials Committee, having before it this diverse information, notes that the assertions of Mr. ben Seddik and the allegation that the U.G.T.M. is neither representative nor a true trade union organisation are at variance with the explanations of the representative of the Moroccan Government. Thus the Committee is not able to conclude that the Government has not respected the provisions of the I.L.O. Constitution as regards the nomination of a Workers' adviser and it decides therefore not to accept the objection.

Objection to the Nomination of the Government Delegates and the Workers' Delegate of Viet-Nam.

10. The delegation of Viet-Nam at the 49th Session of the Conference is composed as follows: Mr. Phan-Trong-Nhiêm and Mr. Nguyễn-Thoai, Government delegates; Mr. Nguyễn-Vân-Lân, Employers' delegate; Mr. Bùi-Khắc-Chiên and Mrs. Nguyễn-Thi-Hai, Employers' advisers; Mr. Quyên-Trần-Hưu, Workers' delegate; and Mr. Trần-Quốc-Bưu, Workers' adviser.

11. By a letter dated 4 June 1965 the Workers' delegates of the U.S.S.R., Congo (Brazzaville) and Cuba lodged a joint objection against the credentials of Mr. Phan-Trong-Nhiêm and Mr. Nguyễn-Thoai, Government delegates of Viet-Nam, and those of Mr. Quyên-Trần-Hưu, Workers' delegate of that country, and demanded the invalidation of the credentials in question.

12. The objectors submit essentially that recent military and political events have changed the situation in South Viet-Nam, that consequently the authorities which nominated the Government and Workers' delegates in question are at present without power and hence no longer entitled validly to make such nominations, and that the Federation of Trade Unions for the Liberation of the Workers of South Viet-Nam alone—and not the Vietnamese Confederation of Labour, to which Mr. Quyên-Trần-Hưu belongs—is representative of the workers of Viet-Nam.

13. Viet-Nam is not a Member of the United Nations and the question of the representation of Viet-Nam thus has not arisen in that Organisation. The Committee recalls that since the admission of Viet-Nam to the I.L.O. in 1950, the credentials of the delegates have been established by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam. It notes that the objectors—whose objection is aimed less at the nomination of the Vietnamese representatives at the present session of the Conference than at the present situation in Viet-Nam—have not shown that the events to which they refer have changed the legal situation of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam nor that the delegates at the Conference do not represent that country. The Credentials Committee is of the opinion that nothing in the Constitution of the Organisation would permit it, in these circumstances, to reject credentials established by the same authority as in the preceding years.

14. In so far as the credentials of the Workers' delegate of Viet-Nam are concerned, the only remaining question before the Committee is to determine whether this delegate has been
designated in conformity with paragraph 5 of article 3 of the Constitution, that is to say, whether he has been designated in agreement with the industrial organisations which are most representative of the workers of the country. The Committee can only find that the objection contains no proof that the Vietnamese Confederation of Labour, to which the delegate in question belongs, does not possess the representative character required by the Constitution.

15. Under these circumstances the Committee reaches the conclusion that the objection in its entirety must be set aside.

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16. The Credentials Committee submits the present report to the Conference in order that the Conference may take note of it.


(Signed) B. ZANETTI,
Chairman.

P. SCHADE POULSEN.
BERTIL BOLIN.

_(8) Seventh Report of the Credentials Committee._

Objection to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegate of the Malagasy Republic.

1. The Committee had before it a letter, dated 4 June 1965 and mailed on 9 June, from the Federation of Petroleum Workers, the Tolon'ny Mpiasan'ny Lalamby Malagasy (Railway Workers), the National Federation of Civil Servants, the Malagasy Federation of Free Trade Unions—F.O., and the Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Madagascar.

2. This communication was received by the Secretary-General of the Conference on 14 June 1965.

3. As the name of the Workers' delegate of the Malagasy Republic appeared in Addendum No. 3 to the Provisional List of Delegations and Secretariat, published on 4 June 1965, the objection arrived after the expiry of the time limit of 72 hours laid down in paragraph 4 (a) of article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

4. The Credentials Committee therefore finds that the objection is irreceivable under the above-mentioned provision of the Standing Orders.

Objection to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegate of Morocco and One of His Advisers.

5. The Committee had before it a letter from the Moroccan General Federation of Labour (U.G.T.M.), dated 14 June 1965 and handed over on the same day in Geneva to the Chairman of the Credentials Committee. This letter contained an objection to the credentials of Mr. ben Seddik, Workers' delegate, and Mr. Kenfaoui, Workers' adviser of Morocco.

6. The Committee points out that the names of the Workers' delegate and adviser in question appeared for the first time in Addendum No. 2 to the Provisional List of Delegations and Secretariat, published on 3 June 1965. The objection thus arrived after the expiry of the time limit of 72 hours laid down in paragraph 4 (a) of article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

7. The Credentials Committee therefore finds that the objection is irreceivable under the above-mentioned provision of the Standing Orders.

Objection to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegate of Uruguay.

8. The Committee had before it a letter dated 2 June 1965 from the National Convention of Uruguayan Workers.

9. This communication was anonymously deposited with the secretariat of the Credentials Committee on 14 June 1965.

10. As the name of the Workers' delegate in question appeared for the first time in the Provisional List of Delegations and Secretariat, published on 2 June 1965, the objection arrived after the expiry of the time limit of 72 hours, laid down in paragraph 4 (a) of article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

11. The Credentials Committee therefore finds that the objection is irreceivable under the above-mentioned provision of the Standing Orders.

Objection to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegate of Uganda.

12. The Credentials Committee had before it an objection to the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Uganda lodged by the Uganda Trade Union Congress.

13. In essence, the objecting organisation alleges that the nomination of the Workers' delegate, the Secretary-General of the Federation of Uganda Trade Unions (F.U.T.U.), was improper under paragraph 5 of article 3 of the Constitution. It is asserted that this delegate was not chosen in agreement with the Uganda Trades Union Congress (U.T.U.C.) which is the most representative workers' organisation in Uganda, nor was the U.T.U.C. consulted before such designation was made.

14. The objecting organisation submitted certain statistics to show that an overwhelming majority of the unionised workers of Uganda belonged to trade unions affiliated with the U.T.U.C. rather than to the F.U.T.U. or to non-affiliated unions. The objecting organisation further supports its allegations by stating that at previous sessions of the Conference the Workers' observers and delegates of Uganda had been drawn from the U.T.U.C.; that it was the U.T.U.C. which had signed, on behalf of all Uganda workers, the national Industrial Relations Charter which was drafted with the
support of the Government, and that the U.T.U.C. had been recognised by the Government in connection with participation in various consultative bodies at the national level. In a general manner, the objection asserts that the F.U.T.U. is not representative of the workers of Uganda.

15. The Committee heard Mr. Owor and Mr. Nyagahima of the Government delegation of Uganda.

16. In essence the Government representatives asserted that while in the past the U.T.U.C. had enjoyed the support of the greatest number of workers in Uganda, the situation had changed recently. A good number of unions previously affiliated with the U.T.U.C., and cited in the objection as still being so affiliated, had transferred their allegiance to the F.U.T.U., with the result that the latter organisation was undoubtedly the majority central trade union organisation, although the U.T.U.C. still enjoyed a considerable degree of support. The Government representatives affirmed that the U.T.U.C. was not consulted as regards the composition of the Workers' delegation to the present session of the Conference nor was it offered the possibility of putting forward a candidate for either a delegate or adviser position. Because the situation was so clear as regards the majority status of the F.U.T.U., and further because the U.T.U.C. allegedly had evinced no interest in the work of the I.L.O. (not having replied to the Government's solicitation of comments from it in connection with items on the agenda of this session of the Conference), the Government decided, in its discretion, to consult only the F.U.T.U. in nominating the Workers' delegation.

17. The Committee then heard Mr. Luande, President of the U.T.U.C., who signed the objection on behalf of that organisation. He reaffirmed the allegations set out in the objection, and particularly the statistics purporting to show the majority support of the U.T.U.C. by the workers of Uganda. He knew of no recent disaffiliation of unions from the U.T.U.C. Furthermore, the U.T.U.C. had not received for comments any documents from the Government concerning the Conference agenda.

18. It is clear from the record before the Committee that there is a wide variance between the allegations of the objecting organisation and those of the Government representatives, particularly as regards the relative strength of the U.T.U.C. and the F.U.T.U. It is equally clear that regardless of whether it is the numerically stronger or weaker organisation, the U.T.U.C. continues to command sufficient support of the workers of Uganda to be considered a representative workers' organisation in that country. It is also undisputed that the agreement of the U.T.U.C. was not sought nor was it consulted in the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Uganda.

19. Paragraph 5 of article 3 of the Constitution provides:

5. The Members undertake to nominate non-Government delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries.

20. Certainly, agreement cannot always be reached. But genuine consultations undertaken in good faith are essential. In Advisory Opinion No. 1 of the Permanent Court of International Justice—which relates particularly to countries where there are several representative organisations—it is stated, in particular with regard to the obligation laid down in paragraph 5 of article 3 of the Constitution, that:

The engagement . . . is not a mere moral obligation. It is a part of the Treaty and constitutes an obligation by which the parties to the Treaty are bound to one another. The obligation is, that the persons nominated should have been chosen in agreement with the organisations most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be. There is no definition of the word "representative" in the Treaty. The most representative organisations for this purpose are, of course, those organisations which best represent the employers and the workers respectively. What these organisations are, is a question to be decided in the particular case, having regard to the circumstances in each particular country at the time when the choice falls to be made. Numbers are not the only test of the representative character of the organisations, but they are an important factor; other things being equal, the most numerous will be the most representative. The article therefore throws upon the Government of the State the duty of deciding, on the data at its disposal, what organisations are, in point of fact, the most representative. . . .

The only object of the intervention of industrial organisations, in connection with the selection of delegates and technical advisers, is to ensure, as far as possible, that the Governments should nominate persons whose opinions are in harmony with the opinions of employers and workers respectively. If, therefore, in a particular country there exist several industrial organisations representing the working classes, the Government must take all of them into consideration when it is proceeding to the nomination of the Workers' delegate and his technical advisers. Only by acting this way can the Government succeed in choosing persons who, having regard to the particular circumstances, will be able to represent at the Conference the views of the working classes concerned. . . .

The aim of each Government must, of course, be an agreement with all the most representative organisations of employers and workers, as the case may be; that, however, is only an ideal which is extremely difficult to attain. . . .

What is required of the Government is that they should do their best to effect an agreement, which, in the circumstances, may be regarded by the Government as the purpose of ensuring the representation of the workers of the country.

21. In the view of the Credentials Committee the U.T.U.C. belongs to the category of organisations with which agreement should have been sought. No attempt to reach such an agreement was made and, indeed, the Government did not even consult that organisation.

22. The Committee can only conclude that the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Uganda was made in a manner which departs from the principles reflected above. Even if, as the Government contends, the F.U.T.U. represented the majority of the workers, this would not justify the fact that the U.T.U.C. was not consulted prior to the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Uganda.

23. There may, of course, have been a misunderstanding as to the real meaning of the Constitutional provision relating to the appointment of non-Government delegates.

24. Taking all these factors into account, as well as the fact that the relative strength
of the two organisations concerned is not clearly established the Credentials Committee does not consider that it can invalidate the credentials of the Workers' delegate concerned.

25. However, the Credentials Committee feels bound to appeal very strongly to governments to conform strictly to the letter and spirit of Constitutional provisions when appointing non-government delegates. Arbitrary choice of a delegate by a government, without any effort at genuine consultation to reach an agreement with the most representative organisations, may constitute an abuse which, if it is not remedied, could lead to a situation which would be dangerous for the entire Organisation, since the real interests of employers and workers would be in danger of being seriously affected.

Objections to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegation of Spain.

26. Objections to the nomination of the entire Workers' delegation of Spain were received from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions in a single joint communication, and from the World Federation of Trade Unions.

27. The objections allege that the designation was not made in conformity with paragraph 5 of article 3 of the Constitution since the Workers' delegate and advisers were drawn from an organisation which is not representative of workers but rather an instrument of the State, free and representative trade unions having been repressed in Spain. Moreover allusion is made to a number of cases during the last year of repression of legitimate trade union activities and of criminal prosecution of certain workers' leaders, which have allegedly taken place.

28. Analogous objections have been lodged against the nomination of Spanish Workers' delegations to the Conference on several occasions in the past. The first objection was made at the 1956 Session of the Conference at which time the Workers' member of the Credentials Committee recommended invalidation of the credentials in question. After discussion in plenary session, this recommendation was rejected by the Conference by 48 votes in favour, 124 against, with 59 abstentions. At subsequent sessions of the Conference, in 1958, 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964, the Credentials Committee, having before it similar objections, found them irreceivable under the terms of paragraph 4 (d) of article 26 of the Standing Orders which provides that an objection shall not be receivable if it "is based upon facts or allegations which the Conference, by a debate and decision referring to identical facts or allegations, has already discussed and recognised to be irrelevant or devoid of substance". It is to be noted, however, that in so doing the Committee, on each of these subsequent occasions, was careful to note that it was in no way basing its decision on a finding that the Workers' delegation of Spain was designated by the Government in accordance with the basic principles of the International Labour Organisation.

29. The Committee finds that the objections this year have not demonstrated that substantial new facts have arisen and thus further finds that the situation is essentially the same as it was in 1956 and in subsequent years.

30. The Committee therefore concludes that the objections are once again irreceivable under paragraph 4 (d) of article 26 of the Standing Orders. Nevertheless the Committee wishes once again to let the Conference know the extent to which it remains concerned at the trade union situation existing in Spain. At the same time certain information given to this session of the Conference by the Minister of Labour of Spain seems to indicate possible changes in the present situation. The Committee would sincerely hope that these changes will soon materialise and lead to results which are in conformity with the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

31. The Credentials Committee submits the present report to the Conference in order that the Conference may take note of it.


(Signed) B. ZANETTI, Chairman.

P. SCHADE POULSEN.

BERTIL BOLIN.

(9) Eighth Report of the Credentials Committee.

Objections to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegation of Congo (Brazzaville).

1. The Committee had before it an objection lodged by the African Trade Union Confederation (A.T.U.C.) against the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Congo (Brazzaville). The Committee further received a joint letter from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions in which these organisations support the objection lodged by the A.T.U.C.

2. The objectors claim that the Workers' delegate of Congo (Brazzaville), Mr. Diallo, Secretary-General of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation (C.S.C.), and his adviser were nominated in violation of article 3, paragraph 5, of the Constitution. In their view, the nomination of the delegate and adviser in question was not made in agreement with the most representative workers' organisation existing in Congo (Brazzaville).

3. The objectors recall that Law No. 40/64 of 17 December 1964 established the Congolese Trade Union Confederation (C.S.C.), following a decision taken by a Merger Congress held

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in 1964, in which participated the African General Confederation of Labour, the Congolese Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Congolese Civil Servants and Government Employees, the Federation of Independent Institutions and the Federation of Postal Workers. The same Law decreed the dissolution of all other central trade union organisations in the country. However, the objectors maintain that the African Confederation of Believing Workers (C.A.T.C.), and not the C.S.C., remains the most representative workers' organisation in Congo (Brazzaville). In fact the C.A.T.C. "has kept its identity and legal personality as it has withdrawn from the Merger Committee" which had prepared the Merger Congress. They submit that this Law contravenes not only the Constitution of Congo (Brazzaville) but also the Freedom of Association and Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 57), which Congo (Brazzaville) has ratified. They therefore consider that at the facts have not been dissolved by an illegal law and as it remains the most representative trade union organisation, it should have been consulted, in accordance with article 3, paragraph 5, of the Constitution, in connection with the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Congo (Brazzaville). In support of this argument, the objectors adduce further the fact that the elections of staff delegates of undertakings, which were scheduled to be held in November-December 1964—after the Merger Congress—could not be held because the workers, instead of supporting the lists of the C.S.C., presented lists sponsored by the C.A.T.C. in all undertakings, even those where no C.A.T.C. list had previously been presented.

4. The Minister of Labour and Social Welfare of Congo (Brazzaville) was good enough to give certain oral information to the Committee and to submit at the same time a written statement in reply to the objection. In this written statement the Minister indicates in particular the following:

... The Congolese people sees in the unity of the working masses an essential factor in the phase of the consolidation of its political independence and of the building of the national economy;... This preoccupation is again reflected in the statutes of the National Movement of the Revolution, in the elaboration of which Mr. Gilbert Pongault, Vice-President of the African Trade Union Confederation, the organisation which signed the objection analysed above, and a large C.A.T.C. delegation participated actively... these statutes provide for, among other parallel bodies of the Party, a single central trade union organisation called the Congo Trade Union Confederation...

... Law No. 40/64 of 17 December 1964 is the embodiment in form, the appropriate legal form, of this will of the people;... the law of 17 December 1964 expressly decrees the dissolution of all central trade union organisations other than the Congo Trade Union Confederation...

5. The Minister's written statement then affirms that the A.T.U.C. cannot question the constitutionality of this Law since:

... Under the terms of the Constitution adopted by the Congolese people on 8 December 1963 (article 30, paragraph 2), the President of the Republic alone is competent to request, before promulgation, the review by the Supreme Court of the constitutionality of laws voted by the National Assembly;... the President of the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) duly promulgated Law No. 40/64 which, moreover, received the required publication and duly entered into force several months before the present session of the International Labour Conference.

It then indicates that the A.T.U.C.:

... cannot either speak of violation of international labour Convention No. 87, as the working class, an integral part of the Congolese people, has, through the constitutional machinery of representative democracy, rejected trade union plurality;... it is absolutely wrong to believe that only trade union plurality guarantees the principle of freedom of association; that the thesis of the violation of this principle could have been admitted if the Congolese workers' movement had been unified by an administrative decision; this was not the case, since the decision took the form of a law, the sovereign expression of the free will of the nation.

6. The Minister of Labour concluded his written statement on this point by indicating that:

... the above-mentioned law must be considered in the light of the foregoing as a valid legal act; that it has deprived the C.A.T.C. and the other central workers' organisations, apart from the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, of their legal personality; that consequently, the Congolese Trade Union Confederation being the only workers' organisation legally recognised in the Republic of the Congo, the designation of the C.A.T.C. delegate and adviser from this organisation could only be made and had only to be made in agreement with that organisation and only that organisation.

7. As regards the election of staff delegates in undertakings, the information provided by the Minister of Labour indicates that such elections were not prevented by the attitude of the Congolese workers but rather they had been deferred until the publication of a text on the institution of staff delegates, a text taking into account the provision of the new Labour Code (Law No. 10/64 of 25 June 1964) and the new legal situation created by Law No. 40/64 concerning the establishment of a single central trade union organisation... The written statement of the Minister explained that this text had been published in May 1965 and that the elections would take place on 23 June 1965.

8. Finally, in his written statement, the Minister renewed the invitation that had already been twice extended to the Committee on Freedom of Association to visit the Congo (Brazzaville) to inquire on the spot into the trade union situation in the country.

9. The Committee also heard the Workers' delegate of Congo (Brazzaville) to whose credentials the objection was raised. He explained the circumstances in which the decision to establish a single trade union organisation had been taken in Congo (Brazzaville). He stated to the Committee that the C.A.T.C. had been invited to participate in the November 1964 Merger Congress but that for reasons of which he was not aware but which he thought were due to the fear of that organisation of being in the minority, the C.A.T.C. had finally refused to participate. He affirmed that all the C.A.T.C. leaders, except one who had been arrested exclusively for national security reasons, were free and that some of them were to be reintegrated into the trade union movement. Finally, the delegate stated that out of some 57,000 wage earners in the private sector and 12,000 public servants, 10,000 workers had recently bought membership cards in the C.S.C.

10. The Committee next heard the representatives of the African Trade Union Con-
federation (A.T.U.C.). These representatives reaffirmed the information contained in the objection. Moreover, they explained that the C.A.T.C. had always sought unified trade union action in Congo (Brazzaville). The C.A.T.C., however, considered that trade unions should remain independent of the government, employers and political parties since they had to defend the interests of a well-defined segment of the population. These representatives indicated that the C.A.T.C. had decided at its own Congress to withdraw from the Merger Committee and not to participate in the November 1964 Merger Congress because it considered that it was not in the interest of the workers to support a unified trade union system, the role of which would be to become a section of the single national party and which would thus merely reflect the decisions of the party vis-à-vis the workers. In addition, these representatives reaffirmed that all of the C.A.T.C. leaders had either been arrested or placed in a situation where they were no longer able to exercise any trade union activity, or even murdered. They also explained that the party in power had recruited unemployed persons and formed them in armed bands in order to sack the buildings belonging to the trade unions of believing workers.

11. After recalling their stand in regard to Law No. 40/64, the representatives of the A.T.U.C. stated that in their opinion there was no doubt that the C.A.T.C. was the most representative workers' organisation in Congo (Brazzaville). This was demonstrated by the fact that in the past at least 50 per cent. of the total of some 340,000 workers in the private sector of Congo (Brazzaville) were affiliated or this organisation and also by the fact that the Government had recently requested to resume negotiations with the C.A.T.C.

12. Having before it this information, the Credentials Committee is of the opinion that the essential point upon which its decision depends is whether Law No. 40/64 of 17 December 1964 is illegal as the objectors claim. It must therefore accept the existence of this law. The Committee can consequently only find that under the terms of this law there is at present only one legally existing trade union organisation, the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, legally existing in Congo (Brazzaville), and all the other central trade union organisations—including the C.A.T.C.—have been dissolved. The C.A.T.C. has so far been the most representative workers' organisation of Congo (Brazzaville), and it is on this basis that the Workers' delegates of this country at previous sessions of the International Labour Conference were chosen among the members of this organisation. Had the Law of 17 December 1964 not been adopted, it is possible that the Workers' delegate of Congo (Brazzaville) would have had to be nominated in the same manner as in previous years. But in the circumstances described above—however regrettable the adoption of this law may seem to the members of the Credentials Committee—the Committee can only find that the Workers' delegate of Congo (Brazzaville) and his adviser were nominated in consultation with the only legally existing trade union organisation.

13. It may be questioned in the first place, as suggested by the objecting organisations, whether this law is in conformity with the Constitution of Congo (Brazzaville). However the Credentials Committee cannot judge the constitutionality of national laws, this being a question of internal law.

14. In the second place it may be questioned, as also suggested by the objecting organisations, whether the Law of 17 December 1964 is compatible with the international obligations of Congo (Brazzaville) deriving from its membership of the I.L.O. and particularly with the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), which was ratified by this country on 10 November 1960, i.e. four years before the promulgation of the above-mentioned law. The members of the Committee cannot but think that there is a contradiction between the Law of 17 December 1964 and the obligations deriving from the Convention, but it is not for the Committee, within its terms of reference, to undertake a legal examination of a question concerning the compatibility between national legislation and an international labour Convention. Apart from any possibility of redress existing at the national level, the I.L.O. has special procedures for the examination of questions concerning the relationship between national legislation and international labour Conventions and these questions must be dealt with in good and due form. It is for the Conference or the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to take the required steps in this connection.

15. In these circumstances the Credentials Committee cannot, within its terms of reference, presume that the Law of 17 December 1964 is illegal as the objectors claim. It must therefore accept the existence of this law. The Committee can consequently only find that under the terms of this law there is at present only one trade union organisation, the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, legally existing in Congo (Brazzaville), and all the other central trade union organisations—including the C.A.T.C.—have been dissolved. The C.A.T.C. has so far been the most representative workers' organisation of Congo (Brazzaville), and it is on this basis that the Workers' delegates of this country at previous sessions of the International Labour Conference were chosen among the members of this organisation. Had the Law of 17 December 1964 not been adopted, it is possible that the Workers' delegate of Congo (Brazzaville) would have had to be nominated in the same manner as in previous years. But in the circumstances described above—however regrettable the adoption of this law may seem to the members of the Credentials Committee—the Committee can only find that the Workers' delegate of Congo (Brazzaville) and his adviser were nominated in consultation with the only legally existing trade union organisation.

16. The Credentials Committee—despite all the concern it feels at the facts described above—cannot therefore, within the strict framework of its terms of reference, reach the conclusion that the Government of Congo (Brazzaville) has violated paragraph 5 of article 3 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

17. The members of the Committee unanimously wish to affirm categorically that their decision is dictated only by the obligation incumbent upon them to apply strictly the rules governing the terms of reference of the Committee. As regards the aspects of the problem which fall outside their competence, and particularly those arising out of the adoption of the Law of 17 December 1964, the members of the Committee note that such aspects are at present being examined by the Committee on Freedom of Association of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, which has before it complaints against the Government of Congo (Brazzaville). The members of the Committee express the hope that this examination will lead to concrete proposals regarding the
legal situation in Congo (Brazzaville) in the near future.

18. At the same time, the members of the Committee, also unanimously, wish to let the Conference know the extent to which they remain preoccupied by the trade union situation resulting in Congo (Brazzaville) from the adoption of the Law of 17 December 1964, which has abolished in law a major trade union organisation against its own will.

**Objections to the Nomination of the Workers' Delegation of Portugal.**

19. The Credentials Committee had before it two objections to the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Portugal to the present session of the Conference, one submitted jointly by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and the other submitted by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

20. In substance the objections assert that the delegation could not have been designated in conformity with the I.L.O. Constitution for the following reasons:

(a) representative workers' organisations cannot exist in Portugal since the trade unions in that country are, in fact and in law, government dominated and controlled institutions;

(b) African workers in the Portuguese overseas provinces are denied fundamental trade union rights;

(c) the Portuguese Government continues to take repressive action against strikes and other forms of collective action on the part of workers.

21. Further, the objection of the World Federation of Trade Unions alleges that since the last session of the Conference there has been an aggravation of repressive action taken against workers seeking to assert their rights. For its part the objection of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions asserts that investigations by the I.L.O. and the United Nations prove that the objection is well founded. These two objecting organisations refer particularly to the conclusions of the Committee on Freedom of Association communicated to the Portuguese Government in June 1963, and the latter's reply of 25 January 1964 stating that the Government would not fail to take these conclusions into account in the revision of its labour legislation. In this regard it is asserted that despite these assurances freedom of association is not respected by the Portuguese Government.

22. Analogous objections were made to the nomination of the Portuguese Workers' delegation each year since 1961. In that year the Credentials Committee decided that in view of the limited time and means at its disposal, it could not investigate such important and extensive questions of fact as were involved. In its opinion questions of this kind should rather be examined and decided by means of the machinery existing in the I.L.O. for the purpose, such as the Governing Body Committee on Freedom of Association. Consequently the Committee concluded that it could not recommend invalidation of the credentials of the Workers' delegation of Portugal.

23. In 1962 the Credentials Committee, after having found that the arguments put forward by the objectors were identical to those of the previous year, again noted that the questions of fact raised by the objections fell rather within the competence of the I.L.O. freedom of association machinery. The Committee arrived at the conclusion that it could not recommend invalidation of the credentials of the Workers' delegation of Portugal.

24. In 1963 the Committee found that the objection was irreceivable under paragraph 4 (d) of article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference because it was “based upon facts or allegations which the Conference, by a debate and decision referring to identical facts or allegations, has already discussed and recognised to be irrelevant or devoid of substance”. However, at the same time, the Committee stated that it wished to make clear that its decision did not in any way involve a finding on the allegations made in the objection in relation to the status of trade unions in Portugal.

25. In 1964 the Committee similarly found the objections irreceivable under paragraph 4 (d) of article 26 of the Standing Orders while, at the same time, stating that its decision was dictated solely by the obligation laid on the Committee to apply strictly the rules concerning its terms of reference.

26. The Committee, this year, does not find that any substantial new facts have been advanced in support of the objections. From a legal point of view, the alleged aggravation of repressive action cannot be considered as a fact which could substantially change the situation as it existed at the time of the last session of the Conference.

27. As regards the question of freedom of association, upon which the objections are to a large extent based, the Committee can only note that this question is still before the Committee on Freedom of Association which in its 74th Report (February 1964) noted the above-mentioned reply of 28 January 1964 of the Government of Portugal and recommended the Governing Body to request the Government to be good enough to keep it informed of any developments in the situation. Although it appears that no such developments have been notified to the Governing Body or its Committee on Freedom of Association, the Credentials Committee is not in a position to find that any possible lack of action in this regard on the part of the Portuguese Government would juridically constitute a new fact, particularly since the entire matter is still in the hands of the Committee on Freedom of Association.

28. Since, in the view of the Credentials Committee, no substantial new facts have been adduced in the objections submitted this year,
the Committee cannot depart from its position on this issue in 1963 and 1964. Thus, in strict observance of its mandate, it can only find the objections irreceivable under paragraph 4 (d) of article 26 of the Standing Orders. In so doing, however, the Committee feels obliged to express its deep concern regarding the present trade union situation in Portugal, and more particularly in Angola and Mozambique. The Committee considers that the objections concerning the Workers' delegation of Portugal, which it has had before it year after year are based on important considerations relating to freedom of association and to political questions which, the Committee must recall, are beyond its own competence and are being, and have been for a long time, closely examined by those bodies which are seized of it.

29. The Credentials Committee submits the present report to the Conference in order that the Conference may take note of it.


(Signed) B. ZANETTI, Chairman.

P. SCHADE POULSEN.
BERTIL BOLIN.
APPENDIX III

Resolutions

(1) Resolutions Submitted in Accordance with Article 17 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING PAID EDUCATIONAL LEAVE, SUBMITTED BY MR. BEERMANN, WORKERS' DELEGATE, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AND MR. HERNANDEZ, WORKERS' DELEGATE, PHILIPPINES

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Noting that the development of modern society, which is largely conditioned by scientific and technological progress, calls for an education which can no longer be provided solely through general schooling or vocational training of the conventional type, so that contemporary man requires continuing education up to a mature age,

Noting that modern working life both in industrialised and in developing countries calls increasingly for higher and new skills which workers can acquire only through further general education and vocational training,

Noting that such education enables workers in the developing countries to participate more effectively in the task of economic and social development of their countries and constitutes a positive contribution to the implementation of economic and social development plans,

Noting that workers more especially, who are dependent on their wage or salary, must either sacrifice free time intended for recreation or renounce the possibility of continuing their education, and that it is therefore in their interest that new forms of further education be developed and encouraged;

1. Calls on the governments of all States Members of the International Labour Organisation as well as on the employers' organisations and trade unions to ensure, both by statutory means and through collective agreements, that, in addition to the holidays with pay intended for recreation purposes, workers are entitled to adequate paid educational leave in order to give them the opportunity and incentive to acquire the further education which they need to carry out their duties at the workplace and assume their responsibilities in public life.

2. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General to compile information on existing legislative and collective agreement provisions relating to paid educational leave in the States Members of the International Labour Organisation.

3. Invites the Governing Body to request the Director-General to undertake surveys with a view to the adoption by the International Labour Conference of a Recommendation concerning paid educational leave.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION, SUBMITTED BY MR. ABID ALI, WORKERS' DELEGATE, INDIA; MR. FAUPL, WORKERS' DELEGATE, UNITED STATES; AND MR. MÖR, WORKERS' DELEGATE, SWITZERLAND

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice and industrial democracy,

Considering that social justice both at national and international levels cannot be achieved without closely associating workers' and employers' organisations with all stages of policy and decision-making dealing with social and economic development,

Considering that at the international level the International Labour Organisation provides the only forum within the framework of the United Nations family in which representatives of governments and employers' and workers' organisations can meet on an equal footing,

Considering that on the basis of its structure and in accordance with the aims and purposes as formulated in its Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia the International Labour Organisation is the United Nations agency best equipped for promoting social progress throughout the world,

Considering in particular that the activities of the International Labour Organisation in the industrial field, their results and the experience gained have proved to be of basic value for the over-all activities of the Organisation and very often indispensable for its activities in the field of technical co-operation and standard-setting,

Considering the great contribution which the Industrial Committees and analogous bodies have made to the activities of the Organisation in the industrial field,
Considering that the particular social problems of a number of industries and sectors of employment as well as of the public services have not yet been adequately covered by I.L.O. action,

Considering that tripartite and joint meetings dealing with social problems common to groups of industries or sectors of employment could supplement in a useful way the activities of the International Labour Organisation in the industrial field,

Considering that technical research work based on continuous observation and analysis of developments in industries and in the public sector carried out for each major industry by specialists of the International Labour Office is necessary to service adequately the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering the need for expanding and intensifying the activities of the International Labour Organisation in the industrial field as a basis for an expansion of the over-all activities of the Organisation in the field of technical co-operation and standard-setting;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General—

(1) in the context of the reorganisation of the International Labour Office, to strengthen the activities of the Organisation in the industrial field;

(2) to intensify and expand the activities of the Industrial Committees and analogous bodies of the International Labour Organisation, including coverage of industries or sectors of employment which have not yet been dealt with by the Organisation;

(3) to consider in particular the early establishment of a joint committee for the public service;

(4) to consider the convening of tripartite and joint meetings to deal with social problems common to groups of industries or sectors of employment;

(5) to strengthen those sections of the International Labour Office which service the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation, in particular by entrusting technical research work to specialists appointed for each major industry and sector of employment whose responsibility it should be to follow developments in these industries and sectors on a permanent basis.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT OF DOMESTIC WORKERS, SUBMITTED BY MR. THONDAMAN, WORKERS’ DELEGATE, CEYLON

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that in a number of member countries, both developed and less developed, domestic workers in many cases are either not protected at all or only insufficiently by legislation or other provisions concerning their working and living conditions,

Considering the urgent need to provide for domestic workers in all member countries the basic elements of protection which would assure to them a minimum standard of living, compatible with the self-respect and human dignity which are essential to social justice,

Considering that in many member countries a considerable lack of experience exists in establishing minimum standards of working conditions in domestic employment,

Considering that as early as 1936 an I.L.O. committee dealing with holidays with pay adopted a resolution calling upon the Governing Body to place on the agenda of an early session of the Conference the question of the conditions of employment of domestic workers,

Considering the resolution concerning the conditions of employment of domestic workers adopted by the Thirty-first (1948) Session of the International Labour Conference requesting the Governing Body to consider the advisability of placing on the agenda of an early session of the Conference the question of the status and employment of domestic workers,

Considering the conclusions of the Meeting of Experts on the Status and Conditions of Employment of Domestic Workers which was held from 2 to 6 July 1951, in accordance with a decision of the Governing Body adopted at its 112th (Geneva, June 1950) and 113th (Brussels, November 1950) Sessions,

Considering the resolution concerning the conditions of employment of domestic workers adopted by the Second African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation (Addis Ababa, 30 November to 11 December 1964) inviting the Governing Body to request the Director-General to undertake studies and research on the problems of domestic workers with a view to improvement of their living and working conditions;

1. Urges member States to make all possible efforts to promote the introduction of protective measures for domestic workers.

2. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General—

(a) to intensify studies and research on the problems of domestic workers;

(b) to consider the possibility, on the basis of these studies and research, of placing on the agenda of an early session of the Conference the question of conditions of employment of domestic workers with a view to the adoption of an international instrument.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF DISABLED PERSONS, SUBMITTED BY MR. RADAY, GOVERNMENT DELEGATE, ISRAEL

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Recalling the provisions of the Vocational Rehabilitation (Disabled) Recommendation, 1955,

Considering the progress in mechanisation and automation since the adoption of the above Recommendation,

Reaffirming the importance of the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons;
Requests the International Labour Office to collect information on the measures and techniques employed by member countries in training disabled persons for employment in the new forms of activity which are consequent upon the progress in mechanisation and automation.

Resolution Condemning the Government of Portugal on the Grounds of the Forced Labour Policy Practised by the Said Government in Territories under its Administration, Submitted by Mr. Kamel, Government Delegate, United Arab Republic

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Whereas the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation provides that universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice and 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,

Whereas the International Labour Conference has adopted the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957,

Whereas the Government of Portugal has ratified those Conventions but, nevertheless, has failed to give effect to them in territories under its administration, as has been proved by the United Nations and International Labour Organisation "Ad Hoc" Committee on Forced Labour in 1953 and the Committee appointed by the Governing Body in 1962 in accordance with article 26 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation,

Whereas the United Nations General Assembly has noted in its resolution 1819 (XVII) of 1962 that in the territory of Angola, as in other Portuguese colonies, the indigenous population is denied all fundamental rights and freedoms, that racial discrimination is in fact widely practised and that the economic life of Angola is to a large extent based on forced labour;

1. Condemns the forced labour policy practised by Portugal in the territories under its administration.

2. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to abandon the policy of forced labour practised in territories under its administration.

Resolution Concerning Equitable Geographical Representation of All States Members of the International Labour Organisation in Its Governing Body as Well as Equitable Geographical Distribution of Elective Offices at Sessions of the International Labour Conference and the Governing Body, Submitted by Mr. Chajn, Government Delegate, Poland, and Mr. Polyanichko, Government Delegate, Ukraine

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that in the course of the last 20 years the membership of the International Labour Organisation has undergone basic changes,

Considering that in particular the number of States Members has increased from 41 States represented in Philadelphia in 1944 to 113 in 1965,

Considering that the number of States Members from Asia has increased within that period about fivefold and that of States Members from Africa more than tenfold,

Considering that the international character of the Organisation and respect for the sovereignty and equality of States Members make it necessary to ensure to all equal participation in the work of all organs of the Organisation and in the taking of decisions at all levels of its organisational structure,

Considering that that course has already been taken by other international organisations and in particular by the United Nations which has adopted constitutional measures to increase the membership of its organs,

Considering that any delay in this respect would jeopardise the regular functioning of the International Labour Organisation;

Decides:

1. To adopt as a basis for ensuring equitable geographical distribution of offices in all organs and bodies of the International Labour Organisation the following pattern of distribution between the various regions of the world:

   (1) Africa and the Arab States, (2) Asia, (3) Latin America, (4) Eastern Europe, (5) Western Europe and other States.

2. To observe the following pattern of distribution of offices in elections to the Governing Body:

   (1) in the Government group—

      (a) four representatives from Asia;
      (b) eight representatives from Africa and the Arab States;
      (c) four representatives from Latin America;
      (d) three representatives from Eastern Europe;
      (e) five representatives from Western Europe and other States;

   (2) in the Workers' group and the Employers' group—

      (a) two representatives from Asia;
      (b) four representatives from Africa and the Arab States;
      (c) two representatives from Latin America;
      (d) two representatives from Eastern Europe;
      (e) two representatives from Western Europe and other States.

3. To observe the principle of geographical rotation in the election of the President of the Conference and the Chairman of the Governing Body.
4. To ensure in the elections of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference and Chairmen of the Conference Committees:

- two seats to representatives from Asia;
- three seats to representatives from Africa and the Arab States;
- two seats each to the representatives of Latin America and of Eastern Europe;
- three seats to representatives from Western Europe and other States.

5. In the event of the setting up of additional Conference Committees, to assign the offices of chairmen to representatives of the African, Arab and Latin American States.

Resolution concerning the Carrying Out by the International Labour Organisation of Studies of the Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament Submitted by Mr. Polyanichko, Government Delegate, Ukraine

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Convinced that economic and social progress is closely bound up with the preservation and consolidation of peace,

Recognising the immense importance of disarmament for the preservation of peace and the achievement of more rapid progress in the economic and social fields for the benefit of mankind,

Fully sharing the hope expressed by the General Assembly and by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development that the governments of all States will intensify their efforts to achieve an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control,

Considering that studies of the economic and social aspects of disarmament, which might serve as a basis for the formulation of principles and methods for determining a policy of economic and social reconstruction, are of primary importance for the improvement of the situation of workers and that this places an even greater responsibility on the International Labour Organisation in this field,

Taking account of the information provided by the Director-General concerning the progress of international studies and activities aimed at securing a fuller knowledge of the social and economic consequences of disarmament,

Having regard to the agreement reached in the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination concerning the preparation of concerted programmes of work and the co-ordination of all studies of the economic and social consequences of disarmament carried out by the United Nations, the specialised agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the establishment for that purpose of the Inter-Agency Committee,

Welcoming the statement made by the Director-General concerning the intention of the International Labour Organisation to provide the fullest possible co-operation in the implementation of that agreement,

Taking account of the fact that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in its resolution 1026 (XXXVII) of 11 August 1964, deemed it necessary that the activities of the United Nations system of organisations, including the regional economic commissions, the specialised agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, relating to the economic and social consequences of disarmament as called for by resolutions of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the policy-making bodies of the specialised agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, should be continued and accelerated as far as possible,

Taking account of the report on the economic and social consequences of disarmament (document E/3898 of 3 July 1964) submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the 37th Session of the Economic and Social Council;

1. Instructs the Director-General to prepare and submit to the Inter-Agency Committee, for inclusion in the concerted programme of studies of the economic and social consequences of disarmament, a proposal for the carrying out by the International Labour Office of such studies on that subject as are directly within the field of competence of the International Labour Organisation.

2. Requests the Director-General to keep the General Conference and the Governing Body informed of the activities of the Inter-Agency Committee.

Resolution concerning the Protection of the Rights of Spanish Workers Submitted by Mr. Tabor, Workers' Delegate, Yugoslavia

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that the International Labour Organisation is responsible for protecting the rights of workers throughout the world and for supervising the fulfilment of commitments arising out of the international standards adopted in the fields of freedom of association and protection of trade union rights,

Bearing in mind that 1965 has been proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Co-operation Year, with the warm support of the International Labour Organisation in its capacity as a specialised agency of the United Nations,

Aware that Spanish workers are deprived of their most elementary rights, such as the right of association and the right to strike, and that each attempt by the workers to secure those rights is brutally repressed by the police, by means of arrests and by indicting workers before special military courts and sentencing them to many years' imprisonment or death,

Considering that the Spanish Government pays no heed to the views expressed by the
International Labour Organisation with respect to freedom of association, including the numerous recommendations made by the Committee on Freedom of Association of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office,

Bearing in mind that efforts are being made in Spain to break by torture, threat of death, murders, and prison or death sentences, the resistance of democratic trade unionists who are fighting for the rights of the workers,

Having regard to the numerous complaints and appeals addressed to the International Labour Organisation by national and international trade union organisations of all tendencies with respect to the above-mentioned facts, which are in flagrant contradiction with the principles laid down in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and the Declaration of Philadelphia;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to call upon the present Spanish Government—

(1) to recognise and guarantee freedom of association, particularly trade union freedom;

(2) to grant Spanish workers the right to strike and to abolish discrimination in respect of hiring against those workers who are fighting for trade union rights;

(3) to recognise the right of free expression and, in the first place, the freedom of the trade union press;

(4) to allow Spanish workers to be represented by their true representatives in the International Labour Organisation;

(5) to declare a complete amnesty and free all prisoners arrested during the struggle for trade union rights.

(2) First Report of the Resolutions Committee.1

1. The Resolutions Committee, appointed by the Conference at its first sitting on 2 June 1965, was composed of a total of 123 voting members: 66 Government members, 24 Employers’ members and 33 Workers’ members.

2. The Committee elected its officers as follows:

Chairman and Reporter: Mr. Aguilar, Government member, Venezuela.

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Verschueren, Employers’ member, Belgium, and Mr. Kaplansky, Workers’ member, Canada.

3. The Committee had before it eight resolutions submitted in accordance with article 17 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.2 These resolutions were moved by their authors and the Committee determined the order in which the first five should be considered by it in accordance with the procedure established in article 17, paragraph 5 (a), of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

4. The first five resolutions thus selected were the following:


2. Resolution concerning the conditions of employment of domestic workers, submitted by Mr. Thondaman, Workers’ delegate, Ceylon.


4. Resolution concerning the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by Mr. Abid Ali, Workers’ delegate, India; Mr. Faupl, Workers’ delegate, United States; and Mr. Möri, Workers’ delegate, Switzerland.

5. Resolution concerning the carrying out by the International Labour Organisation of studies of the social and economic consequences of disarmament, submitted by Mr. Polyanichko, Government delegate, Ukraine.

6. In accordance with article 17, paragraph 5 (b), of the Standing Orders, the Committee appointed a Working Party to make recommendations as to the order in which the resolutions which were not included in the first five should be examined.

6. The Working Party was composed of the Government members from Canada (Mr. Mainwaring), Tunisia (Mr. Btri) and the U.S.S.R. (Mr. Shkunaev), the Employers’ members from Finland (Mr. Mildh), the United Kingdom (Mr. Miller) and the Lebanon (Mr. Nasr), and the Workers’ members from France (Mr. Bouladoux), Tunisia (Mr. ben Ezzeddine) and Cyprus (Mr. Zivanas).

7. The Working Party, which was chaired by Mr. Shkunaev, recommended unanimously, and the Committee agreed, that the remaining three resolutions to be considered after the first five should be taken in the following order:

6. Resolution condemning the Government of Portugal on the grounds of the forced labour policy practised by the said Government in territories under its administration, submitted by Mr. Kamel, Government delegate, United Arab Republic.

7. Resolution concerning the protection of the rights of Spanish workers, submitted by Mr. Tabor, Workers’ delegate, Yugoslavia.

8. Resolution concerning equitable geographical representation of all States Members of the International Labour Organisation in its Governing Body as well as equitable geographical representation of elective offices at sessions of the International Labour Conference and the Governing Body, submitted by Mr. Chajn, Government delegate, Poland, and Mr. Polyanichko, Government delegate, Ukraine.

8. The texts of the resolutions, as amended by the Committee in the course of the discussion, were submitted for a final revision to a Drafting Committee.

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1 See Second Part, p. 432.
2 See item 1 of this Appendix, p. 505.
Resolution concerning Paid Educational Leave

9. The original text of this resolution was submitted by Mr. Beermann, Workers' delegate, Federal Republic of Germany, and Mr. Hernandez, Workers' delegate, Philippines.

10. The Workers' members, in supporting this resolution, pointed out that the increasing role played by the workers in the economic and social life of their countries made it imperative that they should have the possibility of continuing their general education up to a mature age. Furthermore, the rapid technological changes occurring in modern society required a continuous adaptation of the workers to new methods of production and made necessary the widening of their occupational skills.

11. The Workers' members maintained, therefore, that the granting of paid educational leave, as distinct from holidays with pay, would go a long way towards affording the possibility of further education and vocational training for those workers who depended for their livelihood solely on their wages or salaries.

12. Several Government members supported the idea which was behind the resolution and some of them recalled to the Committee the arrangements already existing in their countries as regards paid educational leave.

13. The Employers' members recognised the increased educational needs of the workers, but expressed concern as regards the angle from which the proposed resolution approached the subject. They argued that the requirements of civic education mentioned in the resolution were and should be met by the entire community and that employers should not bear the cost. They pointed out that there were methods, other than paid educational leave, by which workers could be afforded an opportunity of continuing their education.

14. The Workers' members, on the other hand, maintained that the resolution was not intended to define or regulate in detail the institution of paid educational leave, but rather to promote this concept in member States of the I.L.O. and to initiate the first steps which might lead to the adoption by the I.L.O. of an international instrument concerning this question.

15. In the course of the discussion of the proposed resolution paragraph by paragraph, the second and third paragraphs of the preamble were combined on the basis of an amendment submitted by the Employers' members and subamended by the Canadian Workers' member, on behalf of the Workers' members.

16. The change thus introduced in the preamble, directed towards achieving more logical and clear drafting, did not involve a change in the substance of the original text.

17. On the suggestion of the Workers' members, the Committee agreed to note in the preamble that some countries had already made progress towards providing paid educational leave.

18. As regards the operative paragraph 1, some Employers' members reiterated their concern at the adverse economic effects that paid educational leave, in the sense suggested by the text under consideration, might have, especially on small undertakings in the developing countries, and they pointed out again that there were other methods, besides paid educational leave, to ensure that workers could enjoy a further education.

19. Consequently, the Employers' members moved an amendment to operative paragraph 1 which, without mentioning paid educational leave, called upon the governments of all States Members to consider the desirability of any measures that could give the workers the opportunity of bringing their skills into line with occupational requirements. The Government member for the United States remarked in this connection that his Government would find it difficult to achieve the aims of the resolution by means of legislation. The Employers' members' amendment was put to the vote and was not adopted.

20. A compromise text was ultimately adopted on the basis of an amendment submitted by the Government members of Canada, Sweden and the United Kingdom and subamended by the Canadian Workers' member. The text of operative paragraph 1, as modified, was adopted without a formal vote, but the Employers' members wished to have their abstention placed on record.

21. The Committee agreed unanimously to amend operative paragraph 2 in order to recall that there existed other means, beyond paid educational leave, to achieve the desired aims of workers' further education.

22. The Committee also agreed unanimously to substitute for the word "Recommendation" in operative paragraph 3, the words "an international instrument".

23. By 396 votes in favour, 264 against, with 4 abstentions, the Committee adopted the revised text of this resolution and submits it to the Conference for approval:

"Resolution concerning Paid Educational Leave"

"The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,"

"Noting that such education enables workers in the developing countries to participate more effectively in the task of economic and social development of their countries and constitutes a positive contribution to the implementation of economic and social development plans,"

"Noting that some countries have already made progress towards providing a measure of paid educational leave for workers,"
“Noting that workers who are dependent on their wage or salary, to the extent that they do not yet benefit from paid educational leave, must either sacrifice free time intended for recreation or forgo the possibility of continuing their education, and that it is therefore in their interest that new forms of further education be developed and encouraged;

“1. Calls on the governments of all States Members of the International Labour Organisation as well as on the employers’ organisations and trade unions to take effective action by statutory means, through collective agreements or any other means, according to national practice, towards ensuring the access of workers to various types of paid educational leave, as distinct from holidays with pay for recreational purposes, in order to give them the opportunity and incentive to acquire the further education and training which they need to carry out their duties at the workplace and assume their responsibilities as members of the community.

“2. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General to compile information concerning legislative and collective agreement provisions and other arrangements relating to paid educational leave, existing in the States Members of the International Labour Organisation, as well as the methods employed in such States to ensure to workers who benefit from educational leave compensation for wages or salary lost.

“3. Invites the Governing Body to request the Director-General to undertake surveys in the light of the above-mentioned studies with a view to the adoption by the International Labour Conference of an international instrument concerning paid educational leave.”

Resolution Concerning Conditions of Employment of Domestic Workers

24. The original text of this resolution was submitted by Mr. Thondaman, Workers’ delegate, Ceylon. Its purpose was to intensify the research work of the Office as regards the conditions of employment of domestic workers, with a view to including this question in the agenda of an early session of the Conference. This was welcomed by Government, Employers’ and Workers’ members of the Committee.

25. In the course of the general discussion it was observed that domestic workers were in an especially weak position because they were highly dispersed, and because, in view of the absence of employers’ organisations, it was not normally possible to regulate their conditions of employment through collective agreements.

26. Some members of the Committee pointed out that legislation had been passed in their countries with a view to protecting domestic workers. It was generally admitted, however, that in most countries, and in particular in developing countries, the conditions of employment of domestic workers were in need of improvement.

27. It was recalled that the I.L.O. had convened, in 1951, a Committee of Experts which had considered such questions as the contract of employment, the conditions of work, social security and training of domestic workers and had recommended that the I.L.O. take further action in this field with a view to the adoption of international regulations.

28. Mention was also made of the resolution adopted by the Second African Regional Conference of the I.L.O., inviting the I.L.O. to undertake studies and research on the problems of domestic workers, with a view to improvement of their living and working conditions.

29. In the course of the consideration of this resolution paragraph by paragraph, the preamble was adopted without change, and the following amendments to the operative paragraphs were all adopted unanimously: (i) in operative paragraph 1 the Committee wished to indicate that the protective measures that member States were being urged to promote should include hours of work and other conditions of employment as well as training and should be in accordance with I.L.O. standards (amendment submitted by the Government member of the United States and subamended by the Canadian Workers’ member); (ii) in operative paragraph 2 (a) the Committee wished to indicate that the studies and research to be undertaken by the Office should cover domestic workers in both rural and urban areas, paying special attention to women workers (amendment submitted by the Government member of Spain); (iii) the Committee agreed on a new paragraph 2 (b) inviting the Governing Body to request member States to make available to the Office a comprehensive study on the legal provisions pertaining to domestic workers in their respective countries (amendment submitted by the Government member of Spain); (iv) the Committee agreed on a new paragraph 2 (c) inviting the Governing Body to consider convening a second meeting of experts to examine, inter alia, the possibility of drafting a model contract or code of guiding principles for the protection of domestic workers (amendment submitted by the Workers’ members); (v) as a consequence of these changes, the original paragraph 2 (b) with minor drafting amendments became paragraph 2 (d) of the text as adopted.

30. The Committee unanimously adopted the revised text of this resolution and submits it to the Conference for approval:

“Resolution concerning the Conditions of Employment of Domestic Workers

“The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

“Considering that in a number of member countries, both developed and developing, domestic workers in many cases are either not protected at all or only insufficiently by legislation or other provisions concerning their working and living conditions,

“Considering the urgent need to provide for domestic workers in all member countries the basic elements of protection which would assure to them a minimum standard of living, compatible with the self-respect and human dignity which are essential to social justice,

“Considering that in many member countries a considerable lack of experience exists
in establishing minimum standards of working conditions in domestic employment,

"Considering that as early as 1936 an International Labour Organisation committee dealing with holidays with pay adopted a resolution calling upon the Governing Body to place on the agenda of an early session of the Conference, the question of the conditions of employment of domestic workers,

"Considering the resolution concerning the conditions of employment of domestic workers adopted by the 31st (1948) Session of the International Labour Conference requesting the Governing Body to consider the advisability of placing on the agenda of an early session of the Conference the question of the status and employment of domestic workers,

"Considering the conclusions of the Meeting of Experts on the Status and Conditions of Employment of Domestic Workers which was held from 2 to 6 July 1951, in accordance with the decisions of the Governing Body adopted at its 112th (Geneva, June 1950) and 113th (Brussels, November 1950) Sessions,

"Considering the resolution concerning the conditions of employment of domestic workers adopted by the Second African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation (Addis Ababa, 30 November to 11 December 1964) inviting the Governing Body to request the Director-General to undertake studies and research on the problems of domestic workers with a view to improvement of their living and working conditions;

"1. Urges member States to make all practicable efforts to promote the introduction of protective measures for domestic workers, such as hours of work and other conditions of employment, as well as the training of such workers in accordance with International Labour Organisation standards.

"2. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—

(a) to request the Director-General to intensify studies and research on the problems of domestic workers in both rural and urban areas, directing particular consideration to the problems of women workers;

(b) to request the member States to make available to the Office a comprehensive report on the legal provisions pertaining to domestic workers in their respective countries;

(c) to consider convening a second meeting of experts including, among others, participants from employers' and workers' organisations, to examine, inter alia, the possibility of drafting a model contract or a code of guiding principles for the protection of the working and living conditions of domestic workers;

(d) to consider, on the basis of the above studies and research, placing on the agenda of an early session of the Conference, the question of conditions of employment of domestic workers with a view to the adoption of an international instrument."

**Resolution Concerning Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons**

31. In introducing his resolution, Mr. Raday, Government member, Israel, pointed to the passage of ten years since the I.L.O. had adopted its Recommendation on this subject, and the subsequent rapid development in techniques of training disabled and physically handicapped workers coupled with technological advances which had opened new vistas for the utilisation of such workers. This in turn meant that the collection and dissemination of the experiences of member States in training and employing these workers was both timely and important.

32. The Workers' members announced their unanimous approval of the resolution and their deep interest in adding and accepting amendments which would strengthen the intention and principles of the original draft text. They were primarily interested in providing adequate machinery for the dissemination of generally applicable practical experience and suggested that the existing Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations could be employed in the first instance to this end.

33. The Employers' members also indicated their agreement with the purposes of the resolution. They believed that this was an activity ideally suited to the I.L.O.—the collection and dissemination among member States of information of vital interest and of a constructive nature.

34. Each of the Government members who spoke indicated his full approval of the intentions of the resolution. They indicated the scope and nature of the experience within their countries concerning the rehabilitation and employment of disabled workers. Almost all agreed that the rapid advance of automation had given rise to many new places in industry which were appropriate to the employment of the handicapped and disabled.

35. An amendment requesting the addition of a new preambular paragraph was submitted by the Workers' members. Based on many of the comments of Government members during the general discussion concerning their countries' experiences, the effect of this amendment was to point out that progress in mechanisation and automation should influence the methods and techniques of training disabled persons. This amendment was adopted unanimously.

36. The Workers' members stated that it was clearly time to collect and collate information on the degree to which member States had implemented the Vocational Rehabilitation (Disabled) Recommendation, 1955. Such an inquiry would be the logical starting point for the action recommended by the resolution. To this end, the Workers' members moved an amendment to the resolution adding an additional operative paragraph which, in substance, invited the Governing Body to request member States to furnish reports to the Director-General on law and practice in regard to the 1955 Recommendation, to request the Director-General to convene a tripartite meeting of experts to study the problems of training and rehabilitating disabled workers in the light of
recent developments, and to request the Director-General to collect and disseminate information on the methods and techniques of such training employed by member States.

37. As general agreement was voiced that the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations was a proper body to collect the experience of the member States which had implemented the Recommendation, the Employers' members moved a subamendment to the effect that it should be made clear that the inquiry on the law and practice in member States be the responsibility of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. The same subamendment added to the subparagraph requesting the Director-General to convene a meeting of experts a direction that such a meeting should be convened in the light of the inquiry undertaken to collect information on law and practice. The amendment, as subamended, was adopted.

38. The Committee agreed that, in accordance with the definition contained in the Vocational Rehabilitation (Disabled) Recommendation, the term 'disabled person' means an individual whose prospects of securing and retaining suitable employment are substantially reduced as a result of physical or mental impairment.

39. The Committee adopted unanimously the following revised text of the resolution which it submits to the Conference for approval:

"Resolution concerning Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons"

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Recalling the provisions of the Vocational Rehabilitation (Disabled) Recommendation, 1955,

Reaffirming the importance of the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons,

Considering the progress in mechanisation and automation since the adoption of the above Recommendation,

Considering that this progress should affect the methods and techniques of training disabled persons;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to—

(a) request member States to furnish reports to the Director-General on their law and practice in regard to the matter dealt with in the Recommendation with a view to consideration of the matter by the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations;

(b) request the Director-General of the International Labour Office to collect and disseminate information on the measures and techniques employed by member States in the rehabilitation and training of disabled persons for new forms of employment;

(c) request the Director-General, in the light of the above, to consider at an appropriate moment the convening of a meeting of experts, including, among others, persons from workers' and employers' organisations, in order to study the problem in the light of new developments."

Resolution concerning the Industrial Activities of the International Labour Organisation

40. The original text of this resolution was submitted by Mr. Abid Ali, Mr. Faupl and Mr. Möri, Workers' delegates of India, the United States and Switzerland respectively. According to its authors, the resolution was directed at strengthening the activities of the Organisation in the industrial field which had lagged behind, and granting the requisite attention to industries such as the public services, which had been neglected owing to lack of resources. An opportunity to exchange views between representatives of workers and employers, particularly in the Industrial Committees, and a strengthening of the appropriate departments of the International Labour Office should be conducive to that purpose, and should hence provide a stimulus for all the activities undertaken by the Organisation in this field.

41. In the course of the general discussion, a certain number of Government members stressed the importance they attached to I.L.O. activities in the industrial field in the broad sense, of which Industrial Committees were only one element. The adoption of a resolution on the subject should lead not so much to a mere extension of existing practice as to a critical examination of the problem with a view to clearing the way for new solutions and giving such activities their proper place within a broad and coherent framework. They thought it particularly desirable to lay emphasis on the possibility of future changes and to exclude detailed proposals, so as not to tie the hands of the Governing Body and of those of its organs which, like the Committee on Industrial Committees and the Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O., had undertaken and should pursue an examination of all aspects of the subject, whether they had been discussed by the Conference or not, and should recommend a solution only after careful study of the requirements of the situation.

42. While agreeing that I.L.O. activities in the industrial field were of interest and recognizing the importance of the role which Industrial Committees could play, a few Government members criticised certain aspects of current practice and the tone of the resolution. To their mind, the I.L.O. was in no position to pride itself on playing an exclusive role with regard to social progress and to ignore the action taken by the United Nations and by other specialised agencies, particularly at a time when the I.L.O. should be showing a greater willingness to adjust to the requirements of rapid industrial development, especially in developing countries. Another shortcoming of Industrial Committees was connected with their membership, in which all regions of the world and all economic and social systems did not have an equal share.

43. The Government member of Iran suggested that, in the light of the already quite considerable progress made in the review of the Industrial Committees, the International Labour Office might consider carrying out, as
44. The Employers’ members also emphasised the importance they attached to I.L.O. activities in the industrial field, and noted that the Industrial Committees had played a useful role, in particular in promoting co-operation between employers’ and workers’ organisations of the industrial sectors concerned and an exchange of views on industrial social problems at an international level. They underlined, moreover, the necessity of introducing greater flexibility into the industrial activities of the I.L.O., improving the advisability of dealing with the problems of the public service, which were distinct from those of industry. The question was also asked whether there should be any mention of particular sectors such as the public service or small-scale industries, the importance of which was, however, recognised by the Committee as a whole.

45. Besides these remarks on questions of principle, members of the Committee discussed certain particular points mentioned in the resolution. For example, certain objections were made, in particular by the Government members of Afghanistan, Iran and the United States, condemning the advisability of dealing with the problems of the public service, which were distinct from those of industry. The question was also asked whether there should be any mention of particular sectors such as the public service or small-scale industries, the importance of which was, however, recognised by the Committee as a whole.

46. Although the importance of regional activities was not underrated, there was no unanimity on the nature and forms of such activities. There was also some criticism of the effectiveness of bipartite meetings, but it appeared to the Committee that this arrangement might be preferable in certain particular fields, and should not be excluded in general without more extensive consideration.

47. The Workers’ members strongly urged the necessity of attaching prime importance to the welfare of the workers, and laid much stress on the fact that I.L.O. activities in the industrial field were the keystone of the action undertaken by the Organisation to that end. By providing an opportunity for direct confrontation of the views of workers and employers on the practical problems peculiar to each industry and for informing developing countries, which would be faced with the same problems tomorrow, of the current problems of industrialised countries, Industrial Committees were playing a key role. These Committees did not deserve the criticism they had received. Their effectiveness had suffered chiefly from budgetary limitations. Labour-management relations in the public service could not be neglected at a time when the State was becoming a steadily bigger employer, not immune from the problems facing industrial employers. Many industries had common problems, such as vocational training and safety and health, and technological change was breaking down the dividing-lines between traditional industries. To carry out the task which the Workers’ members proposed for the I.L.O., it would be essential to strengthen the appropriate department of the International Labour Office.

48. In the course of the detailed examination of the text of the resolution, the second to fifth paragraphs of the preamble were criticised, in particular by the Government member of the U.S.S.R., on the ground that they were ambiguous, contained unjustified assertions on the role of the I.L.O., and included a complaisant display of principles which were contradicted by the method followed in applying them. However, most of the members took the view that, while amendments might be desirable, there could be no question of overlooking the general philosophy of I.L.O. action which was reflected in these paragraphs. In view of the manifest opposition of a majority of members, the Government member of the U.S.S.R. withdrew his proposal to delete the paragraphs in question, and these paragraphs were then discussed in turn.

49. In the course of this discussion the Committee rejected an amendment submitted by the Employers’ members with a view to substituting for the second and third paragraphs of the preamble a more general text concerning the role of employers and workers in ensuring social peace and economic and social development. On the other hand, the reference to industrial democracy in the second paragraph was deleted by the authors of the resolution because the concept was open to contradictory interpretations.

50. Similarly, it was agreed not to indicate in the third paragraph at what stage workers and employers should be associated with decisions concerning social and economic development, in order to avoid drawing a dividing-line between consultations which would, it was hoped, be extensive, and the prerogatives of the executive and legislative branches of government to which no challenge was intended.

51. In connection with the fourth paragraph, a difference of opinion on the degree of equality prevailing between the groups and within the classes settled by ratified conventions was expressed. The words in question the exact terms used in this connection in the Declaration of Philadelphia. An amendment submitted by the Government member of Iran with a view to deleting any reference to the public services from the eighth paragraph of the preamble, and as well from the operative parts of the resolution, was rejected after an exchange of views.

52. In connection with the fifth paragraph of the preamble, certain members pointed out that the original text attributed to the I.L.O. a pre-eminence which it did not have over the United Nations and the other specialised agencies in the social field. On the other hand, the majority of the Committee laid stress on the special responsibilities of the Organisation, particularly in view of its tripartite structure which was mentioned in the preceding paragraph of the resolution. The original wording was therefore retained. The Government members of Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia asked that their opposition to this paragraph should be recorded.

53. Passing on to the ninth paragraph of the preamble, which called for the convening of meetings to deal with problems common to groups of industries or sectors of employment, the Workers’ members proposed, in order to
facilitate agreement within the Committee, to substitute for the original text a new text providing that particular industrial problems might arise and require I.L.O. action in certain regions of the world. In making this proposal, however, the Workers' members stated that they did not intend to abandon the idea contained in the original text, and reserved the right to take action in the future. The substitute proposed by the Workers' members was adopted by the Committee without opposition.

54. The Employers' members proposed the addition of a paragraph which would have emphasised the need to take a very flexible approach towards the development of I.L.O. activities in the industrial field. While certain Government members lent their support to this view and stated that such flexibility would imply that the existing practice would not merely be pursued on a greater scale without further review, the Workers' members considered that the proposed text was both vague and useless, and that advantage could be taken of it to dispute once more the desirability of activities of undoubted value. The insertion proposed by the Employers' members was not adopted for lack of a quorum.

55. The Committee agreed to render the tenth paragraph of the preamble more flexible in order to emphasise the need for a permanent effort on the part of the International Labour Office with regard to research and the dissemination of information, while defining the field of inquiry which should not be limitless, and leaving a greater freedom in the choice of the methods to be used to attain that objective. Similarly, the Committee agreed to amend the eleventh paragraph of the preamble so as to lay stress on enhancing the effectiveness of I.L.O. activities in the industrial field rather than on their development and expansion, it being understood that such an enhancement could include development and expansion. The Workers' members asked that their opposition to this amendment should be put on record, though they did not insist on a vote.

56. Before concluding its consideration of the preamble, the Committee began to discuss a proposal of the Government member of the U.S.S.R. to introduce an additional paragraph, with corresponding provisions in the operative part, for the purpose of arranging for consideration to be given to measures to ensure equitable geographical representation of States Members of the I.L.O. on the Industrial Committees and similar bodies. The supporters of this proposal considered that States in certain regions, or States with planned economies, were largely excluded by the working of the present system from participation in the work of the Industrial Committees.

57. In reply to the argument that the membership of the Committees was determined through a democratic elective procedure, they stated that the results of that procedure were not in conformity with the principle of geographical representation. It had in any case been necessary for the Governing Body to make corrective action and decide to add one seat to each Industrial Committee in order to make way for one unsuccessful candidate for membership of each, although this had been of little comfort to the many ultimately unsuccessful candidates.

58. In reply it was pointed out by certain Government, Employers' and Workers' members that the principle of geographical representation was recognised and applied; that one-third of the members of Industrial Committees were appointed on the basis of the importance of their respective industries, irrespective of their economic and social system; and that owing to the limited number of seats on Committees there would always be unsuccessful candidates—quite apart from the necessity of making room for the new member States—whereas it would be even more arbitrary to restrict a choice made through free elections.

59. The Government member of the United States also pointed out that there could be no question of reducing the autonomy of employers and workers in determining the composition of their respective groups.

60. In addition, it was pointed out that the measures taken by the Governing Body demonstrated its willingness to ensure a certain equilibrium in the composition of Committees in accordance with the principle it had adopted and in a manner which had at the time received an approval which was now apparently no longer valid.

61. The proposal of the Government member of the U.S.S.R. with regard to the preamble and the corresponding passage of the operative part was rejected by 80 votes in favour, 478 against, with 12 abstentions.

62. The Committee then began its consideration of the operative part of the resolution; this process was facilitated by the decisions already taken on questions of principle in the course of the discussion of the preamble. The discussion on the operative part was based on a form of words submitted by the Workers' members.

63. The introductory portion of the preamble laid stress on the need to consider I.L.O. activities in the industrial field within the general context of the structure and programme of the Organisation. While the first paragraph of the operative part emphasised the importance which members of the Committee were unanimous in attaching to activities in the industrial field, certain members warmly supported the cause of agriculture, which played such an important role in the less industrialised countries. While considering that agriculture should not be mentioned in the resolution, the Committee made a point of stating in its report that the expansion of activities in the industrial field should in no way detract from the attention which the I.L.O. should pay to agriculture.

64. The second paragraph of the operative part of the resolution gave rise merely to an exchange of views with the aim of improving the drafting, and in particular of not prejudicing a very far-reaching review of methods that could improve the effectiveness of activities in the industrial field.
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65. The same concern marked the Committee's discussion, in connection with the third paragraph, of the contribution of activities in the industrial field to the over-all work of the I.L.O. The value of this contribution—particularly as a clearing-house for information—was strongly emphasised, but it was deemed advisable to put on record the general view that without prejudicing the particular forms it could take, which deserved careful consideration, the regionalisation of I.L.O. activities in the industrial field deserved special study, for example with a view to ensuring an adequate response to the needs peculiar to regions in course of development.

66. In relation to the fourth paragraph of the text proposed by the Workers' members for the operative part of the resolution, the principle of the extension of I.L.O. activities to the public sector was not specifically questioned; however, it was agreed that it would be left to the Governing Body and its Working Party on the programme and structure of the Organisation to consider the advisability of the establishment of a bipartite committee for the public service.

67. The Government member of the U.S.S.R. expressed his opposition to the holding of bipartite meetings, the results of which had been disappointing, and insisted on the principle of tripartite meetings, with exceptions only in special cases such as that of the public service. He asked to have put on record his opposition to the text adopted by the Committee on this point.

68. The Committee then examined the proposal of the Government member of Venezuela to insert after the fourth paragraph of the operative part of the resolution a new paragraph providing for consideration of the possibility of setting up an advisory committee on small-scale industries and handicrafts owing to the importance of this sector for developing countries, in terms both of its economic role and of the number of workers employed. This importance was received very willing recognition, but it was agreed to render the text more flexible by extending the range of the measures that could help deal with the problems of these industries. In this connection it was pointed out by the Employers' members that small-scale industries belonged to widely differing sectors of industry and that it would accordingly be desirable to examine the problems of each small-scale industry in the committees already set up for the main industries. Such consideration could be supplemented at a later stage by a meeting for small-scale industries alone, with a view to the consideration of problems common to them all and not peculiar to particular industries. There being no objection, the amendment was adopted.

69. In connection with the fifth paragraph, which had become the sixth as a result of the insertion of the above-mentioned new paragraph, certain members, including the Government member of Iran, expressed reservations concerning the advisability of mentioning the additional requirements of the Office for staffing the activities of the Organisation in the industrial field. The Committee nevertheless agreed to adopt the text proposed by the Workers' members emphasising the need to have sufficient staff to perform all the tasks proposed in the resolution.

70. By 629 votes in favour, none against, with 36 abstentions, the Committee adopted the following revised text of the proposed resolution, which it submits to the Conference for approval:

"Resolution concerning the Industrial Activities of the International Labour Organisation"

"The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

"Considering that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice,

"Considering that social justice both at national and international levels cannot be achieved without closely associating workers' and employers' organisations with policy and decision-making dealing with social and economic development,

"Considering that at the international level the International Labour Organisation provides the only forum within the framework of the United Nations family through representatives of workers and employers enjoy equal status with those of governments,

"Considering that on the basis of its structure and in accordance with the aims and purposes as formulated in its Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia the International Labour Organisation is the United Nations agency best equipped for promoting social progress throughout the world,

"Considering that the activities of the International Labour Organisation in the industrial field, their results and the experience gained have proved to be of basic value for the over-all activities of the Organisation and very often indispensable for its activities in the field of technical co-operation and standard-setting,

"Considering the great contribution which the Industrial Committees and analogous bodies have made to the activities of the Organisation in the industrial field,

"Considering that the particular social problems of a number of industries and sectors of employment as well as of the public services have not yet been adequately covered by International Labour Organisation action,

"Considering that particular industrial problems may arise and require International Labour Organisation action in certain regions of the world, both developing and industrialised,

"Considering that it is necessary for the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation that the International Labour Office should at all times strive to be abreast of developments in the industrial field, including the public service, and of research into industrial matters, and disseminate the information so obtained, and also initiate such additional studies as may be necessary,

"Considering the need of making the activities of the International Labour Organisation in the industrial field more effective;

"Invites the Governing Body, when reviewing the programme and structure of the International Labour Organisation, to request, as
The Programme and Structure of the Organisation, problems of small-scale industry and handicrafts, particularly in developing countries; other appropriate means to examine the tripartite advisory committee and/or utilising national Labour Organisation, for example in the field of standard-setting and technical cooperation, as well as in specific regions of the world; the most appropriate ways and means through which the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation could best contribute to the successful implementation of the over-all programme of the International Labour Organisation, for example in the field of standard-setting and technical cooperation, as well as in specific regions of the world; the convening of tripartite and/or bipartite meetings, as appropriate, both for the private and public sectors to review the situation in the light of the needs and social and economic problems of industries and branches of occupation which have not yet been dealt with by the International Labour Organisation, and to consider the desirability of establishing a joint committee to deal with the problems of the public service; the possibility of setting up a tripartite advisory committee and/or utilising other appropriate means to examine the problems of small-scale industry and handicrafts, particularly in developing countries; ensure that sufficient staff is allocated to keep under continuing study and disseminate information concerning social problems arising out of economic and other developments in the major industries and sectors of employment, in order that the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation may be carried out effectively.

Resolution concerning the Carrying Out by the International Labour Organisation of Studies of the Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament

In presenting the resolution, Mr. Makhinny (Government member, Ukraine) recalled the various steps that had been taken to ensure that the economic and social consequences of disarmament would be the subject of studies by the specialised and other agencies of the United Nations. The special role to be fulfilled in this respect by the I.L.O. was pointed out, particularly in view of the study recently proposed in the report submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the 37th Session of the Economic and Social Council.

In the general discussion, the resolution received the warm support of all the members of the Committee who spoke. The Government members sympathised with the motives and aims of the resolution and many emphasised that, among all the organisations of the United Nations family, the I.L.O. had a special and important role to play, notwithstanding the main responsibility in matters of disarmament which appertained to the United Nations itself.

The Government member of the United Kingdom suggested that the original text could be improved by the inclusion of a reference to the work already undertaken by the I.L.O. in studying the economic and social consequences of disarmament and commending the Secretary-General for this work. The Government members of Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States associated themselves fully with the Government member of the United Kingdom and submitted jointly with him an amendment to that effect.

The Government member of the U.S.S.R. warmly supported the resolution and, without moving any formal amendment, suggested that consideration could usefully be given to the setting up of a special panel of experts to participate in an immediate preliminary study of the social and economic consequences of disarmament as a guide for the Director-General.

The Workers' members announced their full support for the resolution and pointed out that the trade union movement had long insisted that consideration should be given without delay to the social and economic changes which would follow upon disarmament.

The Employers' members agreed that studies of the kind envisaged in the resolution should be undertaken, and, in support of the amendment, the Workers' members, associated themselves with the previous requests that some mention of previous I.L.O. activity in this regard be included in the text.

In the paragraph-by-paragraph discussion of the resolution, the Committee first decided, in accordance with an amendment submitted by the Government members of Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, to make the third paragraph of the preamble follow more closely the wording of General Assembly resolution 1837 on which it was largely based.

The fifth paragraph of the preamble was modified on the basis of an amendment submitted by the Workers' members and another submitted by the Government members of Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, so as to reflect the Committee's feelings that studies of the economic and social consequences of disarmament could be of primary importance and that the International Labour Organisation had a particular responsibility in this field. In addition a separate amendment submitted by the Government member of the United States substituted the words "welfare of workers" for "situation of workers".

Two amendments were incorporated in the sixth paragraph of the preamble: the first, moved by the Government members of Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, referring to the collaboration in the field of; and on the economic and social consequences of disarmament between the Economic Commission for Europe of the United

Appendix III: Resolutions
Nations and the I.L.O., and the second, submitted by the Workers' members, calling for a specific mention of decisions which had already been taken by the I.L.O. in this field.

80. The original wording of the ninth paragraph of the preamble was simplified, without altering the sense, by eliminating some of the detailed references to the United Nations and related agencies, and to resolutions they had adopted.

81. The revision of the operative paragraphs resulted from an amendment submitted by the Government members of Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, taken together with an amendment submitted by the Workers' members. The new text calls upon the Director-General to continue to work closely in this field with the Inter-Agency Committee, to prepare for the information of the Governing Body a report on work already done by the I.L.O. and to keep the Conference and the Governing Body informed of all developments.

82. The Government members of the United States and the Ukraine both made reference to the fact that the various amendments had all been adopted without objection and both observed that a constructive atmosphere and spirit of co-operation had characterised all the work done by the Committee on this resolution.

83. The Workers' and the Employers' members joined in commending the co-operative spirit which had contributed to a final text of the resolution which could command the unanimous approval of the Conference. They congratulated all concerned for arriving at a useful resolution in a very important field.

84. The resolution as amended was unanimously adopted and the Committee submits it to the Conference for approval:

"Resolution concerning the Carrying Out by the International Labour Organization of Studies of the Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament"

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

"Convinced that economic and social progress is closely bound up with the preservation and consolidation of peace,

"Recognising the immense importance of an agreement on disarmament for the preservation of peace and the achievement of more rapid progress in the economic and social fields for the benefit of mankind,

"Fully sharing the hope expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution 1908 (XVIII) and by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development that the governments of all States will intensify their efforts to achieve an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, in accordance with the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for disarmament negotiations, and to achieve agreement on measures which could serve to reduce international tension, lessen the possibility of war and facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament,

"Considering that studies of the economic and social aspects of disarmament, which might serve as a basis for the formulation of principles and methods for determining a policy of economic and social reconversion, could be of primary importance for the improvement of the welfare of workers and that this places a particular responsibility on the International Labour Organisation in this field,

"Taking account of the information provided by the Director-General concerning the progress of international studies, including studies undertaken by the International Labour Office for and in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Europe, as well as activities aimed at securing a fuller knowledge of the social and economic consequences of disarmament, and the decisions which have already been taken by the International Labour Organisation concerning this problem,

"Having regard to the agreement reached in the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination concerning the preparation of concerted programmes of work and the co-ordination of all studies on the economic and social consequences of disarmament carried out by the United Nations, the specialised agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the establishment for that purpose of the Inter-Agency Committee,

"Welcoming the statement made by the Director-General concerning the intention of the International Labour Organisation to provide the fullest possible co-operation in the implementation of that agreement,

"Taking account of the fact that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in its Resolution 1026 (XXXVII) of 11 August 1964, recommended that the activities of the United Nations family of organisations relating to the economic and social consequences of disarmament should be continued and accelerated as far as possible,

"Taking account of the report on the economic and social consequences of disarmament (document E/3898 of 3 July 1964 and its addenda) submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the 37th Session of the Economic and Social Council,

"Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General—

"(1) to continue to work closely with the Inter-Agency Committee with a view to the inclusion in the concerted programme of studies on the economic and social consequences of disarmament of such proposals as may in his judgment be appropriate for studies on that subject and which are directly within the field of competence of the International Labour Organisation;

"(2) to prepare for the information of the Governing Body a report on the work already done by the International Labour Organisation in the field of the economic and social consequences of disarmament;

"(3) to keep the General Conference and the Governing Body informed of the work of the International Labour Office in this field and of the activities of the Inter-Agency Committee."


(Signed) A. AGUILAR,
Chairman and Reporter.
National Labour Conventions prohibiting forced labour was only one of the manifestations of the Body in accordance with article 26 of the I.L.O. International Labour Organisation Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour in 1953, the Constitution of Portugal itself provided for and protected the institution of forced labour. The principal aim of the resolution was to ensure that these practices would cease.

2. During the course of the general discussion, a number of members of the Committee expressed their support for the original resolution. These members felt that sufficient evidence to support a condemnation of the practice of forced labour in the Portuguese territories had been provided in the Joint United Nations-International Labour Organisation Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour in 1953, the various resolutions adopted by organs of the United Nations and the report of the commission of inquiry appointed by the Governing Body in accordance with article 26 of the I.L.O. Constitution to investigate a complaint submitted by Ghana against the Portuguese territories. It was therefore the duty of the I.L.O. to recognise that these Conventions were being violated consistently by this one member State, and to condemn such violations.

3. A number of other members, including the Employers' members, while wholeheartedly agreeing that forced labour should be condemned wherever it still existed, felt that a specific condemnation addressed to one member State alone would not be proper as long as forced labour existed elsewhere as well. Furthermore, there was in existence within the I.L.O. constitutionally provided machinery of a judicial nature to deal with any complaint arising out of an allegation of non-compliance with a ratified Convention. Such machinery had been used in 1962 to investigate an identical set of charges made against Portugal and the report which had resulted from this inquiry did not seem to justify a formal condemnation. This report should be taken as the starting point and basic document in the resolution. It was suggested that it would be useful to ascertain the actual scope and extent of the implementation of the recommendations in the 1962 report, particularly in the light of the reports submitted to the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, as well as investigating what new recommendations seemed necessary at this time.

4. The Workers' members were fully in sympathy with the aims of the resolution, as was attested by their consistent support for any action leading to the eradication not only of forced labour but of colonialism, wherever they existed. A majority of the Workers preferred to use the existing I.L.O. machinery as a means of remedying what was considered to be an unacceptable situation within the Portuguese territories. To this end a majority of the Workers' members supported an amendment submitted by the Workers' member of Mexico incorporating what they understood to be the most constructive elements of all the ideas expressed in the general discussion.

5. Some members, both Government and Workers', felt that the resolution should seek to accomplish more than was sought in its original form. Not only was the forced labour policy of Portugal an evil within the territories under its actual administration, but as the policy of supplying forced labour to the Republic of South Africa was still in existence, it was felt that Portugal was thus contributing to the sustenance of the economy of South Africa and therefore supporting the policy of apartheid against which the I.L.O. had only last year taken such a firm stand. It was suggested that an alternative approach could quite possibly lead to the systematic expulsion of a member State with which a majority of Members did not agree at any particular time.

6. With respect to the various suggestions seeking to limit or eliminate the participation of Portugal in the activities of the I.L.O. the Government member of the United States submitted that this was a dangerous and destructive approach to the problem. He pointed out that the adoption once again of such an approach could quite possibly lead to the systematic expulsion of a member State with which a majority of Members did not agree at any particular time.

7. The Government member of Portugal submitted that the charges levelled against his Government in the resolution and in the general discussion were identical to those contained in the complaint filed by Ghana against Portugal in 1961. Those allegations had resulted in a commission of inquiry appointed under article 26 of the I.L.O. Constitution, composed of three independent and renowned international jurists who, after full hearings, including a visit to the Portuguese territories, had produced a report supported not only by the Governing Body but also by both Ghana and Portugal. The conclusions of this report illustrated that there was no discernible official policy of forced labour in the Portuguese territories. With reference to the isolated instances of forced labour which had been mentioned by the Commission, recent changes in Portuguese legislation (on 24 June 1964) relating to the organic administration of Over-
seas Portugal had, in response to the recommendations in the report, eliminated most of the forced labour, reformed the compulsory cultivation of cotton no longer existed. The previous treaties with the Republic of South Africa concerning the position in that country of workers coming from Mozambique were no longer in force and new agreements, fully protecting all the rights of such workers, had recently been negotiated. It was only necessary to read the reports of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations to discover the extent to which Portugal had complied with all requests concerning the existence of forced labour in any of its territories. Portugal wished to eliminate any last vestige of forced labour which might be found in its territories and invited the help of the I.L.O. in doing so, if such help were given through the established constitutional channels employing the existing machinery for judicial control. It was in that spirit that Portugal, a year ago, had offered its full co-operation to the I.L.O. and requested to eliminate any last vestige of forced labour in any of its territories. Portugal wished to give any last vestige of forced labour which might be found in its territories and invited the help of the I.L.O. in doing so, if such help were given through the established constitutional channels employing the existing machinery for judicial control. It was in that spirit that Portugal, a year ago, had offered its full co-operation to the I.L.O. and requested a second commission of inquiry be sent to the Portuguese territories in order to investigate the existence of any racial discrimination in the labour policies within the territories. Although the Government had guaranteed that this Commission would be allowed unhindered access to all parts of all territories, the same countries which had joined behind the resolution to condemn Portugal had fought against the appointment of the new Commission.

8. In the paragraph-by-paragraph consideration of the text it was decided to consider as a basis for discussion an amendment to the original text which was submitted by the Workers' amendment. This amendment was adopted, by 496 votes in favour, 76 against, with 49 abstentions, the first three preambular paragraphs without change from the original text. In the paragraph-by-paragraph consideration of the text it was decided to consider as a basis for discussion an amendment to the original text which was submitted by the Workers' amendment. This amendment was adopted, by 496 votes in favour, 76 against, with 49 abstentions, the first three preambular paragraphs without change from the original text.

9. This comprehensive amendment accepted without change the first three preambular paragraphs of the original text of the resolution. Accordingly, the Committee adopted, by 496 votes in favour, 76 against, with 49 abstentions, the first three preambular paragraphs without change from the original text.

10. In place of the original fourth preambular paragraph which stated that Portugal had failed to give effect in its territories to the Forcement Labour Convention, 1930, and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957, the Committee adopted, by 488 votes in favour, 128 against, with 34 abstentions, the proposal in the Workers' amendment. This amendment stated that Portugal had ratified the two Conventions, pointed to the Joint United Nations- I.L.O. Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour in 1953 and the report of the Commission of Inquiry in 1962, and referred to the recommendations in these reports which set forth measures which should be taken by the Government of Portugal to give full effect to the provisions of these Conventions.

11. With respect to the fifth preambular paragraph of the original text, the comprehensive amendment submitted by the Workers had proposed that the paragraph should simply take note of United Nations General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII) of 1962 without mentioning, as had the original text, the scope of the contents of that resolution. Several Government and Workers' members expressed their deep concern at the removal of all mention of the substance of this resolution; other members, both Government and Employers', submitted that as the resolution of the General Assembly had dealt with forced labour it would be improper to include in the resolution before the Committee references which exceeded its competence.

12. In response to this discussion the Workers' Vice-Chairman moved a subamendment to the text of the Workers' comprehensive amendment which would add in this preambular paragraph a reference to that portion of General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII) which had affirmed, inter alia, that the economic life of Angola is to a large extent based on forced labour. This subamendment was warmly supported by the Government member of Mali on behalf of the African Government members as making for a more complete and comprehensible final text. The Government member of the U.S.S.R. associated himself with this support of the subamendment.

13. The Government members of Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States announced that, while they were not in favour of any reference to resolution 1819 (XVII), they could support the final text if no reference were made to the substance of the resolution. Therefore, if the subamendment were to be adopted, each speaker reserved the position of his Government on the measure of support which they could give to the resolution as a whole. The Government members of Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States explained that each Government had opposed the resolution in the General Assembly and they did not wish it to be inferred that the position of their Governments on the substance and propriety of resolution 1819 (XVII) had changed.

14. A record vote on the subamendment to the amendment to the fifth preambular paragraph, submitted by the Workers' members, resulted in the subamendment's adoption by 405 votes in favour, 300 against, with 47 abstentions. The amendment itself was adopted by 319 votes in favour, 180 against, with 76 abstentions.

15. In view of the adoption of the entire preambular text as submitted in the Workers' comprehensive amendment, it was considered that the amendment moved by the Workers' members of Algeria, Dahomey, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Morocco, which suggested that the reference in the fourth preambular paragraph of the original text to territories under the administration of Portugal be changed to territories under the domination of Portugal, was no longer applicable to the text as adopted.

16. In turning to the paragraph-by-paragraph consideration of the operative paragraphs it was decided to continue to use the
comprehensive amendment of the Workers as a basis for the discussion. Operative paragraph 1 of the amendment set forth a reaffirmation of the I.L.O.’s condemnation of forced labour and all practices involving the use of forced labour. The Government member of Ghana moved a subamendment which proposed to add to that statement words which would apply that condemnation to “the territories under Portuguese domination.” The Workers objected to this subamendment to their amendment on the ground that their entire comprehensive proposal had been based on interior consistency which started with a general principle condemning all forced labour and proceeded to a specific request to Portugal based on the previously established general principle. The subamendment was rejected by 199 votes in favour, 461 against, with 28 abstentions. The Committee then adopted operative paragraph 1, as contained in the comprehensive amendment submitted by the Workers, by 541 votes in favour, 132 against, with 15 abstentions.

17. A subamendment to operative paragraph 2 of the comprehensive amendment, urging that action be taken to put an end to practices of forced labour which were contrary to the principles of the I.L.O., was moved by the Government member of Algeria. This subamendment proposed adding in the paragraph a specific reference to “territories under Portuguese domination.” The Workers’ member of Mexico, who had submitted one of the amendments on which the Workers’ comprehensive amendment was based, opposed the subamendment, stating that operative paragraph 2 under discussion had been taken in full from the suggested text for operative paragraph 3 of the amendment submitted by the Workers’ members of Algeria, Dahomey, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Morocco. The subamendment was rejected by 136 votes in favour, 521 against, with 35 abstentions. The amendment was adopted by 564 votes in favour, 128 against, with 4 abstentions.

18. Several subamendments were moved to operative paragraph 3 of the comprehensive amendment. The Government member of Mali suggested that the text would be improved if the Government of Portugal were requested, rather than called upon, to give effect without delay to the recommendations of the 1962 Commission of Inquiry of the Governing Body, particularly in so far as they related to forced labour practices and the sequels of forced labour. The Workers’ members acceded to this request.

19. The Government member of Ghana moved a subamendment to the text of operative paragraph 3 suggesting that it should incorporate the text of operative paragraph 2 of the amendment submitted by the Workers’ members of Algeria, Dahomey, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Morocco, which called upon the Government of Portugal to refrain from participating in I.L.O. meetings or activities, and to which it was suggested should be added the words “until such time as Portugal abandons its practices of forced labour.” This subamendment was supported by the Government member of Algeria. The Government member of the United Kingdom opposed the subamendment on two grounds: that Portugal had, as a Member of the I.L.O., a constitutional right to participate in the activities of the Organisation and that as long as Portugal was permitted to participate it remained subject to the constructive influences of such membership and public opinion. The subamendment was rejected by 126 votes in favour, 482 against, with 30 abstentions. The amendment containing operative paragraph 3 was adopted without vote.

20. The author of the original text then moved that the original operative paragraph 1 of the resolution he submitted, condemning the forced labour policy practised by Portugal, be put to a vote, notwithstanding the fact that the Committee had already adopted operative paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the comprehensive amendment submitted by the Workers. The Committee rejected operative paragraph 1 of the original text of the resolution by 160 votes in favour, 466 against, with 20 abstentions. The Workers’ Vice-Chairman stated that he did not participate in the vote because he considered that the decision taken by the Committee on the comprehensive amendment eliminated the need to vote on operative paragraph 1 of the original text.

21. Operative paragraph 4 of the comprehensive amendment requested the Director-General and the Governing Body to keep the matter referred to in operative paragraph 3 under review and to take any appropriate measures to ensure that the recommendations mentioned were or should be implemented and to report to it at an early session. Paragraph 4 was adopted without a vote. The adoption of operative paragraph 4 completed the text of the resolution.

22. At that point the Government member of Australia requested an opinion of the Chair whether, in the light of the fact that in the speaker’s opinion the title of the original resolution no longer was applicable to the text as adopted, consideration of a more appropriate title could be undertaken by the Committee. This position was taken also by the Government members of France, Italy, Panama, the United States and Uruguay, and by the Employers’ members. The Government member of the U.S.S.R. opposed a change of title on the ground that such a change would be an amendment not submitted before the deadline and thus not receivable by the Committee. This position was supported by the Government members of Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and the United Arab Republic, and by the Workers’ Vice-Chairman on behalf of the Workers.

23. In reply to a question concerning past practice in the matter the representative of the Secretary-General stated that titles of resolutions and even Conventions and Recommendations had been modified by Conference Committees to bring them into conformity with decisions of substance taken by Committees; whether or not a Committee wished to change a title was a matter of its own discretion. The Government member of the U.S.S.R. challenged this so far as the Resolu-
24. The Legal Adviser, on the request of the Chairman, explained the procedure for amending titles. In general, a title should not say something different from the text. It was accordingly sometimes necessary to make a consequential modification in the title of a text which had been substantially amended. There were precedents for such consequential modifications in the work of the Resolutions Committee. It was for the Committee to decide whether such a modification was appropriate in a specific case.

25. The Chairman, after hearing the views of the members of the Committee and the opinion of the Legal Adviser of the Conference, ruled that the original title of the resolution could be modified by the Committee, although amendments to this effect had not been submitted before the expiration of the time limit. In making this ruling the Chairman took into account the following arguments. No provision of the Standing Orders stated that the title of a resolution formed part of the resolution itself, nor did the Standing Orders provide that the title was not part of the resolution. Hence no provision of the Standing Orders explicitly covered the situation. In the absence of such provisions, logic dictated that the title should correspond to the substance of the resolution. It followed that whenever the Committee adopted a text the substance of which differed from its title, consequential modifications could be made in the title. The precedents adduced in the course of the discussion did not contradict this interpretation. In some cases amendments had been resorted to; in other cases, the Committee had unanimously decided to modify a title. In any case, there were no precedents which exactly fitted the situation. Logic and common sense indicated that, in this particular instance, the title should be modified to accord with the substance of the resolution adopted by the Committee. It had rejected by a large majority operative paragraph 1 of the original text. Were the Committee to be consistent, the title should now be modified to correspond to the text it had approved. Finally, the Chairman suggested that the Committee might reproduce, as the title of the resolution, the very wording of operative paragraph 3. Should this suggestion be accepted, the title would be: "resolution requesting the Government of Portugal to give effect without delay to certain recommendations made with respect to forced labour practices."

26. The Workers' Vice-Chairman stated that the Workers' members opposed the amendment to change the title of the resolution. They felt that the resolution was a condemnation of Portugal for its policy of forced labour in territories under its administration and they strongly opposed any attempt to change the title so as to make it appear that no condemnation was intended by the Committee. However he suggested that the title could be changed to "resolution concerning the condemnation of the Government of Portugal on the ground of the forced labour policy practised by the said Government under its administration", on condition that such a change was supported by all African members of the Committee. As this did not prove to be the case, the suggestion was withdrawn.

27. The Employers' Vice-Chairman moved that the title be changed so as to reflect that the resolution condemned forced labour wherever it existed and requested the Government of Portugal to give effect without delay to certain recommendations made with respect to forced labour practices. He therefore suggested the following title: "resolution reaffirming the condemnation of forced labour and making an appeal to the Government of Portugal." A number of African Government members in the Committee opposed any amendment to the title; in so far as a general condemnation of forced labour was followed by specific reference to certain practices in Portuguese territories the African members felt that the resolution was in fact a condemnation of Portugal and that fact ought to be reflected in the title.

28. The amendment to the title submitted by the Employers' Vice-Chairman was rejected by 282 votes in favour, 332 against, with 27 abstentions.

29. The Committee then adopted the original title of the resolution by 486 votes in favour, 296 against, with 40 abstentions.

30. The final text of the resolution was adopted by the Committee by 377 votes in favour, 46 against, with 271 abstentions.

31. Following the vote, the Government member of Portugal made a statement in which he said that the decision taken by the Committee to adopt the resolution with the fifth and sixth preambular paragraphs and with the wholly misleading title was a serious one that would have to be submitted to the Conference for final determination. Neither the Commission of Inquiry nor this Resolutions Committee had condemned Portugal and therefore the title was in error. With regard to the position of his Government to the resolution the Government member of Portugal stated that it ought to be possible to avoid the title as inexpedient in so far as the conclusions, findings and recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry had been accepted in 1962 not only by the Governing Body, but also specifically by both Portugal and the complainant, Ghana. All of the recommendations of the Commission had been fulfilled by the Government of Portugal, as was reported in the report of the Committee on the Application...
of Conventions and Recommendations to the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference. The Government of Portugal remained ready to accept a new Commission on the condition that such Commission should also be permitted to visit the territory of any one of Portugal's accusers. The Government of Portugal considered the text of the resolution as unconstitutional and reserved its position on it in future.

32. In explaining the vote of his Government against the resolution, the Government member of the United Kingdom stated that, while the specific reference to General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII) gave him some difficulty, he had agreed with, and had been prepared to accept, the final text. The sole reason for not doing so was the decision of the Committee to retain a title that contradicted the body of the text as evidenced by the rejection by the Committee of operative paragraph 1 of the original draft. He agreed that the I.L.O. should be concerned with forced labour wherever it existed; Portugal should implement all recommendations made to it by the I.L.O. in connection with forced labour.

33. The Government member of Australia associated himself with all the remarks made by the Government member of the United Kingdom. He had hoped that a broad consensus would be achieved on the resolution. He had been prepared to accept the final text in spite of the reference therein to General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII). However, the debate on the title had been revealing and the vote thereon which had adopted, no matter how incongruously, a title in contradiction to the express words of the text had made it clear that what was sought by many members was not a constructive consensus but a political decision. His Government condemned forced labour, but in the circumstances could not accept so inappropriate a title, therefore he had been compelled to vote against the resolution.

34. The Government member of New Zealand, explaining his abstention, stated that he had come to the Committee hoping that he would have been able to vote for a final text in a form finally adopted by the Committee. He had been prepared to accept, although with difficulty, the reference to the General Assembly resolution, but to his regret he could not vote for the resolution, solely because of the spirit behind the title and the lack of logic in accepting the title.

35. The Government member of France stated that he had come prepared to accept a resolution condemning forced labour; however, in the course of discussion he had pointed out the condition which determined his support. In the adoption of the reference to General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII) and the inappropriate title, those conditions had not been met. His abstention had not been based on any opposition to the substance of the resolution.

36. The Government member of the United States associated himself fully with the remarks made by the Government members of Australia, New Zealand, France and the United Kingdom. He, too, had come hoping to be able to support a resolution aimed at abolishing all forced labour wherever it existed. The Committee had done that, and he had accepted everything, except the reference to the General Assembly resolution. However, when the Committee had adopted a title mentioning condemnation of Portugal, he had not been able to support the resolution.

37. The Government member of Italy associated himself with those speakers who had immediately preceded him. It was with deep regret that he had been unable to accept the resolution. The reference to General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII), and particularly the reproduction in the text of a part thereof which was not in agreement with the results of an I.L.O. Commission of Inquiry, had been difficult to accept, but he had been prepared to do so if a satisfactory title to the text as adopted could have been found. The failure to change the title in which the resolution was expressed, exactly with the content of the resolution as amended was serious in itself and in the precedent which it set. These considerations had impelled his abstention although he was still in full agreement with the four operative paragraphs of the resolution.

38. The Government member of Canada, explaining his abstention, stated that he had come with hopes that a text commanding wide support would be adopted, as had been the case. He would have been able to vote for the resolution if the Employers’ amendment to the title had been accepted. He associated himself fully with the remarks made by the Government member of the United Kingdom.

39. The Government member of Norway, speaking on behalf of the Government members of Denmark and Sweden as well, explained the abstentions of those Governments and his own. They had voted for every paragraph of the resolution except the one which referred to the General Assembly resolution. However, the one ground upon which the inability to accept the resolution was based was the adoption of a title condemning Portugal. It might be that under certain very special circumstances an international organisation could condemn a country, but none of those conditions had been met in this case.

40. The Government member of Belgium, in explanation of his abstention, associated himself with the juridical arguments of the Government member of Italy. He very much feared that passions had overcome logic for accepted principles. Forced labour existed, unhappily, in many parts of the world and the resolution had condemned its existence anywhere. The retention of the original title had removed the force behind this general principle.

41. The Government member of Uruguay, speaking on behalf of the Latin American countries in the Committee, stated that they all opposed colonialism and forced labour, wherever they existed. They had found themselves able to support the text of the resolution as it had been modified. The failure to change the title had induced those countries to abstain,
although they still agreed with the substance of the resolution.

42. The Employers had been prepared to support the text of the comprehensive amendment submitted by the Workers. However, certain modifications, specifically the reference to General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII) as well as the lack of logic concerning the title, had caused the great majority of the Employers to abstain.

43. The Government member of Byelorussia stated that his Government had always held the belief that it could support the resolution in the form in which it had been originally presented. He was pleased with the fact that the African members of the Committee felt able to support the resolution, and he announced himself in favour of the title to the resolution as finally adopted.

44. The Workers' Vice-Chairman welcomed the adoption of the resolution, although he regretted the number of abstentions. The Workers' members had sought the widest measure of support for the resolution, and to this end had also considered a modification of the title. However, while he felt that they had obtained the support of the African Workers' members for the substance of the resolution, whose positive features met with general support, this had not been the case in respect of the change in the title. The Workers' members had therefore decided to support the resolution with its original title, especially since they were convinced that the text of the resolution reflected a definite condemnation of forced labour practices on the part of the Portuguese authorities.

45. The author of the resolution, the Government member of the United Arab Republic, expressed his pleasure at the support which the resolution had received. This support was not a political demonstration but a sincere attempt to combat forced labour.

46. The Government member of Mali, on behalf of all the African members of the Committee, expressed his gratitude for the support which the resolution had received. He explained that the condemnation was not directed against a country but against the particular policies of a country; it was, however, in the resolution difficult to dissociate the two. The adoption of the resolution had been a victory for both the Committee and the I.L.O. It would be a positive, constructive and strengthening act.

47. The final text of the resolution as adopted, which the Committee submits to the Conference for approval, is as follows:

"Resolution Condemning the Government of Portugal on the Grounds of the Forced Labour Policy Practised by the Said Government in Territories under Its Administration"

"The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,"

"Whereas the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation provides that universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice and 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,"


"Whereas the Government of Portugal has ratified these Conventions,"

"Whereas the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour in 1953 and the Commission appointed by the Governing Body in 1961 in accordance with article 26 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation have, after finding that these Conventions are not fully applied, made recommendations concerning the measures which should be taken by the Government of Portugal to give full effect to the provisions of these Conventions,"

"Noting the United Nations General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII) of 1962, which has affirmed, inter alia, that the economic life of Angola is to a large extent based on forced labour,"

"1. Reaffirms its condemnation of forced labour and all practices involving the use of forced labour."

"2. Urges that the necessary action be taken to put an end to these practices, which are contrary to the principles of the International Labour Organisation."

"3. Requests the Government of Portugal to give effect without delay to the recommendations of the 1962 Commission of Inquiry of the Governing Body, particularly in so far as they relate to forced labour practices and the sequels of forced labour."

"4. Requests the Director-General and the Governing Body to keep the matter under review and to take any appropriate measures to ensure that these recommendations are or shall be implemented and to report to it at an early session.”

RESOLUTIONS NOT CONSIDERED BY THE COMMITTEE

48. Immediately following the adoption by the Committee of the final texts of the six resolutions considered by it and the adoption of its first report, the Workers' member of Tunisia moved that the Committee terminate its discussions at that stage as it clearly appeared that insufficient time remained to devote to the remaining two resolutions if they were to be considered as fully as their importance demanded. He suggested that it might be possible for the resolution concerning the protection of the rights of Spanish workers to be referred to the Governing Body Committee on Freedom of Association and the resolution concerning equitable geographical representation of all States Members of the International Labour Organisation in its Governing Body as well as equitable geographical distribution of elective offices at sessions of the International Labour Conference and the Governing Body to be referred to the Governing Body Working
Party on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O.

49. The Government member of Poland, also on behalf of the Government member of the Ukraine, as authors of the latter resolution, could not accept the suggestion to send it to the Working Party and announced the withdrawal of the resolution they had jointly moved from consideration by the Committee.

50. The Government member of Spain stated that he had permitted the author of the resolution directed against his country to present it to the Committee without objection or interruption. He did not support the motion to end the debate. He requested the right to have the resolution considered in the time which remained, and at least the opportunity to make a short statement on the subject.

51. The Government member of the U.S.S.R. pointed out that, while a motion calling for the suspension of discussions by the Committee was proper according to the Standing Orders, he felt that if any statement on the substance of the remaining resolution was permitted, that would amount to an opening of the general discussion and all other speakers wishing to be heard would have to be given the opportunity to speak.

52. The Government member of Uruguay stated that it would be less than fair, after a resolution had been circulated and presented to the Committee, for consideration of it to be suspended before the country which was the subject of the resolution was given the opportunity to defend itself. The Government member of Panama supported this position.

53. The Workers’ member of France did not support the motion to suspend the discussion but pointed out that if this were done no speech on the substance of the remaining resolution could be admitted.

54. The Government member of Spain, in reply to the U.S.S.R. Government member and to the French Workers’ member, stated that he did not claim to be the only speaker on the resolution and would welcome a debate.

55. The Employers’ Vice-Chairman supported the motion to adjourn. He directed the Committee’s attention to article 17 (6) of the Standing Orders, which stated that any resolution not considered by the Committee by the date on which it terminates its work shall not be discussed or acted upon by the Conference.

56. The Government member of Italy suggested that the procedure to enable the Committee on Freedom of Association to consider the substance of the resolution was—(i) its withdrawal by the author from the Resolutions Committee, and (ii) the introduction of a complaint on the same matter in the Committee on Freedom of Association. If the resolution was withdrawn, then obviously the Resolutions Committee could not discuss it.

57. The Yugoslav Workers’ member indicated that he was not prepared to withdraw his resolution but was not opposed to a vote on the motion to adjourn.

58. The Committee voted in favour of adjournment by 445 votes in favour, 75 against, with 144 abstentions.

59. The Government member of Spain directed the Committee’s attention to article 64 of the Standing Orders which stated that before a motion for closure was put to a vote the Chairman should read out the names of those persons who had already signified their wish to speak and those persons would still have the right to speak after the closure had been voted. He reminded the Chairman that he had requested the right to speak on the resolution several days previously. The Chairman ruled that article 64 was not applicable, as consideration of the remaining resolution had never been started.

60. In accordance with article 17 (6) of the Standing Orders the remaining resolution, not having been considered by the Committee by the date on which it terminated its work, shall not be discussed or acted upon by the Conference.


A. AGUILAR,
Chairman and Reporter.
APPENDIX IV

Second Item on the Agenda: Financial and Budgetary Questions

(I) Further Proposals Submitted by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to the 49th Session of the Conference.

1. The Governing Body of the International Labour Office decided at its 162nd Session (May 1965) to submit to the Conference certain proposals on financial and administrative matters supplementing those made at its 161st Session (February-March 1965) which have been submitted to the Conference in Report II: Financial and Administrative Questions.

II. Resolution Concerning the Contributions Payable to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund in 1966

4. The following is an extract from the first report of the Financial and Administrative Committee submitted to the Governing Body at its 162nd Session:

The Committee took note of the report of the Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund on the work of its 60th Session, held in Geneva on 11 March 1965, and of the report of the Consulting Actuary on the statutory actuarial valuation of the Fund as at 31 December 1964.

The Committee recommends that the Governing Body submit to the Conference the following draft resolution concerning the contributions payable to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund for 1966, which the Board submits in accordance with article 7 of the Regulations of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation:

Decides that the contribution of the International Labour Organisation to the Pensions Fund for 1966 under article 7, paragraph (a), of the Staff Pensions Regulations shall be 14 per cent. of the pensionable emoluments of the members of the Fund;

Decides that, for the year 1966, the officials mentioned in article 4, paragraph (a) (ii), of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Regulations shall continue to pay an additional 1 per cent. of their pensionable emoluments (making a total of 7 1/2 per cent.) and those mentioned in article 4, paragraph (a) (iii), an additional 1/2 per cent. (making a total of 5 1/2 per cent.) if their pensionable emoluments exceed the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 per annum, and an additional 1/2 per cent. (making a total of 5 1/2 per cent.) if their emoluments are the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 or less;

Resolves that, in continuation of the arrangement approved in previous years, the whole budgetary vote for 1966 in respect of the contribution of the Organisation to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund should be paid to the Fund.

5. The Governing Body adopted this report on 29 May 1965 and therefore submits to the Conference the above resolution for adoption.

III. Resolution Concerning Appointments to the Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund and to the I.L.O. Staff Pension Committee (United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund)

6. The following is an extract from the first report of the Financial and Administrative Committee submitted to the Governing Body at its 162nd Session:

The Committee proposes to the Governing Body that it recommend to the International Labour Conference at its next session the adoption of the following draft resolution:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation;

Reappoints to the Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund for a period of three years until 8 October 1968, and to the I.L.O. Staff Pension Committee (United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund) for a period of three years until 10 July 1968 the following members and substitute members of these bodies, namely:

Members:
Mr. H. S. Kirkaldy (United Kingdom), former Professor of Industrial Relations in the University of Cambridge; former substitute member of the Governing Body;
Mr. P. Juul-Christensen (Denmark), Director, International Relations Department of the Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs;
Mr. André Heilbrunner (France), Counsellor of State.

Substitute Members:
Mr. Charles R. McCord (Canada), Director of Annuities, Department of Labour;
Mr. Ernst Kaiser (Switzerland), Actuarial Adviser, Swiss Federal Office of Social Insurance.

The Committee noted that a proposal to fill a vacancy for a substitute member of the Board and Committee would be submitted by the Director-General at a later date.

7. The Governing Body adopted this report on 29 May 1965 and therefore submits to the Conference the above resolution for adoption.
IV. RESOLUTION CONCERNING AMENDMENTS TO THE REGULATIONS OF THE I.L.O. STAFF PENSIONS FUND

8. The following is an extract from the first report of the Financial and Administrative Committee submitted to the Governing Body at its 162nd Session:

The Committee recalled that at the 160th Session of the Governing Body (November 1964) it had been informed of proposals for two major improvements in the benefits of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund which the Joint Board of that Fund had decided to recommend for adoption by the United Nations General Assembly at its 12th Session of the Joint Board of the latter Fund at its 162nd Session of the Governing Body (February-March 1965). At the 161st Session of the Governing Body (February-March 1965) the Committee had been informed that the first recommendation, which provided that base pensionable remuneration should be determined by reference to gross salary and that past service should be treated as if it had been pensionable at all times on gross salary, had been adopted by the General Assembly on 10 February 1965 with effect from 1 March 1965. Consideration of the second recommendation, which provided for an increase in pensions according to a graduated "Pension Adjustment Index", had been deferred by the General Assembly.

The Committee further recalled that, in adopting the new level of base pensionable remuneration for United Nations staff in service on 1 March 1965, the General Assembly had recommended that, in the interest of maintaining the common system of salaries, allowances and conditions of service, the other member organisations of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund should take appropriate action to ensure that the pensionable remuneration of their staff should be brought into conformity with that of the United Nations staff as from the same date. Accordingly, on the recommendation of the Financial and Administrative Committee and pending proposals for the appropriate amendments to the Staff Regulations, the Governing Body had at its 161st Session (February-March 1965) decided that for I.L.O. staff who were affiliated to the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund or the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund and whose base pensionable remuneration under the Staff Regulations was at the "half-gross" level, their base pensionable remuneration should be increased, as from 1 March 1965, to the full-gross level.

In anticipation of the measures which had now been adopted by the General Assembly and in view of the related issues which arose for the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund, the Director-General had informed the Committee at the Governing Body that he had proposed to appoint Mr. H. S. Kirkaldy (United Kingdom) as special adviser to study and report to him on any related issues which arose for the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund or the I.L.O. after 31 March 1961.

The Committee noted that, in order to give effect to the proposals if they were approved by the Governing Body, a number of amendments would need to be made to the Regulations of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund, and that these amendments, if approved by the Governing Body, would be submitted to the International Labour Conference at its forthcoming session for adoption in accordance with article 31 of the Pensions Fund Regulations.

The Committee recommended to the Governing Body that it approve the proposals put forward above.

The Committee noted that, after full consideration of the issues involved and of the reasoning set out in Mr. Kirkaldy's report, the Director-General had come to the conclusion that adoption of the recommendations summarised in the foregoing paragraph would provide a solution which would be both fair and reasonable and also consistent with the policy hitherto followed by the Governing Body.

The Committee recommends to the Governing Body that it approve the proposals put forward above.

The Committee noted that, in order to give effect to the proposals if they were approved by the Governing Body, a number of amendments would need to be made to the Regulations of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund, and that these amendments, if approved by the Governing Body, would be submitted to the International Labour Conference at its forthcoming session for adoption in accordance with article 31 of the Pensions Fund Regulations.

The Committee recommends to the Governing Body that it approve the proposals put forward above.

The Committee noted that, in order to give effect to the proposals if they were approved by the Governing Body, a number of amendments would need to be made to the Regulations of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund, and that these amendments, if approved by the Governing Body, would be submitted to the International Labour Conference at its forthcoming session for adoption in accordance with article 31 of the Pensions Fund Regulations.

APPENDIX VI

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE REGULATIONS OF THE I.L.O. STAFF PENSIONS FUND

Article 7

The International Labour Organisation shall contribute to the Pensions Fund:

(a) unchanged;

(b) on 1 July 1961 and thereafter annually on 1 January, through 1 January 1974, the sum necessary to provide for the amortisation over a period of 14 years.
of the amount by which the actuarial reserve of the Pensions Fund requires to be increased to meet the obligations under these Regulations as amended with effect from 1 March 1965; and, annually from 1 January 1967 through 1 January 1974, the additional sums necessary to provide for the amortization over a period of eight years of the amount by which the actuarial reserve requires to be increased to meet the obligations under these Regulations as amended with effect from 1 March 1965.

Article 9

(1) With effect from [1 April 1961] 1 March 1965 the retiring pension of an official whose contract of employment expired prior to 1 April 1965 shall not in any case exceed 50,000 Swiss francs or the equivalent of that amount in the currency of the pension at the effective date of its award.

Article 12bis

3. [In the case of an official who is subject to the I.L.O. Staff Regulations and whose contract of employment expires after 31 March 1961 and prior to 31 March 1964, the amount by reference to which a retiring pension, an invalidity pension or a pension upon death becomes payable, that pension shall be calculated as if any elements of the official's pensionable remuneration which prior to 1 March 1965 had been determined on the basis of the half-gross level of remuneration in accordance with article 3.1.1 of the Staff Regulations or in accordance with conditions of service fixed by the Director-General under article 0.2 (c) of the Staff Regulations, had been determined by reference to the gross level of remuneration.

Article 32

7. Subject to paragraph (1) or article 9, the amounts of retiring, invalidity and widows' pensions in payment on 1 March 1965 in respect of former officials whose contracts of employment expired prior to 1 April 1961, other than former officials of Branch Offices of the International Labour Office, shall be increased uniformly by 12 per cent. with effect from 1 March 1965.

8. Pensions in payment on 1 March 1965 in respect of former officials whose contracts of employment expired after 31 March 1961 shall be recalculated as if any elements of the official's pensionable remuneration which had been determined on the basis of the half-gross level of remuneration in accordance with article 3.1.1 of the Staff Regulations or in accordance with conditions of service fixed by the Director-General under article 0.2 (c) of the Staff Regulations, had been determined by reference to the gross level of remuneration; and the recalculated amounts of these pensions shall be payable with effect from 1 March 1965.

9. The Governing Body adopted this report on 29 May 1965 and therefore recommends to the Conference that it adopt the proposed amendments to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund Regulations set out above.

V. Resolution Concerning the Pensions Fund of the Judges of the Former Permanent Court of International Justice

10. The following is an extract from the first report of the Financial and Administrative Committee submitted to the Governing Body at its 162nd Session:

The Committee recalled that the I.L.O. was responsible for administering the Pensions Fund of the Judges of the former Permanent Court of International Justice, and that the assets and liabilities of this Fund had been transferred to the I.L.O. on the liquidation of the League of Nations, with effect from 1 April 1947; the terms of transfer had been accepted by the International Labour Conference at its 29th Session (September-October 1946).

It was noted that at the effective date of transfer (1 April 1947) there had been 11 pensioners and three potential claimants for pensions, and that the current commitments of the Fund were now limited to the pensions of two ex-judges and one widow. By decision of the International Labour Conference at its 45th Session (June 1968) the eight pensions then remaining in payment had been increased by 10 per cent., this increase being parallel to that granted in respect of pensions payable from the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund; in similar circumstances, a 15 per cent. increase was decided by the International Labour Conference at its 45th Session (June 1968) in respect of the four pensions then remaining in payment.

Having submitted to the Committee at its present session proposals for the increase of the pensions from the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund which were in payment on 1 March 1965 (see document G.B.162/F.A./D.21/15), the Director-General felt that he should submit parallel proposals for comparison in respect of the pensions payable from the Judges' Pensions Fund. As on previous occasions he had kept in mind that the I.L.O. was merely a trustee for the Fund and had no legal obligations to the beneficiaries other than to execute the terms under which the Organisation had accepted the transfer of the Fund from the League of Nations. On the other hand it seemed that pensions to formerly holding judicial posts should not be left out of consideration when increases in pensions of former international civil servants were being proposed.

After consideration of all the facts the Director-General concluded that he should propose that the three remaining pensions payable from the Judges' Pensions Fund should be increased by 12 per cent. with effect from 1 March 1965, this increase being parallel to that which he was proposing in respect of pensions payable from the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund which were similarly based on pre-war conditions.

The Committee noted that if the pensions were increased as proposed, it was estimated that the funds available would be sufficient to meet obligations until 31 December 1977, on the assumption that all three pensioners would survive till that date, when their average age would be 92 years. In the current circumstances of the Fund it was not possible to make a normal actuarial valuation, and whilst it was possible that the future mortality experience of the Fund might prove to make the accumulated assets insufficient to meet outstanding commitments, the risk did not appear sufficiently substantial to call for the making of special payments into the Fund at the present stage. It accordingly appeared sufficient that the Director-General should submit further proposals in the event that the accumulated assets of the Fund might prove to be insufficient to cover the payment of all outstanding pensions.

The Committee recommends that the Governing Body submit to the Conference the following draft resolution concerning the amendments to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund Regulations:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation:

Decides that, with effect from 1 March 1965, the pensions payable by the Pensions Fund of the Judges of the former Permanent Court of International Justice shall be increased by 12 per cent.;

Decides that the increase in annuities of Dutch florins 5,960 per annum shall be financed from the accumulated assets of the Fund; it being understood that in the event of the accumulated assets falling short of being sufficient to cover the payment of all outstanding pensions the Director-General would submit proposals for consideration.

11. The Governing Body adopted this report on 29 May 1965 and therefore submits to the Conference the above resolution for adoption.

VI. Resolution Concerning Appointments to the I.L.O. Administrative Tribunal

12. The following is an extract from the first report of the Financial and Administrative Committee submitted to the Governing Body at its 162nd Session:

...
The Committee recalled that article III of the Statute of the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labour Organisation provided that the Tribunal should consist of three judges and three deputy judges who should be of different nationalities and who should be appointed for a period of three years by the Conference of the International Labour Organisation. Two posts of deputy judges of the Tribunal as at present composed were vacant and the Governing Body had decided at its 160th Session (Geneva, November 1964) that one of those posts should be filled and offered to Mr. Justice Thurgood Marshall (United States).

It was noted that in order to fill the second post of deputy judge, which fell vacant on the death of Mr. Stavropoulos (Greece), it was suggested that Mr. A. T. Markose (India) should be appointed to this post.

It was further proposed that the term of office of Mr. Maxime Letourneur (France), which expires on 24 June 1965, be extended for a further period of three years.

The Committee recommends to the Governing Body that it submit the following resolution to the International Labour Conference at its 49th Session:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation
In accordance with article III of the Statute of the Administrative Tribunal;
Appoints Mr. Thurgood Marshall (United States) and Mr. A. T. Markose (India) as deputy judges of the Administrative Tribunal for a period of three years; and
Extends the term of office of Mr. Maxime Letourneur (France) as judge of the Tribunal for a further period of three years.

This resolution shall take effect immediately.

13. The Governing Body adopted this report on 29 May 1965 and therefore submits to the Conference the above resolution for adoption.

VII. EXPENDITURE BUDGET FOR 1966

14. At its 162nd Session (May 1965) the Governing Body, in adopting the second report of its Financial and Administrative Committee, decided that an amount of $111,412, representing the anticipated provision of additional funds to be received from the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance Special Account, be added to the draft gross income budget and that the amount be added to the draft gross expenditure budget for 1966. This decision was taken following a recommendation made by the Financial and Administrative Committee after consideration of two questions involving possible adjustments to the draft 1966 budget. The following is a relevant extract from the second report of the Financial and Administrative Committee:

OTHER QUESTIONS

The Committee dealt with two other questions, both of which involved possible adjustments to the draft 1966 budget being submitted to the Conference for approval. These concern (a) the anticipated provision of additional funds for the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and (b) a proposal to make budgetary provision in 1966 for the I.L.O. share of the costs of a projected E.P.T.A.-U.N.E.S.C.O. Inter-Governmental Conference on the Status of Teachers.

The Committee decided to discuss those two questions together.

Anticipated Provision of Additional Funds to Technical Assistance Committee of the Economic and Social Council to Provide for Overhead Costs Related to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance

The following paragraphs contain a summary of the information and proposals put before the Committee by the Director-General in this regard.

At the 161st Session of the Governing Body (February-March 1965) the Committee had taken note of the recommendation by the United Nations Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions in the following terms: "(that) reimbursement of overhead costs by E.P.T.A. be, for 1965, at the rate of 13 per cent. of the project estimated cost, subject to the following particular circumstances: . . . . The Director-General had now received from the Secretariat of the Technical Assistance Committee the revised lump-sum amounts that were expected to be made available to the I.L.O. if the Technical Assistance Committee would agree to the following: . . . . The revised estimates were now expected to be $111,412 higher than the present estimates.

The purpose of these increased allocations was, in the terms of the Advisory Committee's recommendation, to enable them (the agencies) to expedite and improve their services to the extra-budgetary activities . . . . In the case of the I.L.O., lack of sufficient resources to meet overhead costs had been having increasingly serious effects. The areas in which additional support for E.P.T.A. activities was most urgent were:

(a) Improved field structure (especially in Africa). One consequence of economy measures applied to the Director-General's draft 1966 budget would have been to leave the I.L.O. field structure in Africa much weaker than was desirable. The T.A.B. 15-year review of E.P.T.A. laid emphasis on closer supervision of the implementation of the programme and more systematic and accurate evaluation of its results and on exploration of new varieties of assistance suited to the special needs and conditions of particular countries. Even with the increased credit already provided in the draft 1966 budget, it would have been difficult to implement these requirements systematically throughout Africa. It was therefore suggested that part of the additional money to be received from the Special Account be used to meet the cost of appointing two professional officials in Africa. (Total estimated cost, including salaries and all related expenses, $22,500.)

(b) Increased assistance to governments in the determination of requirements for aid under the E.P.T.A. Experience had shown that some strengthening of the technical services should be provided with a view to increasing the assistance given to requesting governments in connection with the determination of requirements for aid under the E.P.T.A. (Estimated cost, $10,000, representing approximately 18 man-months of Professional staff services.)

(c) Overcoming delays in final reports. Delays in preparation of reports on E.P.T.A. projects continued to be a serious shortcoming in I.L.O. performance under E.P.T.A. The effect of successful missions was sometimes nullified by these delays. While revision of the draft texts submitted by the project experts required the services of experienced officials of technical departments, it was considered that staff provision in the Field Department for a Final Reports Officer would assist in holding delays to a minimum. In addition, a provision would be allocated to certain technical units in accordance with need, in order to obtain short-term assistance or the services of external collaborators when necessary to complete drafting and editing of particular reports. (Total estimated cost, including salaries and all related expenses, $20,000.)

(d) Clerical support of these additional activities in the Field Department and the central services as a whole (estimated cost $35,912 including salary and all related costs, accommodation, etc.)

(e) Finally, it had already become clear that the provision under item 11 of the draft 1966 budget was likely to be insufficient to permit the programme of missions to be covered by the regional coordinators and other head office and field personnel for adequate implementation and planning of the programme. It was therefore proposed to add $16,000 with a view to providing for additional missions.

The Director-General considered that the most appropriate and practical way of enabling the I.L.O. to make...
use of the extra money for the purposes for which it had been provided would be to add the total amount of $111,412, to the estimate under item 30 of the draft 1966 income budget without there having apparently been any prior agreement with the relevant sub-items of the draft expenditure budget.

**Proposed Budgetary Provision in 1966 for I.L.O.-U.N.E.S.C.O. Inter-Governmental Conference on the Status of Teachers**

The following paragraphs summarise the contents of a paper on this subject which was before the Committee. At its 157th (November 1963) and 158th (February 1964) Sessions the Governing Body had approved the long-term programme of integrated joint action between the I.L.O. and U.N.E.S.C.O. aimed at the adoption of an international instrument on problems affecting the teaching profession. It was noted that the proposed budget for 1966, approved by the Governing Body at its 161st Session (February-March 1965), included under sub-item 3.84 provision of $14,000 to cover the I.L.O.'s half share of the cost of a joint I.L.O.-U.N.E.S.C.O. Meeting of Experts on the Status of Teachers, scheduled to take place at the I.L.O., Geneva, from 17 to 29 January 1966, to prepare a draft instrument concerning the status of teachers which, together with the report of the experts, would be submitted to an ad hoc Inter-Governmental Conference, to be sponsored by both I.L.O. and U.N.E.S.C.O. Following negotiations between the Director-General of the two Organizations, it was now considered that the most suitable date for such a conference would be in the latter part of 1966.

It was proposed that the ad hoc Inter-Governmental Conference be held at U.N.E.S.C.O. headquarters in Paris, the cost of participation by the national delegations being met by the Governments concerned. The total cost of holding the Conference had been estimated at $30,000, to cover such items as temporary staff, printing, travel of I.L.O. members of secretariat and other miscellaneous expenses, of which the I.L.O.'s share would amount to $15,000. Provision to cover U.N.E.S.C.O.'s share of the expenses involved had been included in the U.N.E.S.C.O. budget for the biennium 1965-1966.

15. The discussion of these questions by the Financial and Administrative Committee is summarised in its second report to the Governing Body (document G.B.162/9/32) from which the above extract is taken. The following further extract from that report relates to the conclusion of the discussion and the decision then taken by the Committee:

Following a recess, Lord Collison restated his view that the additional E.P.T.A. allocation should properly be used for the purpose expressly stated in the Advisory Committee’s recommendation. However, in order to facilitate agreement within the Committee, he thought that, provided it was accepted that the Director-General would retain some measure of flexibility in the use of these funds and that there might be some reallocation within the different sections of the support activities at a later date, it could be agreed that an amount of $15,000 could be set aside to provide for the joint I.L.O.-U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference, the amounts specified under (a), (b), (d) and (e) above, totalling $91,412, should be made available for E.P.T.A. support activities and that the remaining balance of $5,000 could be added to the provision for unforeseen expenditure in the draft 1966 budget.

The United States, Indian and Australian Government members indicated their acceptance of this proposal. Mr. Bergenström, while signifying his agreement with Lord Collison’s suggestions, nevertheless expressed his surprise that provision for a joint I.L.O.-U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference had been made in the U.N.E.S.C.O. biennium budget without there having apparently been any prior agreement with the I.L.O. on the timing of the Conference. The Committee recommends to the Governing Body that the amount of $111,412 be added to the draft gross income budget for 1966 and that the same amount be added to the draft gross expenditure budget for 1966, on the basis of the breakdown by sub-item contained in Appendix II.

It was noted that adoption of the above recommendation would have the effect of increasing the draft gross expenditure and income budgets by the same amount of $111,412, i.e. from $20,023,000 to $21,034,412. However, the net expenditure and income budgets, as contained in the draft resolution for submission to the Conference (Report II: Financial and Budgetary Questions, page 4, paragraph 29) would remain unchanged at $20,337,871 and accordingly the total assessment on member States for 1966 would also remain unchanged.

**APPENDIX II**

**Proposed Adjustments to the Draft Budget for 1966**

(In U.S. dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-item</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Additional estimates</th>
<th>1966 revised estimates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>Other joint meetings with other organisations</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>Temporary assistance</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>44,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.04</td>
<td>Post adjustments</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>875,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>Family allowances</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>501,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.06</td>
<td>Assignment allowances</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>95,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.10</td>
<td>Terminal benefits</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>160,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.11</td>
<td>Provision for mandatory increases</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>233,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>Temporary allocation for reorganisation of field structure</td>
<td>23,500</td>
<td>110,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.02</td>
<td>United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>1,384,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.07</td>
<td>Sick Benevolent Fund</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>102,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>Travel on appointment</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>123,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.01</td>
<td>Installation allowances</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>99,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>Travel on official business</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>184,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>Rental of premises</td>
<td>3,412</td>
<td>212,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>Unforeseen expenditure</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Revised Total Gross Expenditure Budget</td>
<td>21,034,412</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deduct</td>
<td>Receipts from Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance Special Account</td>
<td>111,412</td>
<td>606,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Net Expenditure Budget (unchanged)</td>
<td>20,337,871</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. The Governing Body adopted this report on 29 May 1965 and therefore recommends to the Conference that the amount of $111,412 be added to the draft gross income budget for 1966 and that the same amount be added to the appropriate items of the draft gross expenditure budget for 1966.

17. As a consequence of the above change the gross expenditure budget for 1966 now recommended by the Governing Body amounts to $21,034,412. However, the net expenditure and income budgets, as contained in the draft resolution for submission to the Conference (Report II: Financial and Budgetary Questions, page 4, paragraph 29) remain unchanged at $20,337,871.

18. A summary of the proposed expenditure budget for 1966, as thus revised by the Governing Body on 29 May 1965 is reproduced below.
## SUMMARY OF PROPOSED EXPENDITURE BUDGET FOR 1966

(As Adopted by the Governing Body on 4 March 1965 and Revised by the Governing Body on 29 May 1965)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1964 Budget</th>
<th>1964 Expenditure</th>
<th>1965 Budget</th>
<th>1966 Estimates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. dollars</td>
<td>U.S. dollars</td>
<td>U.S. dollars</td>
<td>U.S. dollars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Meetings:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Ordinary Session of the Conference</td>
<td>377,187</td>
<td>407,662</td>
<td>437,267</td>
<td>454,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Governing Body</td>
<td>151,913</td>
<td>141,654</td>
<td>142,700</td>
<td>142,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Conferences, committees and other meetings</td>
<td>503,805</td>
<td>430,764</td>
<td>421,726</td>
<td>654,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of Part I</td>
<td>1,012,905</td>
<td>1,000,080</td>
<td>1,001,693</td>
<td>1,202,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Operational activities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Operational activities</td>
<td>1,308,000</td>
<td>1,331,811</td>
<td>1,628,000</td>
<td>1,935,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Special programmes and projects:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 Special programmes and projects</td>
<td>190,600</td>
<td>171,638</td>
<td>261,500</td>
<td>371,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Contributions to extra-budgetary programmes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 Contributions to extra-budgetary programmes</td>
<td>469,000</td>
<td>565,819</td>
<td>658,000</td>
<td>575,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>Staff and related costs:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 Salaries and allowances</td>
<td>8,415,705</td>
<td>8,590,339</td>
<td>9,539,530</td>
<td>10,563,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 Social security charges</td>
<td>1,486,210</td>
<td>1,438,213</td>
<td>1,583,333</td>
<td>1,813,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 Travel and removal expenses</td>
<td>447,160</td>
<td>558,968</td>
<td>646,000</td>
<td>643,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 Other staff costs</td>
<td>87,125</td>
<td>87,207</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of Part I</td>
<td>10,456,200</td>
<td>10,674,877</td>
<td>11,875,063</td>
<td>13,144,279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Travel on official business:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 Travel on official business</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>159,467</td>
<td>155,000</td>
<td>184,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Representation and hospitality:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 Representation and hospitality</td>
<td>42,000</td>
<td>42,000</td>
<td>42,000</td>
<td>43,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>External collaboration:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 External collaboration</td>
<td>51,500</td>
<td>119,345</td>
<td>91,500</td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>General office expenses:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 General office expenses</td>
<td>743,166</td>
<td>830,084</td>
<td>972,250</td>
<td>1,143,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>Library, printing and public information:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 Library</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>47,075</td>
<td>55,000</td>
<td>76,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 Printing</td>
<td>231,841</td>
<td>220,816</td>
<td>309,033</td>
<td>321,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17 Public information</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>80,606</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>160,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of Part I</td>
<td>367,841</td>
<td>348,497</td>
<td>524,033</td>
<td>557,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.</td>
<td>Capital expenditure:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 Land and buildings</td>
<td>80,523</td>
<td>80,523</td>
<td>87,523</td>
<td>107,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19 Furniture and equipment</td>
<td>132,000</td>
<td>121,603</td>
<td>175,000</td>
<td>211,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of Part I</td>
<td>212,523</td>
<td>202,216</td>
<td>262,523</td>
<td>318,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>Branch Offices and National Correspondents:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 Branch Offices</td>
<td>584,498</td>
<td>612,543</td>
<td>620,835</td>
<td>693,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 National Correspondents</td>
<td>106,749</td>
<td>91,288</td>
<td>103,491</td>
<td>107,923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of Part I</td>
<td>691,247</td>
<td>703,831</td>
<td>724,326</td>
<td>801,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Other charges:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22 Inter-agency administrative co-ordination</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>14,150</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 Unpaid liabilities</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 External audit costs</td>
<td>13,934</td>
<td>13,125</td>
<td>13,934</td>
<td>13,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of Part I</td>
<td>29,934</td>
<td>27,255</td>
<td>29,934</td>
<td>29,934</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total of Part I: 15,812,806

1 See note overleaf.
### Appendix IV: Financial and Budgetary Questions

#### PART II — UNFORESEEN EXPENDITURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Unforeseen expenditure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>125,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### PART III — WORKING CAPITAL FUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Working Capital Fund</td>
<td>1,164,350</td>
<td>1,164,350</td>
<td>983,525</td>
<td>464,064</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total Gross Expenditure Budget (Parts I-III) | 16,977,156 | 17,341,220 | 10,304,347 | 21,034,412 |

#### MISCELLANEOUS INCOME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Receipts from Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance Special Account</td>
<td>453,357</td>
<td>453,357</td>
<td>620,000</td>
<td>696,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Miscellaneous receipts</td>
<td>135,000</td>
<td>135,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total Miscellaneous Income | 588,357 | 611,156 | 620,000 | 696,541 |

| Total Net Expenditure Budget | 16,388,799 | 16,730,064 | 18,684,347 | 20,337,871 |

---

1. To facilitate comparison, these figures include amounts that were not charged to the 1964 budget, being met under supplementary credits by withdrawal from the Working Capital Fund, as authorised by the Governing Body. These amounts are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Sub-item</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>1964 U.S. dollars</th>
<th>1964 U.S. dollars</th>
<th>1965 U.S. dollars</th>
<th>1966 U.S. dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>Temporary staff: salaries and allowances</td>
<td>14,112</td>
<td>14,112</td>
<td>30,475</td>
<td>30,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>Special printing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>Committees and delegations of the Governing Body</td>
<td>1,772</td>
<td>1,772</td>
<td>9,741</td>
<td>9,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>Printing of Governing Body Minutes</td>
<td>2,969</td>
<td>2,969</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 3    | 3.41     | Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association | - | - | 19,240 | 19,240 |

| 6    | 6.04     | International Occupational Safety and Health Information Centre (C.I.S.) | 16,164 | 16,164 | - | - |
|      | 6.05     | International Vocational Training Information and Research Centre (C.I.R.F.) | 57,820 | 57,820 | - | - |
|      | 6.06     | United Nations Children’s Fund Costs | 22,835 | 22,835 | - | - |

| 7    | 7.03     | Temporary assistance | 18,800 | 18,800 | - | - |
|      | 7.04     | Post adjustments | 119,535 | 119,535 | - | - |
|      | 7.05     | Family allowances | 8,500 | 8,500 | - | - |
|      | 7.07     | Overtime and other allowances | 1,149 | 1,149 | - | - |
|      | 7.10     | Terminal benefits | 1,005 | 1,005 | 145,089 | 145,089 |

| 13   | 13.00    | Consultants and other external collaborators | - | - | 67,845 | 67,845 |

| 14   | 14.03    | Cleaning and removal staff | - | - | 3,855 | 3,855 |

Total: 364,064

---

1. As from 1 January 1965 the miscellaneous receipts are credited direct to the Working Capital Fund.
VIII. Income Budget for 1966

19. At the 162nd Session of the Governing Body (May 1965) the Allocations Committee submitted proposals to the Governing Body for recommendation to the Conference concerning the assessment of the contributions of a number of new member States of the I.L.O. These proposals are contained in the first report of the Allocations Committee to the 162nd Session of the Governing Body, the text of which is as follows:

1. The Allocations Committee of the Governing Body met on 27 May 1965 under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Tzankov (Bulgaria).

Assessment of the Contributions of New Member States of the International Labour Organisation

2. The Committee noted that the undermentioned States became Members of the International Labour Organisation on the dates indicated below:
   - Zambia: 2 December 1964
   - Malta: 4 January 1965
   - Malawi: 29 March 1965
   - Yemen: 20 May 1965

3. In giving consideration to the percentage assessments to be fixed in respect of the contributions of the above States, the Committee recalled that the general policy of the Allocations Committee in recent years had been to bring the I.L.O. scale of contributions into line with the United Nations scale as and when possible. In conformity with this policy, the recent practice of the Committee in assessing the contributions of new member States had been to align their I.L.O. percentage with the percentage of their contribution to the United Nations budget for the year in which they joined the I.L.O. except that in cases where the United Nations assessment had been lower than 0.12 per cent. (the minimum rate in the I.L.O. scale) the contributions of the States concerned had been assessed at 0.12 per cent. of the I.L.O. budget.

4. It was noted that each of the new Members was also a member of the United Nations and that the contribution of Yemen to the United Nations budget for 1964 had been at the minimum rate in the United Nations scale of 0.04 per cent. It was also noted that on the previous I.L.O. Committee on Contributions had recommended the same rate in respect of Yemen's contribution to the United Nations budget for 1965. In accordance with the Committee's past practice an appropriate assessment was made for negotiation with the Government of Yemen therefore appeared to be at the minimum rate in the I.L.O. scale of 0.12 per cent. of the budget.

5. The United Nations Committee on Contributions had not yet provided a draft scale of assessments to be fixed for the contributions to the United Nations budget of Zambia, Malta and Malawi respectively. However, on the basis of the most recently available economic data concerning each of these States compared with similar data relating to various other member States of the I.L.O., it had been estimated that an appropriate assessment of the contributions of Zambia, Malta and Malawi respectively to the budget of the I.L.O. would be at the minimum rate of 0.12 per cent.

6. The Committee decides—
   (a) to authorise its Chairman to consult with representatives of the Governments of Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen, respectively on the question of an assessment of the contribution of each of them at the minimum rate 0.12 per cent. of the budget of the I.L.O.; and
   (b) with a view to avoiding the need to hold a further meeting or meetings of the Committee for the purpose of dealing with this particular question during the forthcoming session of the International Labour Conference, to include assessments of 0.15 per cent. each for Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen in the draft scale of assessments for 1966 that it had under consideration, and to instruct its Chairman to inform the Finance Committee of Government Representatives at the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference of the agreement of the representatives of each of the above-mentioned Members respectively to the proposed assessments of their contributions, on the understanding that, if the representatives of the Governments of any of these Members should not agree to the proposed assessment of their State's contribution, the Chairman should report back to the Committee.

Scale of Contributions to the Budget for the Financial Year 1966

7. In considering the draft scale of contributions to the budget for 1966, the Committee noted that it would be necessary to adjust the 1965 scale to take into account on the one hand the withdrawal from the Organisation of the Republic of South Africa, and on the other hand, the assessment of the contributions of the four States which had joined the Organisation since the adoption of the 1965 scale by the Conference.

8. In view of the fact that South Africa would cease to be a Member of the Organisation on 11 March 1966, the Committee considered it appropriate to assess South Africa's contribution for 1966 on the basis of its 1965 assessment, reduced proportionately to take into account the fact that it was no longer a Member of the Organisation. In accordance with the Committee’s past practice an assessment of 0.12 per cent. of the I.L.O. budget would be restricted to 70 days (1 January to 11 March 1966). On this basis, the Committee included in the draft scale of contributions for 1966 an assessment of South Africa's contribution at 0.15 x 70 = 0.105 per cent. of the budget.

9. The Committee noted that the difference between 0.70 per cent. and 0.105 per cent., i.e. 0.60 per cent., would, of course, have to be spread amongst the remaining membership of the Organisation.

10. In this connection, the Committee recalled that for a number of years past it had modified the I.L.O. scale of contributions when necessary to take into account increases in membership of the Organisation by the application of the following criteria:
   (a) States previously assessed at the minimum to receive no relief;
   (b) the State assessed at the maximum to receive no relief;
   (c) States assessed at or below their United Nations assessment to receive no relief; and
   (d) the aggregate assessment of new member States to be divided among the remaining member States (i.e. those at present assessed at or below their United Nations assessment) in proportion to the amounts by which their individual I.L.O. assessment exceeds their United Nations assessment, the previous I.L.O. assessment of these States being reduced accordingly.

11. These criteria had been applied in pursuance of the principle consistently upheld by the Committee and by the Governing Body that the I.L.O. scale of contributions should be brought more into line with the United Nations scale at every subsequent triennial assessment, subject to the retention of the present maximum and minimum rates of contribution in the I.L.O. scale. In furtherance of this principle, the paper before the Committee contained a suggestion that the Committee might wish to distribute the difference between South Africa's 1965 and 1966 assessments, i.e. 0.61 per cent., among the remaining member States, in accordance with the following criteria, which were the converse of those used when amending the scale to take account of the inclusion of the assessments of new member States:
   (a) States at present assessed at the minimum, except where their individual I.L.O. assessment is not to be increased;
   (b) the State assessed at the maximum not to be increased;
   (c) States assessed at or below their United Nations assessment not to be increased; and
   (d) the total percentage withdrawn from the scale of contributions to be distributed among the remaining member States (i.e. those at present assessed at or below their United Nations assessment) in proportion to the amounts by which their individual I.L.O. assessment falls short of their individual United Nations assessment, the previous I.L.O. assessments of these States being increased accordingly.

12. The Committee also had before it a draft scale of assessments for 1966 based on the 1965 scale, modified in the first instance in accordance with the above criteria.
13. In the second place, the draft scale before the Committee was based on the 1965 scale modified to take into account the increased membership of the Organisation in accordance with the established criteria set out in paragraph 10 above. This scale included assessments of the contributions of the new member States of Zambia, Malta, Malawi, and Yemen at the rate of 0.12 per cent. of the budget of the I.L.O. in each case.

14. The U.S.S.R. Government member said that the document before the Committee had been distributed only about one week previously, so that his Government had not had time to formulate its definitive attitude in the matter. He therefore proposed that the Committee should not attempt to reach a conclusion at its present meeting with regard to the draft scale of contributions for 1966 to be recommended for adoption by the Governing Body and the Conference.

15. The suggestion before the Committee was that the relief assessment of the contributions of the new member States be distributed in accordance with the established criteria, while the percentage withdrawn from the scale of contributions as a result of the withdrawal from the Organisation of South Africa would be allocated in accordance with an entirely new set of criteria. While he appreciated that the new criteria were based on the same arithmetical principles as the established criteria, their application resulted in a directly opposite effect in that they added to the burden of some member States, whereas the established criteria alleviated the burden on a number of member States. This represented an important innovation and one which merited very careful consideration by the Committee and in particular by the Governments of the member States affected, of which his own Government was one.

16. In fact, application of the suggested criteria would mean that the U.S.S.R. would be called upon to pay at a rate of 0.23 per cent. higher than its present assessment. Moreover, of the total additional charge of 0.61 per cent., almost half, or 0.30 per cent., would be borne by socialist countries.

17. Although he did not doubt that the suggested criteria had been proposed by the Director-General in a purely objective manner, based solely on the arithmetical principle of bringing the I.L.O. scale as far as possible into line with the United Nations scale, nevertheless the practical effect of applying the criteria would have political consequences in that a very substantial proportion of the additional burden would fall on the socialist countries.

18. He expressed the hope that the Committee would be able to find an alternative formula which would not result in any individual member State feeling that it had been unduly penalised financially as a result of action that had been taken by the membership of the Organisation as a whole.

19. With this end in view, the U.S.S.R. Government member put forward the alternative proposal of the Committee as an alternative suggestion, the effect of which would be to apply the following method of adjustment of the I.L.O. scale of contributions:

1. Under normal circumstances, the established criteria for distributing the relief arising from the assessment of new member States shall continue to be applied.

2. In years when the I.L.O. scale has to be adjusted to take into account the effect of the withdrawal of a member State or States, the amount of the relief, if any, arising from the assessment of new Member States, in the first instance, be offset against the percentage to be withdrawn from the scale.

3. If the difference resulting from the above represents a net amount of relief then the existing criteria for distribution of relief shall be applied to such net amount.

4. If at the time of submission of the budget for the year in question to the Conference the total percentage of the assessment of new Members is insufficient to offset the percentage withdrawn from the scale as the result of the withdrawal of a member State or States, so that the difference represents an additional charge on existing member States, such difference shall be allocated as follows:

(a) States at present assessed at the minimum, except where this is lower than their United Nations assessment, not to be increased;
(b) the State assessed at the maximum not to be increased;
(c) States assessed at or above their United Nations assessment not to be increased; and
(d) the additional charge to be distributed temporarily among the remaining member States (i.e. those assessed lower than their United Nations assessment) pro rata to the amounts by which their individual I.L.O. assessment falls short of their individual United Nations assessment, the previous I.L.O. assessments of these States being increased accordingly.

5. The assessments temporarily increased as a result of the application of the above formula shall subsequently be brought back to their previous levels by distributing the relief arising from the assessment of new Members in the scale of contributions for the next following year or years in which such relief shall arise.

6. Once the assessments temporarily increased in accordance with the formula set out in paragraph 4 above have been brought back to their original percentage levels by distributing the relief arising from the assessment of new Member States, any further such relief shall be applied in accordance with the existing criteria, as follows:

(a) States previously assessed at the minimum to receive no relief;
(b) the State assessed at the maximum to receive no relief;
(c) States assessed at or below their United Nations assessment to receive no relief; and
(d) the aggregate assessment of new Member States to be divided among the remaining member States (i.e. those assessed higher than their United Nations assessment) pro rata to the amounts by which their individual I.L.O. assessment exceeds their United Nations assessment, the previous I.L.O. assessments of these States being reduced accordingly.

20. The U.S.S.R. Government member appreciated that the other members of the Committee would wish to have time to consider the implications of this alternative suggestion. Accordingly he suggested that the Committee should not attempt to reach a final decision at its present meeting.

21. The French Government member said that he well understood the principles that had guided the Director-General in submitting to the Committee the draft scale of contributions for 1966 that was before it. This scale had been devised strictly in accordance with the principle that had long since been established by the Committee, the Governing Body and the Conference that the I.L.O. scale should move progressively towards the United Nations scale of contributions at every suitable opportunity.

22. However, he felt that the Committee was fully aware of the fact that complete uniformity between the United Nations and the I.L.O. scales could never be reached until such time as the Member assessed at the highest rate could accept an alignment of this rate with the rate of its United Nations assessment. This Member, the United States, was at present assessed at 31.91 per cent. in the United Nations scale and 25 per cent. in the I.L.O. scale. To bring into accord both scales would mean that many years to bring the I.L.O. scale more into line with the United Nations scale, and although successive United States Governments had expressed their good will in the matter, the United States Government had not so far found it possible to accept an increase in the rate of its present assessment of 25 per cent. of the highest.

23. Another fundamental difference existed between the United Nations and the I.L.O. scales, namely that the minimum assessment in the United Nations scale was 0.04 per cent., whereas the minimum in the I.L.O. scale was 0.12 per cent.

24. This situation had existed for many years, probably since the end of the Second World War. Although within the practical limits imposed on it the Committee had done its best to bring the I.L.O. scale more into line
with the United Nations scale on occasions when new member States had joined the I.L.O., the resulting adjustments in the assessments of the remaining member States had not given complete satisfaction in all cases.

25. There were still many States whose contributions were assessed at a much higher rate in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations scale. On the other hand, the I.L.O. assessments of a number of Members were considerably lower than their United Nations assessments. The assessments of some Members clearly no longer reflected their capacity to pay as a result of their increased prosperity.

26. He felt that the Committee should give very careful consideration as to how these anomalies could be corrected in the I.L.O. scale of contributions. He agreed with the U.S.S.R. Government member that the Committee should not attempt to reach a decision at this stage. The members of the Committee should have an opportunity of studying in detail the suggestion of the U.S.S.R. Government member and of reflecting on the problem as a whole.

27. The United States Government member concurred in the suggestions to adjourn further consideration of the draft scale of contributions for 1966 but expressed the hope that the Committee would be able to re-convene at an early date, after the suggestion of the U.S.S.R. Government member had been circulated. He could understand the concern of those governments which had not had an opportunity to study the Director-General's proposals as carefully as they would have liked.

28. While he was prepared to consider alternative suggestions such as had been put forward, this should not be interpreted as meaning that he felt that the Director-General's proposals were based on any considerations other than purely financial ones. He had carefully examined the paper before the Committee, and after calculation had concluded that the draft scale before the Committee resulted simply from the arithmetical application of the principles hitherto established and maintained by the Committee.

29. The Chairman concluded that the Committee as a whole would wish to have further time to consider the problem following the circulation of the suggestion put forward by the U.S.S.R. Government member.

30. The Committee agreed to adjourn consideration of this question in order to give its members time for further reflection and consultation with their governments.

31. Announced to this report as Annex I is a list of I.L.O. member States whose contributions are at present assessed at a lower percentage in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations scale (with the exception of the State assessed at the maximum rate). Annex I also indicates the effect of applying the suggestion put forward by the U.S.S.R. Government member on the individual assessments of the member States concerned, the resulting 1966 assessment being contained in the last column of the table.

32. Annex II to this report indicates in the last column the full draft scale of assessments for 1966 that would result from the application of the suggestion put forward by the U.S.S.R. Government member, set alongside the United Nations scale for 1965 as recommended by the United Nations Committee on Contributions and the I.L.O. scale for 1965 as adopted by the Conference at its 48th Session in June 1964.

Procedure for the Possible Continuation of the Work of the Allocations Committee during the Conference

33. It was recalled that in some years circumstances had necessitated the holding of meetings of the Committee during the annual session of the International Labour Conference. At its present session the Committee had adjourned consideration of the draft scale of contributions for 1966 as recorded in paragraph 30 above. It is also possible, in certain circumstances referred to in paragraph 6 above, that the Chairman of the Committee might be required to report back to the Committee following his consultation with representatives of the new member States, which would necessitate the holding of a further meeting or meetings of the Committee during the Conference.

34. Accordingly, the Committee recommends to the Governing Body that it be authorised to continue its work after the meetings of the Governing Body on 29 May 1965 and to submit its reports direct to the Finance Committee of Government Representatives of the Conference.
20. The Governing Body adopted the above report on 29 May 1965. Accordingly, the proposed assessments of the new member States will become effective upon certification by the Chairman of the Allocations Committee that the representatives of the governments of each of the new member States are in agreement with the proposed percentage assessment of the contributions to the budget of the I.L.O. of their respective countries.

21. The Allocations Committee adjourned its consideration of the draft scale of contributions for 1966, as recorded in paragraph 30 of its report. The Governing Body authorised the Allocations Committee to continue its work after the meetings of the Governing Body on 29 May 1965 and to submit its reports direct to the Finance Committee of Government Representatives of the Conference. The Allocations Committee's report on its further consideration of the draft scale of contributions for 1966 will therefore be submitted to the Finance Committee of Government Representatives at a later date.
## Statements Showing the Status of Collection of Annual Contributions.

**I. STATUS OF COLLECTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS ASSESSED FOR 1965 AS AT 31 MAY 1965**

*In United States dollars*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State (French alphabetical order)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Gross contribution for 1965</th>
<th>Amount paid in 1965</th>
<th>Balance due</th>
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1. **Credit allocated in respect of Hungary's share of 1955 cash balance and taken in deduction of its 1965 contribution under article 27 of the Financial Regulations.**
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>State (French alphabetical order)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Gross contribution for 1965</th>
<th>Amount paid in 1965</th>
<th>Balance due</th>
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<tr>
<td>90. Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>22,421</td>
<td>22,421</td>
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<tr>
<td>91. Somalia</td>
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<td>22,421</td>
<td>22,421</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>92. Sudan</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>22,421</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>22,421</td>
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<td>93. Republic of South Africa</td>
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<td>101. Togo</td>
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<tr>
<td>102. Trinidad and Tobago</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>22,421</td>
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<tr>
<td>103. Tunisia</td>
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<td>39,237</td>
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<td>110. Yugoslavia</td>
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<td>74,738</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,868,435</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,784,787</strong></td>
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### II. ARREARS OF CONTRIBUTIONS FOR YEARS PRIOR TO 1966 AS AT 31 MAY 1965

*(In United States dollars)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total arrears due</th>
<th>Contributions 1965-1964</th>
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<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>14,867</td>
<td>36,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36,475</td>
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<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>186,548</td>
<td>422,267</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>225,719</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>1955-57</td>
<td>17,530</td>
<td>36,401</td>
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<td>1962-63</td>
<td>21,865</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>19,563</td>
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<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>123,660</td>
<td>411,504</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
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<td>8,383</td>
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<td>Chile</td>
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<td>9,936</td>
<td>101,706</td>
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<td>China</td>
<td>1962-53</td>
<td>243,463</td>
<td>620,071</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>286,231</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>509,694</td>
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<td>Dahomey</td>
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<td>19,541</td>
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<td>16,808</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>19,667</td>
<td>36,475</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>9,907</td>
<td>36,366</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>19,632</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>57,583</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>68,833</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>126,516</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
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<td>36,475</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36,475</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>1964</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Rwanda</td>
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<td>22,145</td>
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<td>126,193</td>
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<td>Uruguay</td>
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<td>1,772,304</td>
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</table>

1 The figures in the last column are included in this table in pursuance of article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the text of which is as follows:

A Member of the Organisation which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contribution to the Organisation shall have no vote in the Conference, in the Governing Body, in any committee, or in the elections of members of the Governing Body, if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years: Provided that the Conference may by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast by delegates present permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

Bolivia: Contributions due for the period ending 31 December 1957 ($35,057,57) payable in eight equal annual instalments of $4,382,20, commencing in 1959, in accordance with the arrangement approved by the International Labour Conference at its 40th Session (1957). The instalments for 1959-62 have been paid.

China: Contributions due for the period ending 31 December 1953 ($883,871.80) payable by annual instalments of $30,000, in accordance with the arrangement approved by the International Labour Conference at its 47th Session (1954). The annual instalments for 1954-65, amounting to $250,000, have been paid. In addition, an amount of $280,408 has been received.

Paraguay: The International Labour Conference decided at its 45th Session (1961) that the arrears of contributions due from Paraguay in respect of the International Labour Organisation and other League of Nations organisations for the period prior to 1959, amounting to $140,038, shall be cancelled, such cancellation to become effective on the payment by Paraguay of all its arrears of contributions due in respect of the more recent periods since 5 September 1959, the date when Paraguay rejoined the Organisation.
(3) First Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.1

1. The Finance Committee of Government Representatives met on 4, 8, 9, 10 and 11 June 1965 with Mr. Tesemma (Ethiopia) as Chairman and Reporter and Mr. Hill (Australia) as Vice-Chairman.

I. AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1964

2. The Committee had before it the audited accounts for the 46th financial period (1964) and the reports thereon by Mr. Uno Brunsøk, auditor. The Committee noted that the Governing Body, on the recommendation of its Financial and Administrative Committee, had taken note of the auditor's reports and recommended that the Conference adopt the audited accounts for 1964.

3. The representative of Ukraine expressed his view that the information contained in the audited accounts was presented in such a way that it was difficult for members of the Committee to ascertain from the document exactly how the Organisation's funds were being spent and whether such funds were being put to the best possible use. Under the present system of auditing the external auditor was not required to examine whether the organisation's funds were used effectively. The control of the use made of the organisation's funds would be much more efficacious if carried out by a group of auditors which would be appointed by the Conference each year. Such a group should be drawn from the countries which bore the brunt of the organisation's expenses and from the countries receiving technical assistance under the budget. The critical examination of such a group would be especially useful in evaluating the use made of the funds devoted to the technical assistance activities of the Office.

4. The Committee recommends, under article 26 of the Financial Regulations, that the Conference should adopt the audited accounts for 1964.

II. RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE CONTRIBUTIONS PAYABLE TO THE I.L.O. STAFF PENSIONS FUND IN 19662

5. The Committee had before it a resolution submitted by the Governing Body on the recommendation of the Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund, under article 7 of the Regulations of the Staff Pensions Fund, concerning the contributions payable to the Fund in 1966. The Committee recommends the adoption by the Conference of this resolution, which is in the following terms:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

Decides that the contribution of the International Labour Organisation to the Staff Pensions Fund for 1966 under article 7, paragraph (a), of the Staff Pensions Regulations shall be 14 per cent. of the pensionable emoluments of the members of the Fund;

Decides that, for the year 1966, the officials mentioned in article 4, paragraph (a) (ii), of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Regulations shall continue to pay an additional 1 per cent. of their pensionable emoluments (making a total of 7½ per cent.) and those mentioned in article 4, paragraph (a) (ii), an additional ½ per cent. (making a total of 5½ per cent.) if their pensionable emoluments exceed the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 per annum, and an additional ½ per cent. (making a total of 5½ per cent.) if their emoluments are the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 or less;

Resolves that, in continuation of the arrangement approved in previous years, the whole budgetary vote for 1966 in respect of the contribution of the Organisation to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund should be paid to the Fund.

III. RESOLUTION CONCERNING APPOINTMENTS TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD OF THE I.L.O. STAFF PENSIONS FUND AND TO THE I.L.O. STAFF PENSION COMMITTEE (UNITED NATIONS JOINT STAFF PENSION FUND)1

6. The Committee noted that the Governing Body at its 162nd Session (May-June 1965) had decided to submit to the Conference a draft resolution concerning the reappointment of three members and two substitute members of the Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pension Committee and of the I.L.O. Staff Pension Committee (United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund). The Governing Body had noted at its 162nd Session that a proposal to fill a vacancy for a substitute member of the Board and Committee would be submitted by the Director-General at a later date.

7. In respect of this vacancy, the Director-General, in agreement with the Officers of the Governing Body, submitted the name of Mr. Bengt Hamdahl (Sweden).

8. The Committee recommends that the Conference adopt the following resolution:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

Appoints to the Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund for a period of three years until 8 October 1968, and to the I.L.O. Staff Pension Committee (United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund) for a period of three years until 10 July 1968 the following members and substitute members of these bodies, namely—

Members.
Mr. H. J. Kirkaldy (United Kingdom), former Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Cambridge; former substitute member of the Governing Body.
Mr. P. Juhl-Christensen (Denmark), Director, International Relations Department of the Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs.
Mr. André Heilbronner (France), Counsellor of State.

Substitute Members.
Mr. Charles R. McCord (Canada), Director of Annuitie, Department of Labour.
Mr. Ernst Kaiser (Switzerland), Actuarial Adviser, Swiss Federal Office of Social Insurance.
Mr. Bengt Hamdahl (Sweden), Director of Labor Affairs, Ministry of Social Affairs.

IV. RESOLUTION CONCERNING AMENDMENTS TO THE REGULATIONS OF THE I.L.O. STAFF PENSIONS FUND3

9. The Committee had before it an extract from the first report of the Financial and Administrative Committee submitted to the Governing Body at its 162nd Session, containing a summary of a number of proposals concerning the level of pensionable remunera-

1 See Appendix XII, p. 708.
2 See Appendix XII, p. 709.
tion and of pensions in payment under the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund. These proposals had been designed as parallel measures to those already in effect for the participants in the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund following decisions taken by the United Nations General Assembly. The Governing Body had adopted the proposals at its 162nd Session.

10. The extract before the Committee also contained a series of proposed amendments to the Regulations of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund, which were necessary in order to give effect to the Governing Body's adoption of the proposals referred to in the preceding paragraph. The Governing Body at its 162nd Session had recommended the adoption by the Conference of the amendments concerned, which appear as Appendix VI to the first report of the Financial and Administrative Committee.1

11. The Committee recommends that the Conference adopt the following resolution:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—
Decides to amend the Regulations of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund in accordance with the texts which appear on pages II and III of the Provisional Record, No. 5.

V. RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE PENSIONS FUND OF THE JUDGES OF THE FORMER PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE2

12. The Committee had before it a resolution submitted by the Governing Body concerning the pensions in payment under the Pensions Fund of the Judges of the former Permanent Court of International Justice. The Committee recommends the adoption by the Conference of this resolution, which is in the following terms:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—
Decides that, with effect from 1 March 1965, the pensions payable by the Pensions Fund of the Judges of the former Permanent Court of International Justice shall be increased by 12 per cent.;
Decides that the increase in annuities of Dutch florins 5,960 per annum shall be financed from the accumulated assets of the Fund; it being understood that in the event of the accumulated assets later proving insufficient to cover the payment of all outstanding pensions the Director-General would submit proposals for consideration.

VI. RESOLUTION CONCERNING APPOINTMENTS TO THE I.L.O. ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL3

13. The Committee had before it a resolution submitted by the Governing Body concerning appointments to the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labour Organisation. The Committee recommends the adoption by the Conference of this resolution, which is in the following terms:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—
In accordance with article III of the Statute of the Administrative Tribunal;

1 See item 1 of this Appendix, p. 527.
2 See Appendix XII, p. 709.
3 See Appendix XII, p. 710.

VII. EXPENDITURE BUDGET FOR 1966

14. The Committee had before it (a) Report II: Financial and Budgetary Questions, containing the budget estimates for 1966 as originally proposed by the Governing Body; and (b) the revised budgetary estimates submitted by the Governing Body.1

15. The Director-General made a statement introducing the budgetary estimates for 1966. This was followed by statements by members of a tripartite delegation from the Governing Body who attended the meeting in accordance with the Financial Regulations.

16. The Director-General first informed the Committee that, following the urgent appeal for prompt payment of contributions made by the Conference in 1964, a number of member States had taken special administrative action which had enabled them to pay, in some cases all, and in others a part, of their 1965 contributions during the first quarter of the year.

On the other hand, 52 Members had so far made no payment whatsoever against their current contributions. The present margin of income over expenditure was not great and it was clear that any unexpected delay in the payment of contributions still outstanding would again lead to withdrawals from the Working Capital Fund in the second half of the year.

17. The regular net expenditure budget proposed by the Governing Body for 1966 amounted to $20,337,871, an increase of the order of 8.8 per cent. over the 1965 budget. This figure represented a compromise on the Director-General's original proposals, which had been discussed in detail by the Financial and Administrative Committee. The present figure had been accepted unanimously by both the Financial and Administrative Committee and the Governing Body. At its most recent session the Governing Body had decided to adjust certain provisions in the proposed budget as it appeared in Report II, to take account of an anticipated provision of additional funds designed to cover overhead costs related to projects carried out by the I.L.O. under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The larger part of the additional funds would be devoted to technical assistance and to improving the field structure. The increase in expenditure would be counter-balanced by the anticipated additional receipts, so that the total assessment on member States for 1966 would remain unchanged at the figure of $20,337,871.

18. The presentation of the budget had not differed from last year. However, the programme-planning system, which had now been introduced as part of the reorganisation of the

1 See item 1 of this Appendix, p. 531.
Office, would in the future ensure that financial data were associated with each programme proposed for implementation. This would facilitate the evaluation and selection of programmes and their examination by the legislative bodies of the Organisation with full regard for the related financial implications. The new programme-planning machinery, which was one of the most important developments reflected in the proposed budget for 1966, would come into full operation in 1966 and would enable the I.L.O. to adapt its action to changing needs in the light of available resources and to evaluate the results of its action. The key element in the system was a Programme Committee, of which he was Chairman, and the principal function of which was to select, for submission in the form of budget proposals, programmes of the highest priority from among those suggested by responsible chiefs in the Office on the basis of prior policy directives. Provision had been made in the budget for 1966 for the number of new posts and regradings to ensure the full and efficient operation of the planning system.

19. The second important factor reflected in the proposed budget for 1966 was the reorganisation of the field structure. A new Field Department had been established which would be responsible for managing all field activities on an organisation-wide basis, decentralised as far as was consistent with the need for supervision and guidance from headquarters. Since the creation of a complete new field structure, including a system of external offices, would take some time, a special allocation of temporary assistance funds had been included in the proposed budget rather than a provision for new permanent posts in 1966. It was intended that at a later stage this special allocation should be replaced by specific posts.

20. A third major factor reflected in the budget was the continuing importance attached to technical assistance activities financed from the regular funds of the Organisation. These activities were designed to complement work under the extra-budgetary programmes of technical assistance, had provided for substantially increased resources on this account in 1966, amounting in all to rather more than $1,900,000.

21. Apart from provision for regrading a number of posts to meet requirements resulting from the reorganisation, and the inclusion of one additional D.2 post for this purpose, the budget included provision for 19 Professional and 19 General Service category posts to reinforce sectors of the Office to which priority was being given following the reorganisation and in line with the new programme-planning arrangements. These new posts would involve an increase of only about 3.5 per cent. in the permanent staff establishment.

22. Following recommendations by a Working Party set up by the Financial and Administrative Committee in November 1964, the Governing Body had decided that the International Vocational Training and Research Centre (C.I.R.F.) account should be discontinued and that C.I.R.F.'s functions should be assumed by the I.L.O.; this decision was reflected in the proposed budget for 1966. The Governing Body had also decided, on the Working Party's recommendation, that the extra-budgetary accounts of the International Occupational Safety and Health Information Centre (C.I.S.); and the Inter-American Vocational Training Research and Information Centre (CINTERFOR) should be maintained, subject to review at an early date. The remaining extra-budgetary accounts would be examined by the Working Party in November.

23. Provision for a direct cash payment of $500,000 into the Working Capital Fund had originally been included in the budget proposals for 1966 in line with the provision made in the 1965 budget and in order to bring the Fund up to a level more commensurate with that of the regular budget. However, in reaching a compromise on the budget that was acceptable to all members of the Governing Body, this provision had been reduced to $100,000. The reduction had been accepted in the light of the establishment of a Working Party with the task of trying to determine an appropriate level for the Fund in relation to the level of the budget in future years. It was hoped that the Working Party's conclusions would be reached in time for them to be taken into account when the 1967 budget proposals were prepared.

24. With regard to the long-term accommodation needs of the Office the Director-General informed the Committee that the Swiss authorities, who had established a Property Foundation for International Organisations, had proposed to make available, for the construction of new I.L.O. premises, a site called "Le Grand Morillon," adjoining the site on which the World Health Organisation was putting up its new headquarters building. On the basis of the particular advantage of permitting the implementation of activities of special interest in the promotion of I.L.O. objectives which did not always receive top priority under the United Nations technical assistance programmes. The Governing Body, which had consistently supported a well-planned expansion of the regular budget technical assistance activities, had provided for substantially increased resources on this account in 1966, amounting in all to rather more than $1,900,000.

25. Referring to the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training in Turin, the Director-General confirmed that the material arrangements, for which the
Italian authorities had assumed responsibility without charge to the I.L.O., had reached an advanced state of preparation and that the final fitting out with movable equipment was in hand. Meanwhile, the team responsible for training questions had selected homogeneous groups of trainees for the first two training sessions, the technical preparatory work having been financed from credits made available under the Italian trust fund.

26. On the financial side, the budget originally fixed by the Governing Body for the first four years of operation had amounted to $6,100,000. However, as it seemed that contributions likely to be pledged prior to the opening of the Centre would probably fall short of this amount by some $500,000 and in view of the advanced state of the material arrangements coupled with the very considerable disadvantages of postponing the opening beyond the end of 1965, a new four-year budget had been drawn up on the basis of confirmed contributions, providing for a somewhat more gradual start and a more limited number of trainee groups of trainees for the first two training sessions. This new provisional budget, which had been approved by the Governing Body, amounted to approximately $5,553,000.

27. It was expected that the Convention and the other necessary instruments would be ratified very shortly by the competent authorities in Italy and that immediately afterwards the first instalment of the Italian contribution, amounting to $717,000, would be made available. The second instalment would be paid in January 1966. The Governing Body had therefore authorised the Director-General to begin operations and to open the Centre as soon as the conditions which it had laid down had been met. It was hoped that this would mean that the Centre could be opened in October.

28. Cash contributions for the first four years of the Centre's operation had now been announced by well over 30 member States of the I.L.O. and equipment valued at approximately $900,000 had been promised or delivered. The Director-General hoped that these examples of generosity would encourage and persuade governments which were still hesitating to participate in the undertaking. Further contributions from Members were essential to ensure the development of the Centre's activities in the years to come.

29. The Director-General concluded by recalling that the net budget of expenditure submitted by the Governing Body for 1966 amounted to $20,337,871. He believed this budget to be well geared to present needs while providing a sound basis for future development and therefore asked that the Committee send the budget forward to the Conference with its full support.

30. Mr. Heron (United Kingdom), who spoke on behalf of the Chairman of the Governing Body, said that the document before the Committee containing the proposed expenditure budget for 1966 represented the results of long and detailed discussions in the Financial and Administrative Committee at the 161st Session of the Governing Body (March 1965). The proposed gross expenditure budget amounted to over $21 million, representing an increase of almost 9 per cent. over the 1965 budget. During the careful and critical examination of the Director-General's original budget proposals by the Financial and Administrative Committee many different views had been expressed on the budget; it was thanks largely to the patience and skill of the Director-General that agreement had been reached on the proposals now before the Finance Committee.

31. It had been generally accepted that the I.L.O.'s activities should be expanded and that this would inevitably lead to some increase in expeditiousness. Views differed, however, as to the appropriate rate of expansion. Some governments had argued that the rate of increase in the budget should be related to the rate of economic growth in the world, while others had thought that the limiting factor should be the capacity of the Organisation's staff and administrative resources to absorb additional tasks. These differences of view had been brought out particularly in the discussion of the Fls. 1.5 million loan designed to finance technical assistance. Some governments had felt that to try to expand this work too rapidly would not be conducive to efficiency and would weaken its impact.

32. With regard to staffing arrangements many governments had urged the Director-General to continue his efforts to streamline the administrative procedures of the Office and to seek economies through more effective deployment of staff. General welcome had been afforded to the Director-General's proposals for improved programme planning and control of the Organisation's activities, and for better co-ordination of field activities.

33. It had been generally agreed that the Working Capital Fund should be large enough to cover the day-to-day requirements of the Office during those periods of the year when income from contributions lagged behind current expenditure. The Director-General had been led to make a substantial cut in his original proposal for adding to the Fund. It was hoped that the Working Party which had been established to consider what should be an appropriate level for the Fund in relation to the Organisation's expenditure would find a satisfactory and permanent solution to this difficult problem.

34. A point of particular importance was the expectation of the Governing Body that the reorganisation of the Office and the introduction of improved arrangements for programme control to be followed by an improved method of budget presentation, would facilitate more informed and constructive consideration of the budget in future years. The budget proposals now before the Finance Committee were not entirely satisfactory in all respects to all the governments which had taken part in the discussions of the Financial and Administrative Committee. The fact that they had been unanimously adopted by that Committee and by the Governing Body showed that they were nevertheless regarded as a reasonable compromise, reached in a spirit of responsible co-operation and goodwill. He felt that the Finance Committee of Government Represen-
tatives might well uphold that view, and accor-
dingly hoped that the Committee would adopt the
expenditure budget for 1966 as submitted.
35. Mr. Bergenström, who spoke on behalf of
the Employers' Vice-Chairman of the Governing
Body, said that the 1966 budget proposals had been unanimously accepted by
the Governing Body, including all the Em-
ployers' members, in a spirit of compromise.
In the Employers' view the programme of
meetings provided for in the 1966 budget was
overloaded. For some years past the Em-
ployers had asked for a revised budget presen-
tation which would clearly bring out the rela-
tion between staff costs and the work pro-
grammes undertaken by the staff. This was
not the case under the existing presentation,
as a result of which it was impossible to
establish priorities between different fields of
activity and thereby increase credits for work
of the highest importance and reduce or
eliminate low-priority work. The Employers
therefore hoped that future years budgets
would be elaborated on a programme basis.
This view had been supported by many
Government members, and the Employers were
happy to note the Director-General's plans in
this respect. They hoped for concrete results
in the 1967 budget proposals. Further con-
sideration should also be given to the idea of
long-term planning of the Organisation's ac-
tivities, and notably to the idea of a two-year
budget.
36. The rate of increase in the budget in
recent years had been very high, quite out of
proportion to the increase in the gross national
product of most member States. The Em-
ployers hoped that it would be possible in
future years to keep the rate of increase down
to a more reasonable figure. While this applied
to the budget as a whole, the Employers felt
that it should not apply to the credits for
technical assistance to developing countries;
this aid now had such a high priority that it
should constitute the major part of the I.L.O.'s
work.
37. Lord Collison, who spoke on behalf of
the Workers' Vice-Chairman of the Governing
Body, said that the Workers' group in the
Governing Body had finally been able to accept the
budget proposals now before the Finance
Committee of Government Representatives, but
only after rather long and sometimes bitter
exchanges of views and various compromises.
The Workers hoped that the new programme-
planning machinery would help the Financial
and Administrative Committee to examine
future budgets on a more realistic basis than at
present. The existing procedure had many
aspects had enabled the Workers to accept the
substantial cut that had been made in the
Director-General's original proposal for in-
jecting new money into the Working Capital
Fund in 1966.
39. The I.L.O. and all the specialised agencies
should try to meet the needs of the so-called
developing countries as far as possible. In this
context the world was not split into developing
and developed countries, as all countries were
in a constant state of development, and needs
for I.L.O. assistance abounded everywhere.
The Workers hoped that in future the I.L.O.
would be able to assess the real needs and then
provide the necessary assistance. They could
not accept the view that the rate of increase
in the I.L.O. budget should be tied to the rate of
increase in the gross national products of
its member States. The acceptance of such a
view would tie the I.L.O.'s activities to their
present level and might even reduce this level
because of the unavoidable incidence of rising
costs.
40. The Workers were very concerned at the
situation with regard to the I.L.O. premises.
They hoped and expected that the Swiss
authorities would improve on their present
offer for the I.L.O.'s existing buildings in
exchange for a new site. Geneva undoubtedly
benefited considerably from the presence of the
international organisations, and the authorities
should take this factor into account as well as
the replacement value of the present I.L.O.
building.
41. The Workers had been pleased to agree
with the Director-General's proposal to open
the Turin Centre. They greatly appreciated
the generosity of the Italian Government
for all it had done to make the Centre possible
and thanked all those governments which had
already contributed to the financing of the
Centre. In this connection, the Workers had
compared the launching of the Turin Centre
with that of the International Institute for
Labour Studies, which had been received
enthusiastically by the Governing Body and the Conference, but whose activities had now become a heavy charge on the regular budget. The Workers could not accept any suggestion that a similar state of affairs might eventually result in regard to the financing of the Turin Centre. The responsibility for contributing voluntarily to the Turin Centre lay clearly with the governments of all member States. In saying this, he emphasised that the Workers were fully conscious of the fact that it was the governments that provided the finance for the activities of the I.L.O. Nevertheless, in view of the unique tripartite nature of the Organisation, it was important that the Workers' voice be heard on financial matters. Indeed, the I.L.O. had been established in the first place to improve the working and living conditions of workers throughout the world. It was only normal, therefore, that the workers should play a full part in endeavouring to secure the necessary funds for the financing of the I.L.O.'s work.

General Discussion of the Budget Proposals

42. The representative of Argentina said that his Government was highly appreciative of the work carried out by the I.L.O. and took great interest in it; it should be expanded as far as possible, especially the technical assistance to developing countries, whose interests the Director-General was bound to take into account. It was inevitable that an increase in activities should lead to increased costs, not only in the I.L.O. but in the United Nations and all the specialised agencies. His Government felt that the very substantial cost of maintaining all of these international organisations should be borne principally by the highly developed and industrialised countries, and that these countries in particular should be prepared to contribute generously to the activities of the various organisations and support their budgets.

43. At present the allocation of expenses among member States in the I.L.O. rested on an unsatisfactory basis. The I.L.O. scale of contributions did not take sufficient account of the demands of equity and of the relative capacity to pay of the different member States. Many countries were over-assessed in the I.L.O. scale, and it was necessary that this scale be replaced in the future by a more equitable system of allocation. The Argentine Government considered that the work of the I.L.O. should be expanded, especially where it benefited developing countries. However, if the scale of contributions were not placed on a more equitable basis soon, then Argentina and many other countries would have difficulty in giving their continuing support to the budget of the Organisation.

44. The representative of Senegal said that the budget estimates were clearly set out and well explained in the document before the Committee. The 1966 budget reflected a number of new developments, one of which was the building of the revised field structures of the Organisation, which stemmed from the requests of developing countries that the work of the Organisation should be decentralised in order to enable it better to evaluate and try to meet the needs of the developing countries.

45. He had noted in recent years that there had been very little strengthening in the staff of the technical branches of the Office, whereas the staff of the administrative and financial services had increased substantially. A better distribution of staff was necessary between technical and administrative services and between I.L.O. Headquarters and the external offices.

46. The late payment of contributions by member States handicapped the financing of the I.L.O.'s activities and the planning of its work programmes. Of the 52 member States which had so far made no payment against their 1965 contributions, many were developing countries, particularly African countries. The Director-General ought to contact these governments with a view to discovering the reasons why they were late in paying their contributions. The fact was that the contributions assessed on member States had been increasing rapidly in recent years. For example, the contributions payable in 1966 were approximately 80 per cent. higher than those for 1960. While the developing countries were prepared to meet their financial obligations to the Organisation with the best will in the world, they expected the Office to do everything possible to keep its expenses to a minimum consistent with the efficient fulfilment of the tasks entrusted to it. The financial policy of most African governments was characterised by austerity; it would therefore be desirable for the difficult financial situation of these countries to be taken into account in determining the level of the I.L.O.'s budget.

47. The opening of the Turin Centre was of the greatest possible importance to Senegal, and he was happy to see that it was planned to open the Centre in October. Nevertheless, he had gained the impression that the publicity put out concerning the role of the Centre had not been sufficiently understood so far by member States. Many advanced technical and vocational training institutes had been established in the developing countries, particularly in Africa. The Director-General should examine the nature and functions of these institutes with a view to ensuring that the Turin Centre would complement their work and not compete with them.

48. The Government of Senegal would continue to give its full support to the I.L.O., while hoping that its work would have an increasing impact on conditions of work and life in the developing countries.

49. The representative of Brazil expressed his agreement with the views of the two previous speakers concerning the role of the I.L.O. with regard to the developing countries. His Government was conscious of the fact that expanding activities necessarily led to certain increases in expenditure, but was concerned at the rapid rate of increase in the level of the I.L.O.'s budget. He had hoped that the adoption of the recommendations of McKinsey and Co. would lead to substantial savings. Yet almost every item in the 1966 budget showed...
an increase over the corresponding 1965 credit. There was thus little evidence of the streamlining in the administrative procedures of the I.L.O. which should have resulted from the adoption of the McKinsey recommendations.

50. His Government was also greatly concerned at the inequities in the present scale of contributions to the I.L.O. budget. He understood that no significant change in apportioning the expenses among member States was being proposed for 1966. This was a disquieting situation, in the light of which he would abstain in the vote on the expenditure budget of the Organisation for 1966.

51. The representative of India indicated the full support of his Government for the 1966 expenditure budget before the Committee.

52. The representative of Syria pointed out that the 1966 budget proposals were more than $1,500,000 greater than the 1965 budget. It was admitted on principle that the budget should increase, provided that the overwhelming part of such increase should be devoted to operational activities. However, these activities at present accounted for only about 14 per cent. of the total budget, whereas staff and administrative costs were equivalent to more than 64 per cent. of the budget. Moreover, the budget did not provide for an adequate expansion in the regional activities of the Organisation. Insufficient funds were earmarked for regional conferences, advisory committees and other work of a regional character. In spite of the increased estimates for branch offices and national correspondents the funds under this item to be spent in the developing countries were actually at a lower level than in 1965. Finally, it was his Government’s opinion that the highly industrialised countries should bear a greater share in the expenses of the Organisation.

53. The representative of the U.S.S.R. emphasised his Government’s view that the rate of increase in the I.L.O. budget should be closely related to the rate of increase in the national incomes of member States. He could not accept the view that the increase in the I.L.O. budget should be determined exclusively by what were called the growing demands. The acceptance of such a view would result in a completely unacceptable rate of increase in the budget. It was essential to gear the increase in the budget to the growth in national incomes. The acceptance of this principle would mean that the budget would increase by about 4 or 5 per cent. per annum. The proposed budget for 1966 was about 9 per cent. above that for 1965.

54. Although during the 161st Session of the Governing Body the Director-General had made efforts to limit the increase to less than his original proposals, even greater efforts should have been made, especially because a major part of the increased cost in 1966 related to expenditure on staff and administration. In fact, of the total increase of approximately $1,700,000, about $1,200,000 represented increased administrative and staff costs, whereas the credits for financing the operational activities of the Office had risen by only about $400,000. This proportion was unacceptable by any criteria. The Office should therefore seek to rationalise its working methods and reduce the low-priority activities at present being financed through the budget. The McKinsey recommendations had served as a basis for the reorganisation of the Office, but only as regards staff increases; those recommendations which might be expected to cut operating expenditures did not appear to have been taken into account in the 1966 budget.

55. Year by year the level of the I.L.O. budget proceeded in one direction only, namely upwards. The most recent decision of the Governing Body relating to the additional funds that it was anticipated would be received in 1966 from the United Nations Technical Assistance Board to offset the overhead costs of implementing the I.L.O.’s technical assistance programmes under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance illustrated the exclusively upward movement in the budget. The greater part of the additional funds to be made available would be devoted to staff and administrative costs, etc., whereas the anticipated increase in the regular budget for 1966 already contained a substantial credit for meeting the E.P.T.A. overheads, in addition to the funds received from U.N.T.A.B. for this purpose.

56. The U.S.S.R. Government recognised the difficulties inherent in fixing appropriate salary scales for international civil servants but considered that some of the recent increases in these salaries had not been justified. Yet priority was given in the budget to further salary increases. The salaries paid by the I.L.O. to its Professional staff were already higher than those paid by, for example, the Swiss Government to its own civil servants of equivalent grades. Still more considerable was the disparity between the salary rates prevailing in developing countries and the salaries paid to the I.L.O. officials on mission in those countries. This state of affairs was not likely to produce a favourable psychological effect in developing countries, nor was it likely to contribute to the prestige of the I.L.O. The Director-General should reflect on this question in preparing his future budget estimates.

57. Participation in the work of any organisation presupposed the acceptance of certain obligations and the acquisition of certain rights. The U.S.S.R. had always paid its contributions to the budget of the I.L.O. with great regularity even though it was not in full accord with some of the financial practices of the Organisation. On the other hand, the socialist countries generally were discriminated against in the work of the I.L.O. especially their Employers’ and Workers’ representatives. He wondered how the I.L.O. could expect Members who were denied their elementary rights to fulfil their financial obligations normally. As the I.L.O. denied the socialist countries’ Workers’ and Employers’ representatives their legitimate rights to participate in the work of the Organisation, his Government would abstain in the vote on the 1966 expenditure budget.

58. The representative of Sierra Leone expressed the view that the expansion in the
activities of the I.L.O. necessarily led to increased costs. Member governments should therefore be prepared to meet the resulting increases in their contributions. It was evident that additional staff would be required to maintain the expansion in the work of the Organisation. He felt that the level of the 1966 expenditure budget did not reflect any inefficiency in the working of the Office. He also felt that the staff of the I.L.O. was deserving of an adequate level of remuneration. His Government strongly supported the adoption of the proposed budget for 1966 before the Committee.

59. The representative of Uruguay said that her Government took great interest in the work of the I.L.O. and had consistently supported the development of its activities. It felt that the expansion in the Organisation’s field activities was certain to benefit the institutions and economic structures of all member States, especially of the developing countries. It was logical that these countries, which benefited greatly from the I.L.O.’s work, should support increases in the budget in so far as they were devoted to technical assistance. A reasonable rate of increase in the level of the I.L.O.’s budget could therefore be accepted. However, in recent years the increases had been excessive, especially at a time when many countries were passing through a very difficult stage in the establishment and development of institutions in their own countries. The increase in national income per head was very low in many countries, whereas anxiety to fulfill their financial obligations as best they could. However, the continually rising budgets of the United Nations and all the specialised agencies called for considerable sacrifices from these countries through their national budgets, especially as the contributions to the international organisations had to be paid in United States dollars. If the present rate of increase in the level of the I.L.O.’s budget did not fall sharply, it would eventually become impossible for these countries to give their continuing support to the I.L.O. The Uruguayan Government would support the 1966 budget in the hope that the future programme-planning system would enable a brake to be applied to the rate of increase in the budgets of future years. Future increases should be related principally to increased operational activities rather than to administrative costs. Finally, the Office should consider the situation of the developing countries in regard to the scale of contributions to the budget.

60. The representative of Yugoslavia expressed his Government’s serious concern at the increase in the 1966 budget over that of the previous year. Such a rate of increase could not be continued for very long without the risk being run of harming the financial situation of the Organisation. It was essential to justify increases in the budget in terms of increased activities. Moreover, many governments faced serious difficulties in paying their contributions; future years' budget increases should therefore be brought into line with increases in national incomes. In the 1966 budget practically every item had been increased. Although the need for an expansion of the I.L.O.’s work was fully recognised, due regard should be had to establishing priorities and thereby taking action where the needs were greatest, especially the needs of the developing countries. Their needs pointed to the desirability of decentralising the work of the I.L.O. The reorganisation of the Office ought to result in decreased costs, especially staff costs. The staff should be recruited on a more equitable geographical basis than hitherto. A certain amount of concern had been expressed at the travel costs provided for in the I.L.O. budget, and this question should be examined carefully by the Office. Although his Government had a number of reservations concerning various items it was nevertheless prepared to vote in favour of the 1966 budget.

61. The representative of Australia said that his Government would give its full support to the 1966 budget. In the Financial and Administrative Committee his Government had been one of the most active in undertaking a careful and critical examination of the 1966 budget proposals and had expressed reservations with regard to certain items. At the present meeting, he had taken particular note of the emphasis laid by the Employers’ and Workers’ members of the Governing Body delegation on the fact that it had been possible to reach agreement only after laborious negotiation and many compromises on all sides. In view of the satisfactory compromise that had been reached, his Government was now happy to support this budget.

62. The representative of Ukraine said that the budget proposals before the Committee represented a compromise which had not given full satisfaction to all governments, including his own. In the past few years there had been a very large increase in the level of the I.L.O.’s budget, which had risen from about $10 million in 1960 to a proposed $21 million for 1966. He supported increases in the activities of the Organisation, especially in its operational programmes. These increases, however, could not alone justify the present rate of increase in the budget. The funds to be devoted to operational activities under the 1966 budget amounted to less than $2 million. The greatest increase in expenditure had occurred in the administrative costs of running the Organisation.

63. At present the Office undertook no long-term programme planning, which made it almost impossible to forecast the level of future budgets. Although the 1966 budget was less than 10 per cent. greater than that for the previous year, even this rate of increase was unjustified. His Government’s view was that the optimum rate of increase in the budget was about 4 or 5 per cent. each year. He felt that the estimates for 1966 could well be reduced to reflect such a rate of increase by cutting staff costs, which represented approximately two-thirds of the total budget. The reorganisation of the Office had been aimed at a more flexible utilisation of existing staff resources. This did not appear to have been reflected in the 1966 budget proposals. The report of McKinsey and Co. had contained an excellent appraisal of the inflexibility of the staff structure, under which it was virtually impossible to transfer staff resources within the Office to meet changing
needs and priorities. Each new activity that the Office undertook tended to lead to the creation of new divisions or branches, which thereafter became self-perpetuating.

64. The recruitment of well-qualified specialists, having regard to the need for equitable geographical distribution of staff, if combined with a more flexible organisational structure, should permit an over-all reduction in the level of the permanent staff establishment. Further savings could also be achieved by cutting out unjustifiable increases in salary scales. Cuts could also be made in the estimates relating to the upkeep of the premises, the Working Capital Fund and the contributions to extra-budgetary activities without impairing the efficiency of the work of the Office.

65. It was clear that at the present time the I.L.O. should undertake long-term planning of its programme of activities and of the financing thereof. Planning of this nature would provide the means of exercising an effective control of the progress made in implementing approved work programmes. His Government's attitude when the budget was put to a vote would be influenced by the fact that the proposed budget for 1966 did not take sufficient account of the comments made by the representative of his Government on the Governing Body.

66. The representative of Trinidad and Tobago expressed his appreciation of the very clear and comprehensive explanations of the budget estimates contained in the document before the Committee. His Government would warmly support the adoption of the 1966 budget. Most of the developing countries were continually calling on the I.L.O. to provide them with more technical assistance. An adequate expansion of the activities of the Office could not be achieved without a reasonable increase in expenditure, and his Government considered that the increase reflected in the 1966 budget proposals was fully justified. With regard to the staffing situation, he was certainly in no position to judge whether there was any element of redundancy in the I.L.O. staff. He felt that this was essentially a matter for the Director-General to judge and, in the light of the Director-General's acknowledged competence, he was confident that no such redundancy existed. All member States should have confidence in the Organisation and place their trust in the Director-General's ability to manage the affairs of the Office in the best interests of the Organisation and of all its Members.

67. The representative of Norway indicated that in the Governing Body he was one of the members who had supported the Director-General's original budget estimates for 1966. A high percentage of the increases in the budget was unavoidable as a result of rising costs. Unfortunately these inescapable increases meant that less money could be made available for financing a further expansion in the Organisation's operational activities. Having in mind the need to help the developing countries, the Norwegian Government was anxious to see that the I.L.O. received all the funds that were necessary to finance an adequate degree of expansion in its work, particularly the technical assistance activities. Although his Government had stated in the Financial and Administrative Committee that the cuts made in the Director-General's 1966 budget proposals had gone too far, he had been willing to accept the compromise reached in the Governing Body and was now able to recommend most warmly that the Committee adopt the estimates now before it.

68. The representative of New Zealand said that he had been impressed by the statements made by the Governing Body delegation to the Committee. His Government had hoped that some degree of stability could be achieved in the budgets of this and other international organisations, and that in the case of the I.L.O. the new structure and programme-planning machinery of the Office would make this possible without hindering the development of the Organisation's activities. The payment of contributions to the budget was becoming increasingly difficult for the smaller countries, some of which were facing problems in regard to their balance of payments. His Government fully approved the increased credits for operational activities, but felt that there was scope for savings in other items of the budget, especially in the provisions for the financing of Industrial Committee meetings. Such meetings were now of less importance than they had been in the past, and the funds earmarked for their financing could well be diverted to higher-priority activities. His Government also had reservations concerning the credit for the preparation of the Encyclopaedia of Occupational Health and Safety. It would, however, give its full support to the proposed budget for 1966 as a whole.

69. The representative of Uganda said that the Committee's discussion had illustrated that financial and budgetary questions were always controversial. While the rate of increase in the I.L.O.'s budget had been criticised as being extravagant the calls on its services in the technical assistance field were constantly increasing. In the light of the need for further expansion in the activities of the Organisation, rising costs inevitably meant that the level of funds sufficient to enable the I.L.O. to fulfil its task successfully a few years ago was completely inadequate today. The I.L.O. must continue to grow, and the powerful, highly industrialised countries should be prepared to support this growth in financial terms. The Organisation's technical assistance activities were extremely useful, and should be expanded further. At the same time, the developing countries were doing everything possible within their limited resources to help themselves, and the technical assistance functions of the I.L.O. and other United Nations agencies was an essential supplement. In these circumstances, it would be tragic if the I.L.O.'s budget were to remain static; this would defeat the fundamental objectives of the Organisation. He had no doubt that the Director-General would take heed of the criticisms that had been levelled at the present staff structure of the I.L.O. As for the level of the salaries paid to staff, he was of the opinion that the present salaries represented a fair return for the extremely high standard of
the work and ability of the staff. He appealed to the representatives of the governments which had expressed their unwillingness to support the 1966 budget to reconsider their attitude in the light of these considerations.

70. The representative of Poland said that his Government's views on the budget had already been expressed in detail during the debate in the Financial and Administrative Committee. These views were critical in many respects. While he endorsed the Director-General's policy for a gradual expansion in the activities of the I.L.O., especially its operational activities, he shared the concern of most members of the Committee at the excessively high rate of increase in the level of the budget compared with the growth in the national incomes of member countries. Long-range programme planning would help to achieve a reasonable rate of increase in the budget of about 5 or 6 per cent.

71. The 9 per cent. increase in the 1966 budget over that of the previous year was much closer to the rate he considered reasonable than the increase in the budgets of the past five or six years. His Government hoped that this would mark the beginning of a trend in the right direction, but still felt that further savings could be achieved without cutting or hampering the activities of the Organisation. A better utilisation, inter alia through redeployment, of existing staff resources should have made it possible for the staff establishment in 1966 to be kept at the 1965 level. There was also room for savings in the items to cover general office expenses and capital expenditure on land and buildings. His Government maintained its view that there was no need to increase the Working Capital Fund through contributions from member States in 1966.

72. The Director-General had emphasised that although this was certainly a compromise budget, it was also a budget of advance. On financial grounds his Government had been prepared to accept this budget, but financial questions could not be considered in isolation from the question of the fundamental rights of member States to have the opportunities to participate in the work of the I.L.O. on an equal and equitable basis. Poland had always scrupulously discharged its obligation to pay its contributions to the budget. On the other hand socialist countries, including Poland, were discriminated against in the work of the Organisation, especially as regards the participation of their Employers' and Workers' representatives; this was totally unacceptable. The situation was also far from satisfactory as regards governmental participation in the work of the Organisation. For example, Poland had been denied the right to participate fully in the work of Industrial Committees. Discrimination was also evident as regards the recruitment of the staff, and in the distribution of elective seats at the Conference and in the other bodies of the Organisation. The representative of his Government in the Resolutions Committee had given figures illustrating the degree of discrimination against the socialist countries in presenting his related resolution to that Committee. This situation and particularly the developments at the beginning of the present session of the Conference concerning distribution of elective seats, compelled his Government to change its position in regard to the 1966 budget. Thus the Polish delegation would have to abstain in the vote on the 1966 budget.

73. The representative of Byelorussia said that the rapid increase in the level of the budget had given concern to almost all members of the Committee. Acute dissatisfaction had been felt by the majority of the governments at the Director-General's original budget proposals for 1966, which had embodied an increase of the order of 14 per cent. over the 1965 budget. As a result of the examination by the Financial and Administrative Committee the increase was now just under 9 per cent., which also was not a small figure when compared with the average growth of national incomes. He felt that the existing procedure for examining the budget proposals was unsatisfactory and regretted that the Director-General had not heeded the comments that his Government had made last year on this subject.

74. There was room for savings in many items of the 1966 budget. The Director-General had said that the budget reflected the new structure of the Office and the new obligations and tasks of the I.L.O. However, the explanations of the budget estimates failed to illustrate this. The greatest increase was related to administrative costs. The budgets of none of the other specialised agencies revealed such an unfavourable balance between administrative costs and the funds devoted to operational activities as did the budget of the I.L.O.

75. The estimates for meeting the cost of the Conference had increased by $47,000 in the past two years. This increase had not been justified and the credit for this item could undoubtedly be reduced. The estimate of $75,000 for external collaboration was unwarranted. If such collaboration should prove to be necessary, it should be covered under the items for unforeseen expenditure. It was also necessary to cut the administrative costs involved in managing the I.L.O.'s technical assistance programmes financed from Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance funds. A recent report of the United Nations Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions had indicated that there was room for savings on this account.

76. The level of the I.L.O.'s Working Capital Fund was at present equivalent to about 20 per cent. of the annual budget. This percentage was much higher than the corresponding figure in the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and the World Health Organisation. Yet a further $100,000 would be paid into the Fund by assessment on member States through the 1966 budget. This was entirely unwarranted, especially as miscellaneous income would henceforth be paid each year directly into the Working Capital Fund. This procedure would ensure for the future a further rise in the level of the Working Capital Fund relative to the level of the I.L.O.'s budget.
77. About $1 million of the increase in the 1966 budget was related to staff costs, following a similar level of increase in the 1965 budget under the same item. In view of the fact that the increase in the number of posts provided for in the 1966 budget was only 3 1/2 per cent., it was evident that the bulk of the increase in this item stemmed from rises in salaries. His Government was unable to agree to such a sharp increase in this respect and felt that the estimate for this item should be maintained at the level of the corresponding 1965 credit. If this had been done, his Government could have supported the budget proposals for 1966.

78. Byelorussia regularly paid its financial contributions to the budget of the Organisation. Accordingly it expected that no discrimination would be levied against its Workers' and Employers' representatives. In this connection, he hoped that the real interests of the Organisation as a whole would eventually gain the upper hand through the ending of such discrimination.

79. The representative of Japan indicated his Government's satisfaction at the unanimous agreement on the budget proposals that had been reached in the Governing Body. His Government was prepared to give its full support to the proposed budget for 1966.

80. The representative of France said that as a result of the compromise budget that had emerged following the budget debate in the Financial and Administrative Committee, his Government was in a position to vote in favour of the proposed budget now before the Committee. France attached considerable importance to the work of the I.L.O. in the field of technical co-operation and assistance to the developing countries. This work justified the financial sacrifice that the highly industrialised countries were called upon to make through their contributions to the budget of the I.L.O. It was in the interest of the Organisation and of the furtherance of its work that such countries should adopt a strict and rigorous attitude to the budget estimates. His Government's adoption of such a line did not mean that it sought to reduce the activities of the Organisation; it felt rather that the Office should be able to increase its programme of activities through rationalisation of its work methods and better use of its present staff resources without unduly increasing its expenditure. The increases in the staff establishment in recent years had alarmed the French Government. Increases in the number of staff did not necessarily lead to a corresponding increase in the effectiveness of the work of the Organisation. It was essential that the growth of the annual budget should be kept within reasonable limits; increases of 5 or 6 per cent. each year would correspond more closely with the economic growth of the major contributors to the budget and would provide for the further development of the Organisation's work, especially in the important field of technical assistance. He hoped that the Director-General would take full account of these comments in preparing his 1967 budget estimates.

81. The representative of China thanked the Director-General for his clear presentation of the 1966 budget proposals and expressed his Government's approval of the policy of gradually increasing the Organisation's activities. The increase in the level of the 1966 budget had been at a significantly lower rate than in the preceding year; this indicated that the Director-General had made a real effort to keep the rate of increase in the budget within reasonable limits, as requested by the member States. His Government had been pleased to note the increases provided in 1966 for operational activities, but felt it important that the Office should ensure a fully effective utilisation of the financial resources available for these activities. His Government had been particularly pleased to note that the 1966 budget would provide for the first time for a meeting of the Asian Advisory Committee in an Asian country, and it would give its full support to the 1966 budget.

82. The representative of Nigeria said that the consensus of the Committee appeared to be that the level of the budget was increasing too rapidly. Serious consideration should be given to regulating the rate of increase in the future. The expenditure on staff salaries was extremely high in relation to the funds provided under other items of the budget. He felt that there was room for savings under a number of items, including that for temporary staff assistance. He had noted that the provision under this heading had been increased because the Director-General had not so far been able to determine with any degree of certainty the future staff requirements of the new field structure. It was always dangerous to provide for the recruitment of temporary staff; the real need in this connection was for a careful and thorough assessment of the workload involved in embarking on new activities, such as the development of the future field structure of the Organisation. A proper assessment of work requirements should eliminate the need for temporary staff assistance. Finally, the Director-General should give greater consideration to the desirability of recruiting more staff from the African countries.

83. The representative of Czechoslovakia said that the 1966 budget provided for a more reasonable rate of increase than that of the previous year, which itself, as he had pointed out to the Committee a year ago, had not been in keeping with the recommendations made by the United Nations for a stabilisation in the budgets of the specialised agencies. In view of this fact, his Government would have given its support to the 1966 budget had it not been for the marked discrimination against the socialist countries, and especially against their Employers' and Workers' representatives at the present Conference. The facts concerning this discrimination had been described by several previous speakers and it was therefore unnecessary to repeat them. Because of this discrimination, his Government could not vote in favour of the budget. Moreover, it reserved the right to harden its attitude to the budget even further if the discrimination were to continue.

84. The representative of the Malagasy Republic expressed his Government's concern at the rate of increase in the level of the budget
in recent years. This increase had meant that his Government's contribution in terms of cash had risen by 80 per cent since 1962. This rate of increase had given rise to financial difficulties in the developing countries, including the Malagasy Republic. The increases in the estimates for meetings, staff and related costs and travel on official business together absorbed more than 80 per cent of the total increase in the budget over that for 1963. The expenditure under these headings was of little direct benefit to the member States. Moreover, the increase in the provision for operational activities was small compared with the rise in staff costs. In the light of the need for further planning of the work of the Organisation, serious consideration should be given to the many suggestions that had been put forward in favour of holding the Conference once every two years and of adopting a two-year budget for the I.L.O. in the future. With regard to the plans for building new and enlarged premises for the I.L.O. in Geneva, his Government felt that the future decentralisation of the work of the Organisation, which was essential, could be expected to lead to a corresponding reduction in staff and accommodation needs at Headquarters.

85. The representative of the Federal Republic of Germany indicated that, having regard to the thorough examination of the budget that had taken place in the Financial and Administrative Committee and the revised estimates that had emerged therefrom, his Government would give its full support to the 1966 budget.

86. The representative of Algeria associated himself with the concern that had been expressed over the 1966 budget proposals by the representative of Byelorussia. However, his Government was confident that the Director-General would carefully heed the comments made in the Committee when preparing his future budget estimates. He was therefore in a position to support the adoption of the 1966 budget.

87. The representative of the United States indicated that his Government had played a full part in the Governing Body in developing the budget proposals for 1966 now before the Committee. His Government believed that these proposals represented a sound budget and was prepared to give its full support to them.

88. The representative of Cameroon recalled that the African member States had played a leading part in advocating a decentralisation of the work of the I.L.O. The intended decentralisation should enable the Office to grapple more effectively in future with the problems facing the developing countries. As the first steps were now being taken to develop the field structure of the Organisation, it was normal to expect increases in the budget in reflection of this development. The greater part of the increase in the 1966 budget was, however, devoted to Headquarters staff costs. It would be preferable to reorientate these increases to a strengthening of the staff of the Organisation's regional offices. He shared the anxiety of the representative of the Malagasy Republic at the proposals to erect a costly new Headquarters building in Geneva at the very time when a major decentralisation of the work and structure of the Organisation was beginning. He hoped that this decentralisation would be really effective and that the regional offices to be established would soon be given the power to take major decisions concerning the work of the I.L.O. in their respective regions.

89. The Committee then adopted each of the budget items Nos. 1 to 26 in the amounts corresponding to those listed in the extreme right-hand column of the summary of the proposed expenditure budget for 1966.1

90. The Committee then adopted the total gross expenditure budget (Parts I-III) amounting to $21,034,412, subject to the abstentions and reservations indicated by the representatives of certain governments as recorded individually above. It also adopted, subject to the same abstentions and reservations, the total net expenditure budget, which, after deduction of the estimated miscellaneous income of $696,541, amounts to $20,337,871.


(Signed) G. TESEMMA, Chairman and Reporter.

(4) Second Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives. 2

1. The Finance Committee of Government Representatives held further meetings on 12 and 14 June 1965.

I. INCOME BUDGET FOR 1966

2. The Committee had before it (a) the first report of the Allocations Committee as adopted by the Governing Body at its 162nd Session on 29 May 1965, 3 and (b) the second report of the Allocations Committee, 4 which had been submitted direct to the Finance Committee of Government Representatives under an authorisation given by the Governing Body at its 162nd Session.

3. The Committee noted that the Chairman of the Allocations Committee had consulted representatives of the Governments of Zambia, Malta, Malawi and Yemen respectively, and that the representatives of the Governments of each of these States had signified that they were in agreement with the proposed percentage assessment (0.12 per cent. in each case) of the contributions to the budget of the I.L.O. of their respective countries.

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1 See item 1 of this Appendix, p. 531.
2 See Second Part, p. 279.
3 See item 1 of this Appendix, p. 533.
4 See below, p. 561.
Appendix IV: Financial and Budgetary Questions

4. At the end of the second report of the Allocations Committee 1 was a draft scale of contributions to the budget for 1966, based on the 1965 scale as approved by the Conference, varied to take into account on the one hand the withdrawal from the Organisation of the Republic of South Africa and on the other hand the assessment of the contributions of the four States, referred to in the preceding paragraph, which had joined the Organisation since the adoption of the 1965 scale by the Conference.

5. Mr. Tzankov (Bulgaria), the Chairman of the Allocations Committee, introducing its second report, recalled that for many years past the I.L.O. scale of contributions had been modified annually to take into account the inclusion in the scale of the assessments of new member States in accordance with criteria long established by the Allocations Committee and endorsed by the Governing Body and the Conference. In considering the 1966 scale the Allocations Committee had faced an entirely new situation caused by the withdrawal of South Africa from the Organisation. In the special situation thus created the Allocations Committee had been faced with a difficult and complex problem and after much discussion had adopted an ad hoc solution in formulating its recommendation as to the structure of the 1966 scale of contributions.

6. The conclusion of the Committee on the 1966 scale, though it by no means satisfied all members, had nevertheless been accepted by all. It constituted a delicate balance of agreement. He hoped that the members of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, even those who might feel that the proposals of the Allocations Committee embodied certain disadvantages or should be reviewed or revised in future, would show the same spirit of co-operation as had been manifest in the Allocations Committee and would accordingly accept its recommendations.

7. Paragraphs 49 to 59 of the second report of the Allocations Committee recorded a discussion which had taken place concerning the possibility of undertaking a comprehensive review of the I.L.O. scale of contributions. In the light of the many different points of view expressed on this matter the Allocations Committee had decided to consider it further at its next meeting. In the meantime the Chairman of the Allocations Committee asked the Finance Committee of Government Representatives to accept unanimously the Allocations Committee's recommendation concerning the 1966 scale of contributions.

8. In the course of the ensuing discussion many speakers thanked the Chairman of the Allocations Committee for his clear and objective presentation of the difficulties and complexities of the problem that it had faced in reaching its conclusions on the 1966 scale of contributions.

9. The representative of Brazil recalled the views that his Government had expressed at the 48th Session of the Conference with regard to the 1965 scale of contributions. At that time, his Government had emphasised the need for greater harmony between the I.L.O. and the United Nations scales of contributions, in conformity with the principle adopted by the Governing Body that the I.L.O. scale should be brought as far as possible into line with the United Nations scale.

10. The draft scale for 1966 now before the Committee failed to reflect any real progress towards the implementation of this principle. Almost all of the unsatisfactory features of the 1965 scale were maintained in that proposed for 1966. His Government was at a loss to understand why so little progress had been made in furthering the implementation of the accepted principle. The draft 1966 scale contained, besides the 60 contributions assessed at the minimum rate, a further 36 assessments that were at higher percentages in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations scale.

11. The Brazilian Government could not condone the disparities between the two scales in the light of the fact that the United Nations scale was the result of long and careful study by an expert body. The I.L.O. had explicitly acknowledged the merit of the work of this expert body by regarding the United Nations scale as the ultimate objective towards which the I.L.O. scale should move. The United Nations Committee on Contributions used objective data on the economic conditions of contributing States with a view to determining the relative capacity to pay of each State. That Committee had recently undertaken the complex task of devising a method to establish a reasonable degree of comparability between the statistics for the national incomes of countries using the national accounts system and those using the material product system. The special financial and economic problems of the developing countries had also been the subject of a close scrutiny by the United Nations Committee, in the scale it had recommended embodied the outcome of its deliberations on this important question.

12. The representative of Brazil wondered whether the I.L.O. draft scale were half as much concerned with accuracy and equity as the United Nations scale. The assessment recommended by the Allocations Committee for Brazil's contribution to the 1966 budget amounted to 1.32 per cent.; yet in the United Nations scale Brazil's assessment was at 0.95 per cent. This meant that, on the basis of the 1966 budget as recommended for adoption by the Conference, Brazil would have to contribute approximately $75,000 more to the I.L.O. budget than it would if its contribution were assessed at the same rate as in the United Nations scale. Members of the Committee would, therefore, understand the anxiety of the Brazilian Government and many other governments in a similar situation, especially in the light of the rapid increase in the level of I.L.O.'s budget in recent years. He would accordingly be compelled to vote against the approval of the draft scale of contributions for 1966.

13. It appeared from the report of the Allocations Committee that some governments
held the view that steps to bring the I.L.O. scale closer to the United Nations scale should be taken only when new States joined the Organisation. His Government firmly rejected such an approach as it gave little hope of achieving any real progress towards aligning the I.L.O. scale with that of the United Nations. A positive effort should therefore be made without further delay to re-apportion the assessments of the contributions of the I.L.O.'s member States, independently of the opportunities created by the admission of new Members.

14. A number of governments in past years had indicated their conviction that the I.L.O. scale did not reflect the capacity to pay of member States. Several governments, particularly among the developing countries, had felt for some time that they were being over-taxed. It was in the interests of the Organisation that these feelings and convictions be duly taken into account. The Brazilian delegation believed that if the Organisation took much longer to do so it would appear that only polite but ineffectual lip service was being paid to the general policy of bringing the I.L.O. scale closer to the United Nations scale.

15. His Government was aware of the difficulties that had faced the Allocations Committee in developing a scale for 1966, which from the point of view of the scale itself were only of minor importance, since the admission of four new members had offset in a large part the problem created by the withdrawal of South Africa from the Organisation. At the same time, his delegation had been gratified to note that suggestions had been made in the Allocations Committee in favour of a comprehensive review of the I.L.O. scale. There was strong merit in these suggestions, and a thorough study of the position by the Office would be of great assistance towards the implementation of the policy of aligning the I.L.O. scale with the United Nations scale.

16. He wished formally to propose on behalf of the Brazilian Government that the Committee recommend to the Conference that it request the Governing Body to explore all possible ways leading to substantial progress towards bringing the 1967 I.L.O. scale of assessments into closer conformity with the United Nations scale for the same year.

17. In submitting this formal proposal his Government was fully aware that total uniformity between the two scales might be a long way off, because of a number of fundamental peculiarities of the I.L.O. scale, such as its maximum and minimum rates of contribution. These peculiarities should not discourage the Committee in its efforts. The time might come when the United States Government would be prepared to accept an increase in its rate of assessment; representatives of the United States had often expressed their goodwill on the matter in the past. Moreover, in the proposed study of the problem the Governing Body, the Allocations Committee and the Office might find it useful to bear in mind not only the temporary nature of the 1966 scale, as stressed throughout the report of the Allocations Committee, but also that, even if the assessments of the two largest contributors were left aside, the difference between the I.L.O. and United Nations assessments of the remaining States assessed at lower rates in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations scale was of the order of 8 per cent.

18. In conclusion he urged the Committee to give careful attention to his Government's proposal in the certainty that its adoption would lend more realism and more fairness to the income budget of the I.L.O. The adoption of this proposal would also allay to some extent the legitimate concern at present felt by several member States over the financial burden that they were unduly shouldering, and would thereby add to the strength of the Organisation itself.

19. The representative of Uruguay said that the arguments put forward by the representative of Brazil in favour of a comprehensive review of the I.L.O. scale of contributions were fully convincing. He could see no reason why the I.L.O. scale should not be brought as fully as possible into line with that of the United Nations at the earliest possible moment. Equity and justice demanded such an alignment of the two scales; in particular, the developing countries and other countries which were lagging behind the highly industrialised countries in economic progress should not be called upon to pay at higher rates than in the United Nations scale. He recalled that in 1963 his Government had put forward many of the arguments now presented by the representative of Brazil. He had great pleasure in seconding the formal proposal made by the representative of Brazil.

20. The representative of Chile also expressed his support of this proposal, which was based on international social justice. The proposal took full account of the needs and preoccupations of the developing countries; and a major revision of the I.L.O. scale to establish it on a more equitable basis was essential for the future development of the Organisation.

21. The representative of Senegal drew attention to the financial difficulties of the developing countries, especially the African countries. These States were very much pre-occupied with trying to develop their own economies, and their limited financial resources had necessarily to be devoted as far as possible to seeking ways of increasing national production. The I.L.O. and other international organisations should take into account as soon as possible both the needs and the financial difficulties of the developing countries. However, fixing a scale of contributions was a purely technical problem; the expenses of the Organisation should be shared amongst the member States in accordance with their relative capacity to pay.

22. A more important factor bearing on the problem of contributions of member States was the level of the Organisation's budget and the nature of its component parts. All items that were not essential for the efficient functioning of the Organisation should be eliminated. There was at the present time a great
disparity between the salaries of international officials and those of national civil servants, especially those of the developing countries. Because of this disparity the intellectual elite of these developing countries tended to seek employment with the international organisations, whereas they would be better engaged in participating directly in the development of their countries' national economies. Because the developing countries tended to lose their best brains to the international organisations, they also overvalued their diplomatic assistance from the very same organisations in their struggle for economic and social advancement. The Organisation should therefore give serious consideration to the question of the level of salaries paid to its staff and to the desirability of changing the classical methods still being employed in developing the annual budget.

23. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the scale of contributions for 1966 that had resulted from the Allocations Committee's conclusions reflected a number of interrelated elements of compromise. He wished to maintain the reservations made by his Government in the Allocations Committee on the solution adopted for 1966 because of some of the elements of this compromise. The essence of the solution was the setting off of the relief arising from the assessments of the contributions of the new member States against the additional burden caused by the withdrawal of South Africa from the Organisation. This element of the compromise was acceptable to his Government. The illogical element was that which provided for further relief that would arise from the assessments of new member States in succeeding years to be used in the first place to restore to their former levels the assessments increased in the 1966 scale. This represented a complete reversal of the accepted principle that the I.L.O. scale should move closer towards the United Nations scale at every possible opportunity. However, as the scale recommended by the Allocations Committee was to be operative for 1966 only, he would not formally oppose its adoption.

24. As for the long-term problem, his Government held the view that the I.L.O. scale of contributions should move progressively towards the United Nations scale. Because the United Kingdom's contribution was assessed at a much higher rate in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations, his Government could legitimately hope to derive a small measure of financial benefit from a comprehensive revision of the I.L.O. scale. His Government recognised the extraordinarily complex nature of the whole problem, which would require a full examination of all its aspects. He felt that this examination should be left to the Allocations Committee, which was the body competent to deal with the question. He could see serious disadvantages in the representative of Brazil's formal proposal that the Conference be requested to instruct the Governing Body to undertake a major revision of the scale of contributions with a view to reaching a conclusion on the matter in 1967, as this would tie the hands of the Allocations Committee.

25. The representative of Spain expressed his support of the representatives of Brazil's proposal. An alignment of the I.L.O. scale with that of the United Nations was desirable in the interests of equity. The United Nations scale took account of the fact that the developing countries were striving as best they could to develop their own economies. There were many disparities between the I.L.O. and the United Nations scales. For example, the contribution of Spain was assessed at a higher percentage of the I.L.O. scale. This difference between its I.L.O. and United Nations assessments meant that for 1966 Spain would pay approximately $60,000 more to the I.L.O. than it would if the assessments were equal. This problem had to be considered in the light of the fact that the expanding work of the I.L.O. inevitably led to increases in the budget from year to year and hence in the contributions of member States. It should also be borne in mind that some governments contributing to the I.L.O.'s budget were debarred from participating in much of the work of the Organisation in a systematic way, doubtless from political motives which were totally alien to and incompatible with the spirit of international co-operation that should inspire the work of the I.L.O. This discrimination was particularly evident in relation to participation in the work of Industrial Committees and other bodies. His Government was also concerned because some of the funds placed at the I.L.O.'s disposal were not used effectively in furthering the Organisation's objectives. This applied to much of the I.L.O.'s documentation, which served to promote political campaigns. His Government was disinclined to make financial sacrifices for this purpose. Finally his Government was disposed in principle to approve the 1966 scale of contributions, but would be obliged to adopt a less favourable attitude in future towards the budget of the Organisation if such discriminatory practices were to persist.

26. The representative of India said that the second report of the Allocations Committee reflected the difficult and complex task that had been resolved in a spirit of compromise by the members of that Committee. He wished to maintain his Government's reservations concerning the temporary nature of the increases in the assessments of member States reflected in the 1966 scale. In his view the relief that would arise from the entry of further States into the Organisation should not be used to restore these increased assessments to their former levels.

27. He supported the idea behind the proposal of the representative of Brazil that the Governing Body should explore all possible means to effect an equalisation between the I.L.O. and the United Nations scales. As was reflected in its second report, the Allocations Committee intended to take up this question again at an early session of the Governing Body. He hoped that a satisfactory solution would soon be reached. In this connection it was evident that the movement of the I.L.O. scale towards that of the United Nations could not be effected only by distributing the relief arising from the assessment of new member States. The opportunities thus afforded would
28. The representative of the U.S.S.R. said that, of the two problems that had faced the Allocations Committee, the long-term problem of the future structure of the I.L.O. scale was the more important and was fraught with the more delicate and complex issues. The short-term problem of the 1966 scale had been resolved in the Allocations Committee as a result of a compromise, and his Government maintained the reservations that it had expressed in the Allocations Committee regarding this compromise solution.

29. He had noted the arguments put forward by the representative of Brazil in making his proposal. He shared the anxiety that had been expressed concerning the continuing increases in the amounts of Members' contributions. The problem was of particular importance to the developing countries, whose financial resources were limited, and to those countries whose currencies were not convertible into the hard currency to which contributions to the I.L.O. budget had to be paid. In the case of his country, for instance, the figures of national income growth had little to do with the resources of foreign currency from which the money for paying contributions to the I.L.O. budget had to be drawn. He wondered, however, whether the real problem was only that of adjusting the scale of contributions. On entering the Organisation, each member State had accepted a certain percentage assessment for its contribution to the budget. The assessments of the contributions of many member States had been progressively reduced since they had joined the Organisation as a result of the influx of new Members. Brazil's contribution, for example, fell into this category. The assessments of other States had not changed since they joined the Organisation. These States had not therefore benefited financially from the assessments on newly joining Members. The real difficulty facing member States was the fact that their contributions, payable in United States dollars, were increasing in amount year by year as a result of the growth in the budget. Here was the heart of the problem, as had been stated by the representative of Senegal. The small increases in the assessments of some Members in the 1966 scale had given rise to considerable difficulty. The U.S.S.R. Government viewed with concern the possibility of a major review of the I.L.O. scale if such a review were to be based on a purely arithmetical comparison with the United Nations scale. The socialist countries in particular, many of which had not benefited in the I.L.O. scale from the influx of new Members, would be called upon to bear an even heavier burden in future years. While his Government had accepted with reservations the 1966 scale as a purely temporary ad hoc solution, it felt that any further revision of the scale would not solve the fact of the major revision would introduce an important and very controversial element into the I.L.O.'s budgetary practice, namely an increase in the percentage assessments of certain Members, while the criteria applied so far in adjusting the I.L.O. scale from year to year had resulted only in lightening the burden on some member States.

30. The representative of the Federal Republic of Germany said that his Government was prepared to support the 1966 scale of contributions. He felt that the United Kingdom representative had clearly pointed out the disadvantages that would result in an acceptance of the formula proposed by the representative of Brazil, and he supported the United Kingdom representative's views in this matter. He had also followed with great interest the arguments put forward by the representative of the U.S.S.R. and shared his views to a great extent.

31. The representative of France indicated that the discussion had led to the emergence of two major conclusions. The first was that the 1966 scale was acceptable as a temporary measure and that its adoption would be without prejudice to future adjustments in the scale. The second conclusion generally accepted was that the forward a clear need to examine how the I.L.O. scale should be revised in the future.

32. He agreed that the scale alone was not the only factor involved in the long-term problem; another major factor was the increase in the United States budget. Strict budgeting was essential if the I.L.O. were to develop its future activities satisfactorily. The expenses of the Organisation should be shared as equitably as possible between the member States. For the past 20 years the accepted criteria had been that the I.L.O. scale should move progressively towards the United Nations scale as far as possible at every suitable opportunity. Complete alignment of the two scales had not been found practicable so far because of the fundamental differences between the maximum and minimum rates of contribution in the two scales and because, while some Members paid at higher rates in the I.L.O., others paid at higher rates in the United Nations. He felt that if the two States assessed at the highest rates, the United States and the U.S.S.R., could accept an increase in their rates to bring them more into line with their United Nations assessments, the remainder of the problem would be easily solved. He recognised that the United States made voluntary contributions to the Organisation's activities financed under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund at a much higher rate than that of its assessed contribution to the regular budget. He also recognised the difficulties facing the U.S.S.R. in having to pay its contributions in United States dollars. The problem was therefore not easy to solve. Any increase in the two highest rates of contribution must necessarily be preceded by long and close negotiations with the governments concerned in order to seek their agreement. This question was not new; it had been examined over a period of years by the Allocations Committee, and despite the good will of the United States Government in the matter no action had been taken because the percentage contribution that it was able to pay could not be increased without the formal approval of the United States Congress.

33. Aside from the maximum and minimum rates, however, it should be possible to examine
whether the present assessments of member States were equitable. These assessments had in most cases been fixed many years ago, since when a number of States in particular had enjoyed growing prosperity, while others had lagged behind. The former category of States should be prepared to accept increases in their rates of assessment.

34. The Governing Body should therefore be asked to explore the possibilities of revising the I.L.O. scale, as had been proposed by the representative of Brazil. This problem concerned all the organisations in the United Nations family, and would require full co-ordination with the other organisations and with governments. While he appreciated that the intensive studies and negotiations that would be involved would take time, the work should nevertheless proceed as quickly as possible in order to arrive at an equitable scale of contributions for the I.L.O. in accordance with the established principle that this scale should be aligned with that of the United Nations as far as possible.

35. The representative of Argentina said that all members of the Committee must by now have appreciated the concern felt at the disparities between the United Nations and the I.L.O. scales of contributions. A mere glance at the two scales was sufficient to bring out the differences in the assessments of a very large number of States. Most of the Latin American countries were assessed at higher rates in the I.L.O. than in the United Nations. A number of Latin American countries were also assessed at higher rates than some of the highly industrialised Western European countries. Again, some Latin American countries were assessed at higher rates than a number of the highly developed socialist countries. This situation was unjustifiable and should be rectified as soon as possible. The efforts made so far by the Allocations Committee to align the I.L.O. scale with that of the United Nations had been slight and had shown little result. After examining various alternative scales, the Allocations Committee had just recommended the adoption of a draft scale for 1966 which did not satisfy the Argentine Government. The Allocations Committee had not taken account of the injustices in the present scale. The process of alignment with the United Nations scale should be speeded up, and to this end he felt that acceptance of the proposal of the representative of Brazil could bring rapid and satisfactory results.

36. The representative of New Zealand said that his Government would naturally welcome an alignment of the I.L.O. scale with that of the United Nations, as New Zealand was at present assessed at a higher rate in the I.L.O. scale. However, having witnessed almost identical debates over the past 18 years, he felt that there was little real prospect of achieving full alignment of the I.L.O. scale with that of the United Nations. He was also of the opinion that there would be little use in recommending that the Conference instruct the Governing Body to take action which would be merely a reaffirmation of the principles which it already accepted and applied as far as possible. As regards the 1966 scale he shared the reservations of the United Kingdom representative concerning the temporary nature of the increases in the assessments that would result from the adoption of the Allocations Committee's recommendations.

37. The representative of India felt that the Finance Committee of Government Representatives as a whole was agreed that the continuing increase in the level of the budget was a major element in the problem of determining the scale of contributions, especially for countries that had difficulty in earning hard currency. There also appeared to be unanimity of opinion that the I.L.O. had reached a stage when it must grapple as effectively as possible with the acknowledged disparities between the I.L.O. and United Nations scales of contribution. However, in the light of the diversity of opinion on the various elements of the problem that had emerged from the discussion, as well as the intensity with which these opinions had been expressed, he felt that it would be premature to ask the present session of the Conference to issue at such short notice formal instructions to the Governing Body to undertake a major revision of the I.L.O. scale of contributions. It was desirable to give the Allocations Committee time for the intensive background studies necessary for proper consideration of the various aspects of the problem by the Allocations Committee, and time for governments to consult on the matter.

38. The representative of Algeria pointed out that the total assessments of the African member States were together much higher than the same States' United Nations assessments. Twenty-seven of the African States were assessed at 0.12 per cent. in the I.L.O. scale, which was three times their United Nations assessment. There was clearly an injustice here, as the United Nations scale was established and revised from time to time on the basis of national income and relative capacity to pay. The United Nations scale also took account of the progressive widening of the gap in economic progress and prosperity that lay between the so-called developing countries and those that were already highly industrialised. The proposed revision of the I.L.O. scale should also take into account the incidence of the progressive growth in the budget on the cash contributions of member States. The revision should also take account of the need to adjust the maximum and minimum rates of contribution in the I.L.O. scale. For these reasons, he warmly supported the proposal of the representative of Brazil.

39. The representative of the United States said that his Government was prepared to support the 1966 scale of contributions recommended by the Allocations Committee, while recognising that this scale should be valid for 1966 only.

40. The concern expressed by many governments over the present disparities between the I.L.O. and the United Nations scales and over the difficulties inherent in trying to achieve an alignment between the two scales had been very much in the minds of the members of the Allocations Committee. He had been particularly impressed by the opinion of the United Kingdom representative that it was necessary
to approach the long-range problem without tying the hands of either the Allocations Committee or the Governing Body by recommending that the Conference issue specific instructions to the Governing Body to undertake a major revision of the I.L.O. scale in time for the conclusions thereon to be reflected in the 1967 scale. Many complex factors would have to be taken into account in studying the problem; it was not merely an arithmetical question, and sufficient time should be available for the numerous consultations that would have to take place before full agreement could be reached. In the present circumstances, and for reasons that were recorded in the second report of the Allocations Committee, it would be extremely difficult for his Government to associate itself with the concrete proposal put forward by the representative of Brazil. He urged that the Finance Committee of Government Representatives take note of the expressed intention of the Allocations Committee to give further consideration to the possibility of undertaking a major review of the I.L.O. scale, thus leaving the Allocations Committee entirely free in the matter.

41. The representative of Brazil said that the discussion in the Committee had illustrated that the reasons behind his proposal were well founded. In his view the adoption of this proposal would not tie the hands of the Allocations Committee, which would be free to examine every aspect of the problem of revising the I.L.O. scale and to explore all the various possibilities with a view to reaching an equitable conclusion. The proposal merely reflected the long-accepted principle that the United Nations scale of contributions was the most equitable scale that had been devised and that this scale should consequently be used as a yardstick for the I.L.O. scale. If nothing were done about the matter now, there was a serious risk that the very same problem would recur at next year’s Conference.

42. The representative of France said that although different shades of opinion over details were held by different members of the Committee there was no fundamental conflict as to the desirability of undertaking a major review of the I.L.O. scale of contributions. In essence the proposal of the representative of Brazil corresponded very closely with the intention expressed by the Allocations Committee to give further consideration to the whole question at the November session of the Governing Body. He suggested that a formula acceptable to all members of the Committee would be to record the proposal of the representative of Brazil in the Committee’s report, as well as taking note of the expressed intention of the Allocations Committee.

43. The representative of Australia said that his Government, while not wishing to contribute to the I.L.O. budget at a higher rate than was necessary or equitable, was fully conscious of the fact that some member States found their contributions particularly onerous. He favored the proposal of the representative of France as being the best way to satisfy the different governments’ wishes at the present stage, as it took account of all the complexities of the problem to be solved. In the light of these very complexities he was disinclined to take precipitate action on the matter, and his Government would have great difficulty in accepting the view that the Committee should put forward a formal recommendation to the Conference to give specific instructions to the Governing Body concerning the 1967 scale.

44. The representative of Ukraine indicated that his Government was one of those being called upon to support an increased assessment in the 1966 scale of contributions recommended by the Allocations Committee. That Committee had experienced considerable difficulty in reaching its delicately balanced compromise solution on an ad hoc basis for 1966. Wide divergences of opinion were also evidently held by different members of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives; he shared the view of those members who had urged that no precipitate action be taken at the present stage. Any long-range study of the I.L.O. scale should take account of the effect on the contributions of member States of the continuing growth in the level of the budget. This factor was particularly important to the socialist countries, many of which were assessed at high rates of contribution although they were denied the right to participate fully in the work of the I.L.O. He felt that the best course to take would be for the Committee to endorse the text of the last paragraph of the second report of the Allocations Committee, which represented a compromise that should be acceptable to all members of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

45. In the light of the differing views held by various members, the Committee decided to adjourn in order to allow time for consultations to be undertaken with a view to reaching a conclusion that could be accepted by all members.

46. On reconvening, the Committee had before it a proposal submitted by the representative of France to insert in the report a text consisting of three paragraphs designed to reflect the Committee’s wishes concerning the future action to be taken in regard to the possible consideration of a comprehensive review of the I.L.O. scale of contributions.

47. Several speakers paid tribute to the efforts made by the representative of France with a view to reaching a formula that would be unanimously acceptable to the Committee.

48. Mr. Tzankov, representative of Bulgaria and Chairman of the Allocations Committee, speaking in the latter capacity, favoured leaving the Allocations Committee entirely free to explore and examine all aspects of the problem. In his view, the text proposed by the representative of France appeared to tie the hands of the Allocations Committee by setting in advance a specific objective towards which it should seek to move. Accordingly he suggested that the Committee reproduce the text of its last paragraph and thereby leaving the Allocations Committee entirely free to examine all the elements of the problem while taking account of all the different
views that had been expressed concerning it in the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

49. The representative of Brazil indicated that in the consultations which had taken place his Government had shown its willingness to reach a formula that would be capable of unanimous acceptance in the Committee. The proposed text put forward by the representative of France did not give entire satisfaction to the Brazilian Government, which firmly believed that any delay in making substantial progress in bringing the I.L.O. scale more into line with the United Nations scale in order to produce a scale as equitable as possible to all Members would be detrimental to the whole Organisation. Nevertheless, in the light of his trust that the formula proposed by the representative of France would ensure that serious studies of the problem would be undertaken, and subject to unanimous agreement being reached in the Committee on this formula, he was prepared, in a spirit of compromise, to withdraw his own proposal recorded in paragraph 16 above in favour of the proposal of the representative of France.

50. Several speakers expressed their appreciation of the constructive spirit displayed by the representative of Brazil.

51. A number of speakers felt that acceptance of the proposal of the representative of France would not tie the hands of the Allocations Committee in any way; neither would such acceptance prejudice any solution that might emerge from the Allocations Committee's future examination of the problem. These members agreed that sufficient time should be allowed for the necessary study and preparation of the background information that the Allocations Committee would require. The Allocations Committee would be free to set the guidelines for the studies that it would recommend to be undertaken by the Office. At the same time the Allocations Committee would be expected to take account of all the different views that had been expressed in the Finance Committee of Government Representatives at its present session. The United States and U.S.S.R. members pointed out that their acceptance of the proposal of the representative of France would in no way commit their Governments to change their respective policies in regard to the rate of their contributions to the I.L.O. budget. It was on this understanding that they were able to accept the proposal. Another member felt that all were agreed on the need for a comprehensive review of the I.L.O. scale and that the ultimate objective of such a review should be for this scale to approach the United Nations scale as far as possible.

52. Other members of the Committee supported the view expressed by the Chairman of the Allocations Committee that the formula proposed by the representative of France would, in fact, tie the hands of the Allocations Committee to the purely arithmetical objective of aligning the I.L.O. scale with that of the United Nations without taking account of other factors bearing on the problem. For example, such limitation in the objective would fail to take account of the unique tripartite character and structure of the I.L.O. This unique structure meant that the United Nations scale of contributions did not necessarily constitute a yardstick with which the I.L.O. scale should be compared.

53. The representative of France indicated that it had not been his intention, nor that of the various members he had consulted, that the formula he had proposed should in any way tie the hands of the Allocations Committee. Its acceptance would constitute a request that the Allocations Committee study the problem in all its aspects having regard to all the viewpoints that had been expressed and to the need for study, consultation and negotiation with governments and other international organisations. The proposed formula did not even ask that the Allocations Committee reach a solution in one year's time; it merely requested that the Finance Committee of Government Representatives be informed next year of the progress made in tackling the problem.

54. Following this discussion the Committee held a further recess in order to allow for new consultations with a view to reaching agreement on a text to be included in its report.

55. After the recess the Committee agreed, subject to the reservations of the representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Uruguay as recorded below to include in its report the text of paragraphs 56 to 58 which follow.

56. The Committee took note of the statements made in support of the proposal of Brazil that the Governing Body explore all possible ways leading to substantial progress towards bringing the 1967 I.L.O. scale of contributions into closer conformity with the United Nations scale for the same year. The Committee also took note of differing points of view expressed by other speakers.

57. The Committee also noted that the Allocations Committee had decided to request the Governing Body, at its meeting following the Conference, to convene the Allocations Committee on the occasion of its 163rd Session of the Governing Body (November 1965), to consider whether the Allocations Committee wished the Office to undertake background work that would be required as a preliminary to any major review of the I.L.O. scale of contributions.

58. The Finance Committee of Government Representatives recommends that the Allocations Committee should meet in November 1965 to consider studies and background work that would be required with respect to achieving early and substantial progress towards improving the I.L.O. scale, particularly towards bringing the I.L.O. scale of contributions into closer conformity with the United Nations scale. It further expects to be informed of progress made in this respect at the 50th Session of the Conference.

59. The representative of the U.S.S.R. expressed a reservation in respect of paragraph 58. He would have preferred to have inserted in place of the words "with respect to" the words "in order to explore the possibility of".
60. The representative of Uruguay expressed a reservation concerning the last sentence of paragraph 56 above, which he felt was unnecessary as it added nothing to the value of the text.

61. The Committee then adopted, subject to the opposition of the representative of Brazil, the scale of contributions for 1966 as recommended by the Allocations Committee and appended to this report.


62. The first report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives records in paragraph 90 the Committee's adoption of the gross and net expenditure budgets for 1966, subject to the abstentions and reservations indicated by the representatives of certain governments as recorded individually in the Committee's first report.

63. Subject to the same abstentions and reservations and to the opposition of the representative of Brazil to the scale of contributions for 1966, the Committee then adopted the resolution set forth below for submission to the Conference for the adoption of the budget for the 48th financial period (1966): and for the allocation of expenses among member States for 1966:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

In virtue of the Financial Regulations, passes for the 48th financial period, ending 31 December 1966, the net budget of expenditure of the International Labour Organisation amounting to $20,337,871 and the net budget of income amounting to $20,337,871 and resolves that the budget of income from member States shall be allocated among them in accordance with the scale of contributions recommended by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

64. A table showing the expenditure and income budgets for 1966 follows this report. A statement showing the scale of contributions for 1966 and the gross and net contributions due from each member State in 1966 as recommended by the Committee for the approval of the Conference will be found immediately after the table. A summary of the items contained in the proposed expenditure budget is contained in the further proposals submitted by the Governing Body.1


(Signed) G. TESEMMA, Chairman and Reporter.

1 See item 1 of this Appendix, p. 531.

BUDGET FOR 1966

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<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Gross contribution</td>
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ANNEX

SECOND REPORT OF THE ALLOCATIONS COMMITTEE

1. The Allocations Committee, which had met on 27 May 1965, held further meetings on 1, 7 and 8 June 1965 under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Tzankov (Bulgaria).

Scale of Contributions to the Budget for the Financial Year 1966

2. The Committee gave further consideration to the question of the scale of contributions to the budget for 1966 that it had to recommend for adoption by the Director-General at the Committee's meeting on 27 May 1965, and the alternative suggestion that had been put forward by the U.S.S.R. Government member, together with the scale that would result from the application of the latter proposal.

3. The French Government member said that he had given very careful consideration to the suggestion that had been advanced by the U.S.S.R. Government member at the Committee's meeting on 27 May, and to the scale of contributions that would result from applying this suggestion. The U.S.S.R. suggestion appeared to rest on the supposition that further States would join the I.L.O. in future years. However, he felt some doubt as to whether very many more States could possibly join the I.L.O. in the coming years, as there were very few non-metropolitan territories left in the world which could be expected to become independent nations.

4. In most regions of the world the economic situation of individual countries were constantly changing and had been doing so for some years past. The aim of the Allocations Committee in the past had been to bring the I.L.O. scale of contributions more into line with the United Nations scale at every suitable opportunity. The Committee had moved towards this objective each year by applying the established criteria to the I.L.O. scale when new Members joined the Organisation. As very few further Members could be expected, he felt that the time had perhaps been reached when the I.L.O. scale should be as equitable as possible for all its Members whose individual capacity to pay, such a comprehensive review would entail a thorough and exhaustive examination of the I.L.O. scale at every suitable opportunity. The Committee should accept the draft scale of contributions that had been put forward by the Director-General and that for the 1966 scale the Committee should undertake to make such a comprehensive review when it was not be completed in time for the conclusions to be drawn therefrom to be applied in the 1966 scale.

5. Accordingly, he suggested that such a review be undertaken by the Director-General and that for the 1966 scale the Committee should accept the draft scale of contributions that had been put forward by the Director-General, and which was based on the principles hitherto maintained by the Committee.

6. The U.S.S.R. Government member agreed that the problem was complex and that it required very careful consideration. He asked whether it was the under-
standing of the Director-General that the scale he had originally proposed to the Committee would come into force if by March 1966 South Africa had not fulfilled the financial obligations arising out of its membership of the Organisation under the terms of article 1, paragraph 5, of the Constitution of the Organisation.

7. The representative of the Director-General indicated that if the Conference were to adopt the scale put forward by the Director-General this scale would apply to the budget for 1966 whether or not South Africa had fulfilled its financial obligations towards the Organisation. However, this did not imply acceptance of any non-payment by South Africa, contributions which would continue to be shown in the books of the Organisation as being due from South Africa. At this stage, the Director-General could only assume that South Africa would fulfill its term of agreement with the Organisation. If it did not, the obligations would remain valid and the Director-General would continue to request South Africa to pay the amounts which it owed.

8. The U.S.S.R. Government member felt that it could not fulfill the financial obligations arising out of its past membership of the Organisation. Failure to do so would involve a violation of article 1, paragraph 5, of the Constitution. Thus, if South Africa had not paid its outstanding debts by 11 March 1966 this raised the question as to whether South Africa should be considered as having withdrawn from the Organisation or whether it should be regarded as having been expelled therefrom as a result of its having violated the Constitution. In either case, the formal legal conditions governing withdrawal would not have been respected.

9. His Government would not wish to advocate that South Africa be considered as continuing in its membership of the Organisation through not having fulfilled the financial obligations of membership in terms of article 1, paragraph 5, of the Constitution. On the other hand, he felt that it was incumbent upon the Committee to work out a financial procedure in relation to the I.L.O. scale of contributions which would be applicable in every case of withdrawal of a member State from the Organisation. The Committee should examine to what extent the consequences of the withdrawal of any member State would affect the contributions of the remaining membership in terms of the principles that had hitherto governed the adjustment of the I.L.O. scale of contributions as a whole. The application of these principles had not so far led to any member State's assessment being increased from one year to the next. The application of the well-known principle of not increasing the scale was taking place, the principle of not increasing any other member State's contribution on a permanent basis being observed. The application of the principle of not increasing contributions temporarily increased as a result of the withdrawal of a member State from the Organisation. The committee should examine to what extent the consequences of the withdrawal of any member State would affect the contributions of the remaining membership in terms of the principles that had hitherto governed the adjustment of the I.L.O. scale of contributions as a whole. The application of these principles had not so far led to any member State's assessment being increased from one year to the next. The application of the well-known principle of not increasing the scale was taking place, the principle of not increasing any other member State's contribution on a permanent basis being observed. The application of the principle of not increasing contributions temporarily increased as a result of the withdrawal of a member State from the Organisation. The committee should examine to what extent the consequences of the withdrawal of any member State would affect the contributions of the remaining membership in terms of the principles that had hitherto governed the adjustment of the I.L.O. scale of contributions as a whole. The application of these principles had not so far led to any member State's assessment being increased from one year to the next. The application of the well-known principle of not increasing the scale was taking place, the principle of not increasing any other member State's contribution on a permanent basis being observed. The application of the principle of not increasing contributions temporarily increased as a result of the withdrawal of a member State from the Organisation. The committee should examine to what extent the consequences of the withdrawal of any member State would affect the contributions of the remaining membership in terms of the principles that had hitherto governed the adjustment of the I.L.O. scale of contributions as a whole. The application of these principles had not so far led to any member State's assessment being increased from one year to the next.

10. Another fundamental difference between the two organisations concerned the representation of member States of each a group. In the I.L.O. there was a definite discrimination against the socialist countries as regards their participation in the work of the Organisation; this applied particularly to the Employer and Worker representatives of these countries. In the United Nations there was no such discrimination.

11. These two examples illustrated the fact that the whole problem of devising an appropriate scale of contributions for the I.L.O. was extremely complex.

12. Finally, he asked why there appeared to be a taboo on increasing the rate of assessment of the contributions of the Member paying at the highest rate in the I.L.O. scale. This Member was the United States, whose contribution was assessed at 25 per cent. of the I.L.O. budget but at a roughly higher rate in the United States scale.

13. The Canadian Government member agreed that the adjustment of the I.L.O. scale of contributions on a long-term basis presented complex problems which would require very careful study over a period of time. He felt that the Committee's immediate task was, therefore, to reach agreement on the scale of contributions for 1966 on an ad hoc basis without prejudice to a comprehensive review of the scale such as had been suggested by the French Government member. The proposal put forward by the Director-General contained many ideas, but there were undoubtedly other ways of adjusting the scale for 1966 which might reasonably be considered. He would be prepared to put forward an alternative suggestion after having had the benefit of the views of other members of the Committee.

14. The United States Government member agreed that the problem before the Committee could develop into a major issue; this might complicate the work of the forthcoming session of the International Labour Conference. Accordingly, he also believed that the Committee should attempt, at the present stage, to reach a temporary position which would be applicable for 1966 only.

15. The Chairman suggested that further study might be given to the long-range problem by the Committee at a later session with a view to reaching unanimous agreement on a scale or basis of scale. The U.S.S.R. Government member felt that it was necessary to seek immediate solution between the Director-General's proposal and the suggestion of the U.S.S.R. Government member. To this end, he suggested that the Committee should accept the suggestion put forward by the U.S.S.R. Government member as recorded in paragraph 19 of the Committee's first report, with the exception of paragraphs 5 and 6 thereof. He recalled that paragraph 5 of the suggestion provided that the assessments temporarily increased as a result of the application of the first part of the U.S.S.R. Government member's suggestion should subsequently be brought back to their previous levels. He suggested that the assessments arising from the assessment of new Members in the scale of contributions for the next following year or years in which such relief should arise. The United States Government member indicated that his Government was seeking to apply the principle of not increasing contributions temporarily increased in the I.L.O. scale on a basis which would be equitable for all such States.

16. The Committee's present task should, however, be limited to agreeing on a scale of contributions to be valid only for 1966.

17. The Canadian Government member said that, in the light of the Committee's discussion so far, he felt that it was necessary to seek immediate solution between the Director-General's proposal and the suggestion of the U.S.S.R. Government member. To this end, he suggested that the Committee should accept the suggestion put forward by the U.S.S.R. Government member as recorded in paragraph 19 of the Committee's first report, with the exception of paragraphs 5 and 6 thereof. He recalled that paragraph 5 of the suggestion provided that the assessments temporarily increased as a result of the application of the first part of the U.S.S.R. Government member's suggestion should subsequently be brought back to their previous levels. He suggested that the assessments arising from the assessment of new Members in the scale of contributions for the next following year or years in which such relief would, therefore, be given to the long-range problem by the Committee at a later session with a view to reaching unanimous agreement on a scale or basis of scale. The U.S.S.R. Government member felt that it was necessary to seek immediate solution between the Director-General's proposal and the suggestion of the U.S.S.R. Government member. To this end, he suggested that the Committee should accept the suggestion put forward by the U.S.S.R. Government member as recorded in paragraph 19 of the Committee's first report, with the exception of paragraphs 5 and 6 thereof. He recalled that paragraph 5 of the suggestion provided that the assessments temporarily increased as a result of the application of the first part of the U.S.S.R. Government member's suggestion should subsequently be brought back to their previous levels. He suggested that the assessments arising from the assessment of new Members in the scale of contributions for the next following year or years in which such relief should arise. The United States Government member indicated that his Government was seeking to apply the principle of not increasing contributions temporarily increased in the I.L.O. scale on a basis which would be equitable for all such States.

18. The U.S.S.R. Government member recalled that the suggestion of the United States Government member's proposal his Government was seeking to apply the principle of not increasing contributions temporarily increased in the I.L.O. scale on a basis which would be equitable for all such States.

19. The United States Government member pointed out that this change in the suggestion of the U.S.S.R. Government was fundamental in that it departed from one of the basic principles accepted by the Committee, the Governing Body and the Conference in past years. This principle was that the maximum and minimum rates of contributions from the I.L.O. scale should not be changed. He indicated that the United States Government would find it impossible to agree to an assessment of its own contribution at a rate higher than 25 per cent. of the maximum rate in the I.L.O. scale, i.e. the United States.

20. The U.S.S.R. Government member drew attention to the fact that his proposal entailed a temporary increase only in the assessment of those Member States at present assessed at less than 25 per cent. of their contributions in the United Nations scale. In putting forward this proposal his Government was seeking to apply the principle of not increasing contributions temporarily increased in the I.L.O. scale on a basis which would be equitable for all such States.

21. The United States Government member indicated that he could not agree to a temporary increase in the

1 See item 1 of this Appendix, p. 534.
rate of assessment of his Government's contribution. If this rate were to be increased, he would not be in a position to vote in favour of the 1966 draft budget.

22. The Canadian Government member indicated that he could not accept the U.S.S.R. proposal that the increase of member States for 1966 should be a temporary one, to be cancelled in subsequent years, when further relief would become available from the assessments of new Members.

23. The U.S.S.R. Government member emphasised that a particular merit of his proposal was that it involved a temporary increase only in the assessment of some member States. The Canadian Government member's proposed amendment would introduce an element of permanency in the increase concerned.

24. So far the application by the Committee of its established criteria long accepted by the Governing Body and the Conference. Thus the United States contributed much more than any other member State, being called upon to accept an increase in the assessment of its contribution. If this fundamental principle were now to be changed, the change should apply to all States whose I.L.O. assessments were lower than the United Nations assessments. He contended that his Government's proposal to make the 1966 increases temporary in nature would not violate on a permanent basis the hitherto established criteria under which no State had had its assessment increased. On the other hand, the Director-General's proposal, originally made by the Committee, would uphold this principle. Mutual concessions would have to be made, and the U.S.S.R. Government was prepared to accept a temporary increase in its assessment of the United States Government. That had been/likewise. He would be forced to vote against any of the proposals so far put forward, other than that of his Government, and would accordingly have to reserve the position of his Government with regard to its attitude to the budget for 1966.

25. The Canadian Government member pointed out that for many years past a number of member States had been assessed at higher rates in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations scale. That was opposed to the U.S.S.R. Government's proposal because it would deny those States the relief which they could legitimately expect in future years as a result of the admission of new member States, particularly as another member State's withdrawal from the I.L.O. would probably become effective during 1967.

26. The United States Government member recalled that the present I.L.O. scale and the principles on which it was based had been developed a number of years ago after full and careful consideration by the Allocations Committee, the Governing Body and the Conference. It was within the power of the Committee, the Director-General, and the Conference to increase and minimum rates of contribution efforts would be made to bring the I.L.O. scale closer to the United Nations scale, provided that the Governments concerned had been affected by afforded relief to those States assessed at higher rates in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations scale when such relief had arisen as a result of increases in the membership of the Organisation.

27. In the present situation there were practicalities to be considered. The Congress of the United States had established a policy with regard to its contribution to the budget of the I.L.O. which was based on principles and criteria long accepted by the Governing Body and the Conference of the I.L.O. and the United States Government member was obliged to adhere to that policy. There was no possibility of a change in that policy being considered for the increase in the United States contribution to be applied in the 1966 scale.

28. He reminded the Committee that, whereas the United States Government's contribution to the regular budget was assessed at 25 per cent. that the same Government was major source of income to the I.L.O. on a voluntary basis to the extent of 40 per cent. of the total contributions of member States. These contributions were made as funds available to the Organisation through the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. Thus the United States contributed much more than 25 per cent. of the total funds available each year to the I.L.O. His Government was fully aware of the needs of the I.L.O. for adequate finance and was not unwilling to do its part to help the Organisation in its work. However, his Government was at present unable to depart from the established principle that the maximum rate of contribution in the I.L.O. scale should remain unchanged. Any increase in this rate would force his Government to vote against the budget for 1966 as a whole because the Conference resolution concerning the adoption of the budget each year was a single action in that it covered both the expenditure and income budgets in a single resolution.

29. The Director-General's proposal was consistent with the principle that the I.L.O. scale should move as far as possible towards the United Nations scale on every suitable occasion, subject to the retention of the present maximum and minimum rates of contribution. The suggestions of both the U.S.S.R. and Canadian Governments did not conform fully with this principle. Until this year, a part of the established principle had resulted in the granting of relief to those member States as a result of the admission of new Members. It was now necessary to apply the same principle in taking account of a further withdrawal of a member State from the Organisation. The Director-General's proposal was that which applied the existing principles to the furthest possible extent. On the other hand, in view of the practical problems involved, he felt that the Canadian Government would probably be the most acceptable for 1966 on an ad hoc basis.

30. The French Government member felt that in the light of the discussion that had taken place the best course for the Committee to take would be to accept the Director-General's proposals for the 1966 scale and request the Director-General to make a thorough study of the long-term problem, and to undertake a comprehensive review of the I.L.O. scale at its leisure. The principle on which the Committee had based its work in the past had been that all member States should contribute to the organisation in accordance with their relative capacities to pay. As the United Nations scale was based on this principle, the continued application of the existing principles to the I.L.O. scale, and adjusting the I.L.O. scale would appear to remain valid. The same problem had to be faced by other specialised agencies. Thus, the suggested full-scale revision of the I.L.O. scale of contributions would require only an exhaustive study in the I.L.O. but also full consultation with the United Nations and the other specialised agencies. In the case of the time the Canadian Government's proposal could not be completed by that study, he felt that the only possibility of reaching unanimity in the Committee on the 1966 scale was to accept the Director-General's proposal for this year.

31. Summing up, the Chairman felt that the realistic approach in the present situation would be to take the Canadian Government member's proposal as the basis for further discussion of the 1966 scale of contributions. This proposal consisted of two parts, one being the setting off the additional charge of 0.01 per cent. resulting from the withdrawal of South Africa against the relief of 0.48 per cent. arising from the assessments of the contributions of new member States, leaving a net reduction to 0.13 per cent. to be allocated amongst those member States at present assessed at a lower rate in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations scale. The United States contribution to the I.L.O. scale did not conform fully with this principle. Until the present I.L.O. scale and the principles on which it was established had been developed a number of years ago after full and careful consideration by the Allocations Committee, the Governing Body and the Conference. It was within the power of the Committee, the Director-General, and the Conference to increase and minimum rates of contribution efforts would be made to bring the I.L.O. scale closer to the United Nations scale, provided that the Governments concerned had been affected by afforded relief to those States assessed at higher rates in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations scale when such relief had arisen as a result of increases in the membership of the Organisation.

32. The Canadian Government member pointed out that, although his proposal consisted of two parts, these parts were closely interrelated and interdependent. If the Committee were to attempt to reach agreement on one part it should be on the understanding that this agreement was condition upon acceptance of the proposal as a whole.

33. The Committee then adjourned further consideration of the draft scale of contributions for 1966.

34. After the recess, the Chairman summed up the Committee's consideration of the draft 1966 scale of contributions and expressed the view that the Committee appeared to be agreed that the basis of the Canadian Government member's proposal, namely that the amount of the relief arising from the assessment of new member States (0.48 per cent.) should be set off against the additional burden of the withdrawal of South Africa. It remained for the Committee to decide on how the net additional charge of 0.13 per cent. should be spread amongst the membership of the Organisation. The Canadian Government member's
Appendix IV : Financial and Budgetary Questions

proposal in this regard was that the net charge of 0.13 per cent should be allocated as follows:

(a) States at present assessed at the minimum, except where this is lower than their United Nations assessment, not to be increased;

(b) the State assessed at the maximum not to be increased;

(c) States assessed at or above their United Nations assessment not to be increased;

(d) the additional charge to be distributed among the remaining member States (i.e. those assessed at lower than their United Nations assessment) pro rata to the amounts by which their individual I.L.O. assessment falls short of their individual United Nations assessments as previously I.L.O. assessments of these States being increased accordingly.

35. The U.S.S.R. Government member reiterated the view he had expressed at the Committee’s meeting of 1 June, namely that his Government could accept the first part of the Canadian Government member’s proposal, but had reservations regarding the second part. In particular, his Government wished that the increase in the assessments of member States’ contributions that would result from the application of the second part of the proposal should be temporary. Secondly, his Government held the view that the additional charge should be spread amongst the Members whose I.L.O. assessments were lower than their United Nations assessments, including the State assessed at the maximum rate. If the increases that were proposed increases were only temporary in nature, he felt that the State assessed at the maximum should be able to accept such a temporary increase alone with the other States affected.

36. If the increases in assessments that would result from the adoption of the Canadian Government member’s proposal were to be permanent, there would be a tendency in future years for the same States’ contributions to be further increased. This was an entirely new element for the Allocations Committee to consider, as so far the application of the principles adopted by the Committee had led only to reductions in assessments. Finally, his Government believed that the principle that it had not yet reached the Committee to proceed to a major review of the I.L.O. scale of contributions.

37. He asked whether the Canadian Government member intended that his proposal as a whole should be operative only for the 1966 scale of contributions.

38. The Canadian Government member indicated that his proposal had been put forward solely with a view to finding a solution for the 1966 scale. This solution would be entirely without prejudice to the Committee’s consideration of the scales for the budgets of future years. He felt that the Committee as a whole realised that there was a need for establishing a permanent set of criteria which would deal adequately with the adjustments of the I.L.O. scale to take into account the distribution of percentage assessments withdrawn from the scale as a result of the withdrawal of member States from the Organisation.

39. The Chairman suggested that the Committee should accept the Canadian Government member’s proposal, amended so that it would be clear that the increases in assessments resulting therefrom were temporary in nature. He also suggested that temporarily increased should subsequently be brought back to their previous levels by distributing the relief arising from the assessment of new Members in the scale of contributions for the next following year or years in which such relief should arise.

40. The Canadian Government member said that although he would be reluctant to accept a change in his proposal, he would be prepared to consider doing so if this would allow the Committee to reach an unanimous agreement. He would therefore like to hear the views of other members of the Committee on this matter.

41. The Indian Government member felt that general agreement had now been reached on the Canadian Government member’s proposal, and on the temporary nature of the increases that would result from its application. He also could agree to this, but wished to emphasize that he could not take the burden of the United Nations scale as compared with the increases resulting from the acceptance of the proposal as a whole.

42. The Peruvian Government representative expressed his support of the proposals of the Canadian Government member. This support was given in a spirit of compromise as was clear from the documents before the Committee that very many States were assessed at higher percentage rates in the I.L.O. scale than in the United Nations scale. He emphasised the fact that the United Nations scale was established and revised from time to time with the greatest of care by a committee of experts which inquired into the relative capacity to pay of all the member States which were members of the United Nations. It was therefore most desirable that the I.L.O. scale should be brought as far as possible into line with the United Nations scale. For various practical reasons such as alignment could not be achieved in the immediate future. Nevertheless, the present structure of the I.L.O. scale was most unsatisfactory and it was incumbent on the Committee at some stage to undertake a comprehensive examination of the I.L.O. scale with a view to bringing it more fully into line with the United Nations scale.

43. The Committee then decided, subject to the reservations noted in the following four paragraphs, to adopt a scale of contributions for 1966 by adjusting the 1965 scale as follows:

1. The amount of the relief arising from the assessment of new member States (0.48 per cent.) to be set off against the additional burden of 0.61 per cent. resulting from the withdrawal of South Africa.

2. The net additional burden of 0.13 per cent. to be allocated as follows:

(a) States at present assessed at the minimum, except where this is lower than their United Nations assessment, not to be increased;

(b) the State assessed at the maximum not to be increased;

(c) States assessed at or above their United Nations assessment not to be increased;

(d) the additional charge to be distributed temporarily among the remaining member States (i.e. those assessed at lower than their United Nations assessments) pro rata to the amounts by which their individual I.L.O. assessment falls short of their individual United Nations assessment, the previous I.L.O. assessments of these States being increased accordingly.

3. The assessments temporarily increased1 as a result of the application of the above formula shall subsequently be brought back to their previous levels by distributing the relief arising from the assessment of new Members in the scale of contributions from the next following year or years in which such relief shall arise.

It was noted that any assessment of a new member State joining later in 1965 or before the adoption of a scale for 1967 would thus be reflected in a reduction in 1967 of the assessments temporarily increased in 1966.

44. The U.S.S.R. Government member said that, while he objected in principle to point 2 (b) in the preceding paragraph, namely that the State assessed at the maximum would not be increased, in a spirit of compromise he would not raise a formal objection to this point but wished to record his Government’s reservations thereon.

45. The Indian Government member expressed his Government’s reservations as to the temporary nature of the increases resulting from the acceptance of the proposal as a whole.

46. The Canadian Government member said that he could accept the decision that the increases in assessments resulting from the adoption of the formula set out in paragraph 43 above would be temporary in nature, while emphasizing that this formula should apply to the 1966 scale only. It should not be adopted by the Committee on a continuing basis in future years. Referring to the emphasis that had been placed by some members of the Committee on the unusual nature of the situation facing it, he felt the situation should not be considered ab-

1 I.e. those of China, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Poland, Ukraine and U.S.S.R. (Not appended to the original text.)
The tripartite character of the I.L.O. and the question of full tripartite representation in its various organs should also be taken into account in considering the scale of contributions. These factors meant that it was not possible to compare the I.L.O. scale of contributions with that of the United Nations on a purely arithmetical basis.

53. The United States Government member said that he would not wish to upset the solution that had been deliberately worked out at the Conference. He therefore hoped that the scale might be taken into account in the broader problem of a possible major review of the scale in the future. However, as some members of the Committee had expressed views regarding the scale, it was hoped that the scale might be taken into account in the future should it be difficult for the United States Government to agree with such a proposal. Neither he nor his Government were in a position at the present time to associate themselves with the proposal that there should be a basic and radical revision of the I.L.O. scale in the immediate future. This was because of the inability of the United States Government to agree at the present time to any increase in the percentage assessment of its contribution to the budget, which was at the maximum rate of 25 per cent. Accordingly, he would have to oppose any decision that the Committee might take to undertake a major revision of the I.L.O. scale at the present time.

54. The French Government member reiterated his view that the Committee was agreed that the I.L.O. scale should move as far as possible towards the United Nations scale. At present there were many differences between the two scales. There were also various means of bringing the I.L.O. scale closer to the United Nations scale. The most radical approach would be to disregard the present rates of contributions, and instead adopt a system in which the minimum rates in the I.L.O. scale were equal to the United Nations scale. However, as to disregard this would give rise to a number of political and financial difficulties, he felt that the Committee should ask the Office to prepare a number of possible solutions, which would leave the present maximum and minimum rates of contributions unchanged. The matter should be left entirely open at this stage of the Conference so that the Committee could consider the possible solutions in more detail at a later session.

55. The U.S.S.R. Government member said that he could not accept to leave the maximum percentage assessment unaltered. He was in any major revision of the scale. The State assessed at the maximum, the United States, paid its contribution in its own currency. Other States, including the U.S.S.R., had to pay their contributions in a foreign currency, namely the United States dollar, and were thus in an entirely different position. Payment of their contribution depended on their ability to earn sufficient quantities of United States dollars. As contributions could be paid in national currencies, his Government would agree that national income could be taken as an appropriate basis for determining the rates of assessment of contributions. As contributions were thus in an entirely different position. Payment of their contribution depended on their ability to earn sufficient quantities of United States dollars, his Government was not in agreement with the criteria of the United Nations Committee on contributions in this respect.

56. The French Government member suggested that, if the Office were requested to study the question of a major revision of the I.L.O. scale, it should also prepare information for the benefit of the Committee as to the proportions of the annual budget that were spent in currencies other than the United States dollar and the Swiss franc. With the development of the Office's operational activities in all parts of the world, it was reasonable to assume that a number of States in addition to the United States dollars, would have to pay their contributions in other currencies, for example in the sterling and French franc zones and in Latin America. Information of the kind requested would help the Committee to determine whether a proportion of the annual budget should be paid in national currencies other than the United States dollar and the Swiss franc.

57. The Canadian Government member said that he was not at present in a position to speak on behalf of his Government as to whether a major revision of the I.L.O. scale should be undertaken. Accordingly, he could not accept the idea that the Committee should issue instructions to the effect that at its next meeting it should prepare more material for such a major revision. The Indian Government member associated himself with the views of the Canadian Government member on this subject.

58. The Uruguayan Government member emphasised her view that a major revision of the I.L.O. scale was necessary. She felt that the Office should be requested
to undertake a study of the question in the light of the
various points of view expressed by the members of the
Committee, and that the Office should have entire free­
dom to undertake its studies to the Committee at a later
date. This view was supported by the Peruvian Govern­
ment representative.

59. After further discussion, in which the United States
and Canadian Government members reiterated the
fact that at present it was not in a position to take a
decision to the effect that the Office should undertake a
comprehensive study of the long-term problem of the
I.L.O. scale, and in which the French Govern­
ment member pointed out that the Committee
would have to report on this matter to the Governing
Body, whereas it was at the present time reporting direct
work that would be required as a preliminary to any
meeting would be to consider whether or not the Com­
mittee wished the Office to undertake the background
work that would be required as a preliminary to any
major review of the I.L.O. scale of contributions.

Geneva, 8 June 1965.

(Signed) A. TzanKov,
Chairman and Reporter.

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Appendix IV: Financial and Budgetary Questions

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## Scale of Contributions for 1966

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APPENDIX V

Third Item on the Agenda: Information and Reports on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.¹

I. INTRODUCTION

1. In accordance with article 7 of the Standing Orders the Conference set up a Committee to consider and report on item III of its agenda: "Information and Reports on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations". This Committee was composed of 98 members: 56 from the Government group, 14 from the Employers' group and 28 from the Workers' group. There were also 14 Government deputy members, 7 Employers' deputy members and 11 Workers' deputy members, as well as two Government observers. The Committee elected its Officers as follows:

Chairman: Mr. Albano Pacis, Government member, Philippines.
Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Richmond, Employers' member, Kenya; Mr. Cool, Workers' member, Belgium.
Reporter: Mr. Lappalainen, Government member, Finland. The Committee held 16 sittings.

2. In accordance with its terms of reference the Committee examined the following questions: reports on ratified Conventions supplied by Members in pursuance of article 22 of the Constitution; reports on the application of Conventions in non-metropolitan territories supplied by Members in pursuance of articles 22 and 35 of the Constitution; information on the submission to the competent authorities of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference at its 31st to 47th Sessions, supplied in pursuance of article 19 of the Constitution; reports requested by the Governing Body from non-ratifying States on the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3), and the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 (No. 103), and from all member States on the Maternity Protection (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1921 (No. 12), and the Maternity Protection Recommendation, 1952 (No. 95), also supplied in pursuance of article 19 of the Constitution.

II. GENERAL QUESTIONS

3. In the course of its general discussion the Committee noted with satisfaction the progress made during the past 12 months as regards both the ratification and the implementation of I.L.O. Conventions. In January 1965 the total number of ratifications passed the 3,000 mark. It was noted, however, that many member States had not yet responded to the Committee's repeated appeals to ratify and apply the fundamental instruments on freedom of association, forced labour, and discrimination. Most speakers stressed, moreover, that membership in the I.L.O. implied acceptance of the principles of freedom of association as proclaimed in the Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia.

4. In view of the Committee's concern with the application of Conference decisions, the significance of trade union organisations in modern society, and the necessity to safeguard appropriate conditions for the free and independent development of trade unions, the Committee invites the Director-General to present a report on the legislation and the factual situation concerning trade unions in all countries and all non-metropolitan territories and other dependent territories, as well as on the measures which might ensure the application in these countries and territories of the international labour Conventions on trade union rights.

5. The Employers' and the Workers' members, in particular, stressed the progress made by some 40 countries in eliminating divergencies with ratified Conventions, as listed in the report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. Such positive measures constituted, in their opinion, tangible proof of the value of the I.L.O.'s machinery of supervision. The U.S.S.R. Government member reiterated his view, however, that this procedure required improvement, especially through the adoption of rules to define the composition and terms of reference of the Committee of Experts. This view was supported by the U.S.S.R. Workers' member.

6. The discussions of the Committee centred, as usual, on the difficulties confronting governments in giving effect to their obligations as regards international labour standards. In analysing these difficulties two types of cases can be discerned. In the majority of cases governments admit that they encounter practical, administrative, political and economic problems in their efforts to eliminate divergencies with ratified Conventions. In

¹ See Second Part, p. 452.
certain other cases governments deny the existence of any such divergencies, thus differing with the legal findings of the Committee of Experts.

7. In the first case, which concerns primarily the developing countries, compliance with the obligations under the Constitution and under ratified Conventions can be promoted in a number of ways. The Committee learned first of all, with interest, that a training course for labour officers from English-speaking countries in Africa had been organised for this purpose by the I.L.O. in Kenya in 1964 and that a similar course for French-speaking countries in Africa would be held later this year in Cameroon. The usefulness of such training courses was underlined by a number of speakers, and the Committee hopes that the I.L.O. will be able to carry out its intention of organising similar courses for other regions of the world in the years to come.

8. Many governments referred to other types of assistance they had been receiving from the I.L.O. in their efforts to give effect to Conventions. This takes the form of fellowships, of missions by experts and of direct advice by the International Labour Office in clearing up doubtful points in regard to the bearing of international labour standards. The Office, has, in particular, helped a number of countries in drafting or revising their legislation so as to conform with ratified Conventions. One member mentioned, in this connection, the usefulness of regional co-operation, citing by way of example a joint committee established by the countries of Northern Europe. The Committee also learned with interest that the Central American Labour and Social Welfare Council has set up two regional committees to advise on modifications in the legislation of Central American countries, full account being taken of international labour standards.

9. Research into specific problems of application constitutes another possible approach towards finding practical solutions. Thus a programme on which the I.L.O. is currently engaged aims at determining the relationship between the requirements of economic and social development and the application of the forced labour Conventions. The Committee was informed that this research programme, which deals, *inter alia*, with the measures taken in certain developing countries to train young people and eliminate underemployment, not only covers legislation but has involved a sizable number of study visits on the spot. The Committee trusts that the results and conclusions emerging from these studies will be available for examination by it next year.

10. In contrast to these cases where practical obstacles in the way of compliance with ratified standards are being gradually overcome, there are the other cases alluded to above, where governments do not admit the existence of discrepancies and disagree with the legal position taken by the Committee of Experts. Even though the discrepancies in question are not always serious ones, there is less hope in such cases for finding a solution. The Workers' members wondered therefore whether problems of this kind might not be submitted for decision to the International Court of Justice under article 37 of the I.L.O. Constitution, which deals with the interpretation of Conventions. Some Government members believed that such a recourse would require careful consideration.

11. The Employers' and Workers' members recalled the decision reached by the Committee in 1963 and 1964 in discussing the application of the freedom of association Conventions by certain countries of Eastern Europe and by Cuba, as regards the concept of freedom of association (see paragraph 26 of the Committee's report in 1963 and paragraph 23 of the report in 1964). The Committee had taken note at that time of the absence of any new elements in the report of the Committee of Experts and decided, since all parties concerned maintained their point of view, not to renew the discussion, not to request additional information, and merely to indicate in the report that the position had remained unchanged. The U.S.S.R. Government member had reiterated his regret that the numerous written and oral explanations of his Government had not been considered satisfactory. He had agreed that the discussions on this question should not be reopened and that this fact should be mentioned in the report. The Committee decided therefore to adopt the same procedure as in 1963 and 1964 and to report to the Conference that the points of view of all concerned had remained unaltered at the present session. The Employers' and the majority of the Workers' members emphasised, however, that this decision should have the aim of ensuring the supply of the relevant reports in future or on their examination by the supervisory bodies.

12. In the course of the general discussion the Employers' and Workers' members referred, as in previous years, to the responsibility of their organisations in examining their governments' reports on ratified Conventions and in commenting on them. Some governments still failed to communicate copies of their reports to the representative organisations, as provided for in article 23 of the I.L.O. Constitution. It was also pointed out that a useful role could be played in this connection by the tripartite labour advisory boards which in some countries had set up subcommittees to deal with international labour standards. There was general agreement that comments by the representative organisations are of great value to the Committee of Experts in assessing the degree of application of Conventions, but that further efforts should be made by the organisations concerned so as to avail themselves of this opportunity to participate in international supervision.

13. With the same aim of effective implementation in mind, several speakers emphasised the need for well-organised inspection services capable of enforcing national and international labour legislation. Reference was made to the reports on the labour inspection instruments which governments have been requested to supply this year under article 19 of the Constitution, and the hope was expressed that all reports thus due would be forthcoming and would contain as complete information as possible.
14. The Workers' members recalled that the reports due under article 19 next year would deal with the equally important question of hours of work. They supported the Committee of Experts' suggestion that these reports should not only indicate the normal hours fixed by legislation or otherwise but should also contain statistical information on the number of hours actually worked, including overtime. Only in this way could a true and concrete picture of the situation be obtained.

15. The Workers' members also referred to the implementation of Conventions through collective agreements. In cases where one or several ratified Conventions were applied these collective agreements the governments concerned must guarantee that the agreements in question give full effect to the Conventions as regards the level of its requirements and as regards the workers covered. If this is not the case, they should take appropriate legislative or other measures so as to give full effect to the Conventions.

16. The Committee had again before it, as in previous years, the tables originally presented by Sir John Forbes Watson showing the position of ratifications and votes cast by Government delegates. These tables form Appendix IV of the present report.

III. SPECIAL PROBLEMS

17. In pursuance of the practice followed for several years past the Committee decided to insert a separate section drawing the attention of the Conference to cases where governments have apparently encountered serious difficulties in discharging certain of their obligations under the I.L.O. Constitution or under Conventions they have ratified. The Committee considers that special problems of this kind should continue to be given the fullest attention in order to contribute to their early solution.

18. The Committee discussed in detail the criteria and procedure to be followed in drawing up a special list of such problems. While admitting the need for rules on this matter, some members stressed the importance of clarity, precision, equity and objectivity.

A government's general attitude was more important than narrow legal considerations. The Employers' and Workers' Vice-Chairmen pointed out that the proposed criteria had been drafted with much care and that there were full procedural safeguards so as to ensure, in every instance, that government representatives can make themselves heard in the Committee before a decision is reached concerning their countries. The purpose of the special list was to help governments towards the better application of Conventions. Experience had in fact shown the concrete results of this list in certain cases, and its continuation was therefore essential.

19. In conclusion, the Committee agreed that all the governments concerned, represented at the Conference, should have an opportunity to state what measures they have taken or intend to take in fulfilment of their obligations, so that the Committee can reach a decision in each specific case on the basis of full and up-to-date information. The procedure adopted for this purpose was as follows:

(a) the government concerned was given every possibility to supply additional information and to participate in the Committee's discussion;

(b) after the discussion of the case, the Committee took its decision, which was recorded in the minutes.

20. In pursuance of this procedure, the Committee decided on the following criteria and on their application to the cases enumerated:

A. None of the reports on ratified Conventions has been supplied for two years: Honduras, Jordan, Lebanon.

B. First reports on ratified Conventions have been overdue for two years: Ecuador: Unemployment Convention, 1919 (No. 2); Sickness Insurance (Industry) Convention, 1927 (No. 24); Guinea: Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105); Honduras: Medical Examination of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations) Convention, 1946 (No. 78); Weekly Rest (Commerce and Offices) Convention, 1957 (No. 106); Seafarers' Identity Documents Convention, 1958 (No. 108); Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111); Lebanon: Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921 (No. 14); Libya: Holidays with Pay Convention, 1936 (No. 52); Malta: Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3); Workmen's Compensation (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 (No. 12); Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925 (No. 17); Hours of Work (Commerce and Offices) Convention, 1930 (No. 30); Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases) Convention (Revised), 1934 (No. 42); Underground Work (Women) Convention, 1935 (No. 45); Holidays with Pay Convention, 1936 (No. 52); Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87); Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100).

C. The Government has failed to reply to observations or requests of the Committee of Experts in respect of ratified Conventions: Ecuador, Guinea, Honduras, Jordan, Libya, Nicaragua, Portugal, Senegal, Uruguay.

D. The Government has failed, despite repeated invitations by the Conference Committee, to take part in the discussion concerning its country: Libya.

E. No progress has been noted in the Government's attitude over the past five years towards the elimination of serious breaches in the application of ratified Conventions: Argentina (several Conventions); Mexico (several Conventions); Pakistan: Fee-Charging Employment Agencies Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 96); Uruguay (several Conventions).

F. None of the reports on unratified Conventions and on Recommendations requested under article 19 of the Constitution has been supplied during the past five years: Panama.

G. No indication is available that any of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted during the 40th to 47th Sessions of the Conference (1957-63) have been submitted to the competent authorities in accordance with article 19 of the Constitution: Ethiopia, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Panama, Thailand.

21. The Committee deems it essential to emphasise at this stage that its discussions with a number of governments have brought to light additional evidence of positive progress, similar to that noted by the Committee of Experts, as referred to in paragraph 5 above. Thus the representatives of three States which had previously figured under point E of the special list (Chile, Colombia, Nicaragua) supplied the Committee with very detailed information on measures recently taken to secure the amendment of their legislation so as to secure full compliance with a number of ratified Conventions. The Committee particularly appreciates such efforts to eliminate divergences, often of long standing.

22. The Committee must point out finally that it has not been in a position to discuss the observations of the Committee of Experts referring the following States which did not attend the present session of the Conference: Albania, Bolivia, Haiti, Iceland, Paraguay.

IV. Reports on Ratified Conventions

23. By the date of adoption of the present report 1,356 detailed reports had been received, i.e. 90.7 per cent. of the reports requested. While this represents the highest percentage reached during the past five years, the Committee must also point out that too many reports still arrive after the meeting of the Committee of Experts, as indicated in the tables appearing in Appendix I (C and D). In referring these reports to the Committee of Experts for examination at its next session the Committee once again appeals to governments to supply all their reports by the date required, i.e. 15 October, so that the Committee of Experts is able to perform its task in good time.

24. The information made available to the present Committee is summarised in Appendix I (A and B), together with the discussions and decisions relating thereto. To the extent to which these discussions indicate the need for further measures of implementation or for additional information, the Committee trusts that the necessary measures will soon be taken and that the governments' future reports will contain all the details required to ascertain compliance with the Conventions concerned.

25. The Committee also expresses the earnest hope that these next reports will reply in full to the observations and requests made by the Committee of Experts and the course of the present session. Failure to respond to these comments effectively prevents the Committee of Experts and the Conference Committee from carrying out their mandate, so that the I.L.O.'s efforts to promote the application of its standards might be seriously jeopardised.

V. Application of Conventions in Non-Metropolitan Territories

26. It was recalled that the Conference had last year adopted an instrument of amendment of the Constitution, under which article 35 of the Constitution (dealing with the application of ratified Conventions to non-metropolitan territories) would be deleted and replaced by new provisions in article 19. The Committee noted that this instrument had already been ratified or accepted by a number of member States, but that the number of ratifications and acceptances necessary to bring the instrument of amendment into force had not yet been reached.

27. One member of the Committee observed that the question of the application of Conventions to non-metropolitan territories was still an important one and should be very thoroughly examined. He pointed out that, although the Committee of Experts had noted continuing progress in the extension of ratified Conventions to non-metropolitan territories, its report showed that two-thirds of the declarations made in the previous year concerning the applicability of Conventions to such territories had indicated that a decision was reserved or that the Convention was inapplicable; this situation—as also the over-all number of positive declarations—was most unsatisfactory.

Another member observed that, while it had been unanimously decided at the 48th Session of the Conference to amend the Constitution, so that it was not necessary to reopen the general discussion on article 35, the report of the Committee of Experts supported the view that this article had encouraged the application of Conventions in non-metropolitan territories; it showed that the average number of declarations of application without modification per territory had risen since 1962 from 14 to 20, a figure which compared favourably with that of the ratifications of many member States.

28. A member of the Committee recalled the Declaration adopted by the United Nations some years ago calling for the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples; this Declaration had not been fully implemented, and the Committee should endeavour to promote its application and to assist the peoples in these territories in regard not only to working conditions, but also in other fields.
29. A member indicated the importance for the workers in countries which at present were still non-metropolitan territories to be directly represented at the Conference.

30. The information supplied by governments in answer to observations by the Committee of Experts concerning the application of particular Conventions in non-metropolitan territories, and the discussion of such cases by the Committee, are summarised in Appendix II (A and B).

VI. SUBMISSION TO THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES OF THE CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

31. The Committee noted with regret again this year that the proportion of member States which had discharged their obligation, under article 19 of the I.L.O. Constitution, to submit to the competent authorities the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference remained unsatisfactory. It emphasises once again the importance attaching to the discharge of this obligation, failing which international labour standards are likely, in many cases, to remain a dead letter on the national level.

32. As regards the nature of the competent authorities within the meaning of article 19 of the Constitution it was recalled that these are the authorities which, under the national constitution in each State, are empowered to legislate or take other action to give effect to Conventions or Recommendations. Admittedly, in respect of certain instruments, bodies other than the legislature may be empowered to take the necessary implementing measures. It was pointed out that even in this case it would be desirable to submit the instruments to the legislature for information.

33. As regards the scope of the obligation the Committee emphasises that Conventions and Recommendations must be submitted to the competent authorities in all cases, even if the government does not propose to ratify a Convention or to take measures to give effect to a Recommendation. In doing so, the Committee draws attention to the clear distinction which must be made between the concept of "submission" and that of "ratification".

34. It was also noted with regret that the governments of most member States do not take account in their reports of the indications contained in the memorandum on this subject adopted by the Governing Body at its 140th Session (November 1958). If the information and documents requested by this memorandum are not supplied, it is not possible to assess the manner in which governments discharge their obligations in this field. In this connection attention was drawn to the need for governments, when submitting instruments to the competent authorities, to make proposals or comments on the effect to be given to them, it being understood that governments remained entirely free as to the nature of the proposals which they might make.

35. Mention was made of the problems peculiar to federal States and of the special provisions laid down in this connection in article 19, paragraph 7, of the I.L.O. Constitution. A member of the Committee recalled the wish that a study of this matter be submitted to the Committee.

36. The information supplied to the Committee concerning the submission of Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities, and the comments made in this regard, will be found in Appendix III to this report.

VII. REPORTS ON UNRATIFIED CONVENTIONS AND ON RECOMMENDATIONS

37. The Committee took note with interest of the general conclusions of the Committee of Experts on the reports supplied under article 19 of the Constitution in respect of four instruments relating to maternity protection, namely the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3), the Maternity Protection (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1921 (No. 12), the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 (No. 103), and the Maternity Protection Recommendation, 1952 (No. 95) (Part Three of the Committee of Experts' report). The Experts' study covered the situation in altogether 135 countries (93 States and 42 territories). This year again the study related to instruments which called for special examination not only from the point of view of the effect which has been given to them but also from the point of view of possible revision. As the maternity protection Conventions had not been ratified as widely as might have been expected (by 24 and 8 States respectively), suggestions had been made that they be revised and their provisions made more flexible.

38. The Committee had a general exchange of views on the various aspects of maternity protection. It noted with interest the conclusions emerging from the Committee of Experts' study. Several speakers emphasised the importance of maternity protection for women, for children and more generally for society as a whole.

39. The Committee noted that, notwithstanding the limited number of ratifications of these instruments, considerable progress had been made in this field in recent decades. It observed that, while this progress was largely due to the economic and social development in the various countries, the maternity protection Conventions and Recommendations had exercised an undoubted influence on national legislation, which had drawn on the international standards. The principles enunciated in these instruments are today accepted by almost all the countries covered by the survey.

40. The Committee was impressed by the progress made in regard to the length of the maternity leave. It noted that in 89 countries the duration of the leave was equal to or greater than the 12 weeks laid down in the international standards. Certain members of the Committee stressed the importance for the health of the mother and her child of a
sufficiently long period of rest both before and after confinement and felt that the period of 12 weeks should be considered a minimum standard, particularly in the case of women employed in industrial work requiring sustained effort. A Workers' member emphasised the importance of the mother's presence for young children and stated that a woman should, in addition to her maternity leave, be entitled to a special leave with cash benefits until the child reached the age of 1 year.

41. The Committee also noted that, according to the study, women in most of the countries concerned were entitled to cash benefits, varying from 60 to 100 per cent. of the wage in some 30 countries, and to free medical care provided under an insurance scheme or out of public funds. In addition, measures exist in most countries to guarantee women job security during maternity leave and to protect them against discrimination on account of pregnancy or nursing. Women also usually have the right to nursing breaks during working hours, there are special facilities for babies, and various other measures exist for the protection of the health of the mother and child. With regard to the last point, certain members of the Committee emphasised the importance for women and their children of the special protective measures laid down particularly in Section V of Recommendation No. 95. Night work and overtime should be prohibited before and after confinement as well as during the nursing period. Some members expressed the wish that the relevant provisions of Recommendation No. 95, which supplement those of Convention No. 103, be applied in a larger number of countries.

42. The Committee also took note of certain difficulties of application met especially in developing countries which were not yet able to extend the protection to all categories of women workers covered by the Conventions and particularly Convention No. 103. In this connection a Government member of the Committee observed that even in developing countries the application of Convention No. 3 created no major difficulties, but that special problems might arise in respect of the extension of maternity protection to the agricultural sector, in which work took place within a family setting and to which for the time being it was not possible to extend social security schemes. Difficulties appeared also to exist in certain countries as regards the application of the absolute prohibition of dismissal of women workers during their absence on maternity leave; this provision is of considerable importance, since it is aimed at protecting women workers against the material and moral consequences which loss of employment would have for them and their children. It was suggested that the I.L.O. might give further consideration to these problems.

43. The Committee considered that the difficulties of application of these provisions are not such as to call for revision of the Conventions. In the present circumstances, particularly as the limited number of ratifications of these instruments does not appear to be due, in most countries, to basic differences between national legislation and the Conventions. In connection the Committee particularly noted the Committee of Experts' conclusion that national legislation for maternity protection in many cases contains standards equal to or even higher than the international standards.

44. Having regard to these findings, the Workers' members considered that the Committee should recommend the Conference to appeal once more to all countries which had not yet ratified Conventions Nos. 3 and 103 to examine, in the light of the Committee of Experts' conclusions, the possibility of ratifying and fully applying them.

45. The Employers' members considered that Convention No. 103 contained stricter standards, which made its application difficult even in developed countries, and that accordingly emphasis should be placed rather on the ratification of the 1919 Convention which, particularly for developing countries, constituted an objective to be reached as quickly as possible. Certain Government members, however, stressed that no distinction should be made in the field of maternity protection between developed and developing countries, and that the need to protect life and health transcended economic considerations. Problems might exist in developing countries, particularly as regards the introduction of social security schemes, but the ratification and application of these Conventions had not encountered major difficulties in certain developing countries. It was, moreover, pointed out that several African countries had ratified Convention No. 3 and that its application by them appeared not to give rise to any special difficulties. A Workers' member remarked that the fact that a country was developing was no justification for the absence of protective measures whose scope generally did not depend so much on economic development as on the policy as to sharing of costs which it adopted.

46. In the course of the discussion it was pointed out that the non-ratification of Convention No. 103 by certain countries whose legislation contained at least equivalent standards was due to certain minor difficulties which could be overcome, and that it might be hoped that new ratifications would be forthcoming in the near future.

47. In conclusion, the Committee as a whole considered that all governments should aim to ratify and apply the 1919 Convention and that, whenever this was possible, they should seek to attain the higher level of protection provided in the revised Convention of 1952 and ratify this instrument.

* * *

48. The submission of the present report completes the task entrusted to the Committee by the Conference. While there may be differences of emphasis as to the methods to be followed in performing this task, the basic purpose is clear; to promote compliance with the I.L.O. Constitution and with ratified Conventions. In its efforts to ascertain and
evaluate the measures taken by member States to this effect, the Committee received information from 70 governments. It deeply appreciates the spirit of co-operation thus shown by the countries concerned and in particular the positive action many of them have taken in pursuance of their obligations. These measures represent the surest indication possible that the work of the Committee is bearing fruit.


(Signed) V. ALBANO PACIS,
Chairman.

V. LAPPALAINEN,
Reporter.
**APPENDIX I**

**OBSERVATIONS AND INFORMATION CONCERNING REPORTS ON RATIFIED CONVENTIONS (ARTICLE 22 OF THE CONSTITUTION)**

**A. General Observations and Information concerning Certain Countries**

**Algeria.** A Government representative made the following statement:

Since the country's independence three years ago, the Government had shown special interest in the activities of the I.L.O. This was witnessed by the fact that 42 Conventions had been ratified and that they were strictly applied. The Government had in fact sent its first report on Convention No. 10 and regretted that it had not been received by the I.L.O. This Convention, relating to minimum age in agriculture, was fully applied, partly because of the high school-leaving age and the Government's active policy for promoting schooling—particularly in rural areas—and partly because agricultural undertakings were managed by the workers themselves who ensured that their children were not employed in work for which they were not fit.

As regards the communication of copies of reports to the representative organisations of employers and workers, required under article 23 (2) of the Constitution, this obligation had no doubt been complied with and failure to mention it was probably due to an oversight; the Government would have no reason for not supplying copies of its reports to these organisations.

The Workers' members indicated that the communication of copies of reports to employers' and workers' organisations had been an obligation incumbent upon the Government and compliance therewith was most important for trade unions.

The Employers' members stated that the Government could have sent a copy of the report on Convention No. 10 directly to the I.L.O. or have communicated it to the Committee of Experts.

In addition, a Government representative made the following additional statement:

Owing to the fact that certain reports had been prepared by ministries other than the Ministry of Labour, for example the Ministries of Agriculture, of Industry, etc., which were less familiar with I.L.O. procedures, they had omitted to indicate that copies had been communicated to the employers' and workers' organisations; he believed, however, that this indication had been given in the letter transmitting the reports. The report on Convention No. 10 had been prepared but had not been sent because of an error in transmitting it. After the Ministry of Labour had been re-established, I.L.O. correspondence had continued to be sent to the Ministry of Social Affairs and this had resulted in delays.

**Argentina.** A Government representative made the following statement:

The Committee of Experts' observations with regard to various Conventions were correct. Unfortunately it was not possible to report the adoption of positive measures. It was to be hoped that this year would be the last when government representatives would have to recognise shortcomings in the application of Conventions. An international affairs committee had been established in the Ministry of Labour and Social Security; it had already prepared certain Bills (Conventions Nos. 8, 22, 27, 33, 73, 81 and 90) and was preparing others (Conventions Nos. 13, 32 and 50) to bring national legislation into conformity with ratified Conventions. On behalf of the Minister of Labour a formal promise was made to the Committee that these Bills would be submitted to Parliament and that everything possible would be done to have them adopted. These Bills would also cover the Conventions on which observations had been made in previous years. Moreover, a committee of three eminent jurists had been established to prepare a draft Labour and Social Security Code which would consolidate existing provisions and take account of the Conventions. As this would take some time, the other committee would proceed with the Bills in order to bring existing legislation into conformity with the Conventions. Argentina had ratified 56 Conventions and the observations concerned only a limited number of points, often on points of detail.

All the reports had been sent but the necessary information had been lacking in some of them. Specific instructions had been given so that the information would be sent in the future.

The Employers' members expressed the hope that the necessary legislative measures would be adopted by next year in accordance with the formal promises which had just been made. The Government had referred to Bills for a long time; for example, ten years in the case of Convention No. 22.

The Workers' members supported the Employers' members' comments. For the past ten years the Government had been promising to bring its legislation into conformity with ratified Conventions, but the necessary measures had not yet been taken.

The Government representative stated that the political and institutional instability of the country over the last nine years had been the reason for failure to meet obligations incumbent upon it to the I.L.O. There had been 13 Ministers of Labour. Since October 1963 there had been a constitutional government and an elected parliament, and the same Minister of Labour had held office since that date. The formal promises which had been made were reaffirmed. The above-mentioned circumstances had delayed the enactment of the various Bills.

The Government took note of the formal promise made by the Government and expressed the hope that the necessary legislative amendments would be adopted by next year.

**Belgium.** A Government representative made the following statement:

Belgium had submitted 15 reports several months late. The Government was aware of this fact which was due to certain circumstances of an internal nature. Some ministries, due to a lack of personnel, had failed to submit the information requested to the Ministry of Labour in due time. This was an exceptional case and in future all reports would be supplied within the prescribed time limit.

**Burma.** The Employers' and Workers' members emphasised that Burma had sent in seven of the reports due four months after the prescribed date and had not indicated whether the reports had been communicated to the representative organisations of employers and workers. It was to be hoped that in future Burma would comply with its reporting obligations.

In reply the Government indicated that copies of the reports had in fact been communicated to the organisations concerned.

**Cameroon (Eastern Cameroon).** The Government communicated the following information:

Through a material error, the reports did not specify the names of the employers' and workers' organisations to which copies had been communicated (namely: Employers' organisations—Union of Trade Associations of Cameroon; The Union of Agricultural Associations of Cameroon; The Cameroon Merchants', Importers' and Exporters' Association; Workers' organisations—Federation of Trade Unions of Cameroon; The Union of Believing Trade Unions of Cameroon).
Colombia. A Government representative made the following statement:

Colombia, like many other countries, had not been able to send certain reports and replies, but they would be sent very soon. In 1955 the Government had submitted to Congress a comprehensive draft Labour Code but difficulties in the legislative procedure had prevented its adoption. Subsequently the Government had decided to present a new, more limited draft. Finally, as the Committee of Experts had noted, a Bill to amend the existing Code had been tabled in November 1964. An extraordinary session of Congress had been called to examine certain urgent Bills, including this Bill to amend the Labour Code. This Bill contained specific provisions for the application of the Conventions. Several observations made by the Experts had noted that Bills were pending to apply. In 1965 a Bill (No. 9) had been submitted with a view to ensuring the application of Conventions Nos. 22 and 23, on seamen. Another Bill (No. 6) of 1965 was designed to bring legislation into harmony with several Conventions. The Government had done everything within its power; the passage of the Bills depended on Congress.

The Workers’ members stated that the Government’s attitude, recognising the existence of the discrepancies and attempting to eliminate them, was commendable. It should also be noted with interest that a special session of Congress had been called, but it was necessary to be assured that the Bills would be adopted by next year. The Government should be able to achieve this result with the help of the Congress. The technical services of the I.L.O. might be consulted on the conformity of the draft legislation with the Conventions ratified by Colombia. If the necessary legislative measures had not been taken next year, the case would again have to be placed on the special list in 1966.

In reply, the Government representative stated that the adoption of the Bills required a two-thirds majority in Congress and sometimes this was difficult to obtain. The Government would do everything within its power, but the application of a Convention did not always depend upon the executive power.

Congo (Leopoldville). The Government communicated the following information:

Copies of the reports were communicated to the Union of the Congo, the Congolese Workers, the Federation of Congolese Workers, the Federation of Congolese Undertakings and the Association of African Middle Classes.

Costa Rica. A Government representative made the following statement:

It was indicated in paragraph 28 of the Committee of Experts’ report that three reports had not been received. The Government regretted this delay, due to administrative reasons. The report on Convention No. 111 had been sent in April 1965 and the first reports on Conventions Nos. 99 and 100 had been received in 1965. The Government had made a serious effort last year to bring its legislation up to date and into conformity with I.L.O. standards and it would endeavour to prevent any delay in the supply of future reports.

The Committee expressed the hope that, in future, reports would be supplied within the prescribed time limits.

Cuba. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Committee of Experts indicated, in paragraph 27 of its report, that the country had failed to supply information on Convention No. 67. This Convention was in fact fully supplied. The Government had particularly heavy reporting obligations since during the past year it had had to send reports on 20 ratified Conventions. The information requested in regard to this Convention would shortly be supplied.

Ecuador. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government of Ecuador was firmly determined to co-operate with the I.L.O. The Organisation was aware of the efforts that had been made by the Government from sending the reports due. The Government was doing everything possible to eliminate the obstacles which had so far prevented it from complying with its obligations; a proof of this was the adoption of certain laws providing for the organisation of competent services and the preparation of a Bill to set up in the Ministry of Labour a service entrusted with relations with the I.L.O. This last measure would permit full compliance with the obligations arising out of the Constitution of the I.L.O. The legislation in question was to be prepared after consultation with the Government. Supervision of the labour legislation and the preparation of statistics required a level of technical specialised organisation which the country was trying to obtain. Necessary measures were being taken to rectify this situation; these included the adoption of the Acts of 2 November 1964, and of 23 March and 5 May 1965. It had not been possible to supply the first reports due because of the absence of a competent service. As regards replies to observations reference should be made to the comments regarding Conventions Nos. 26 and 27.

The Employers’ members stated that the experts’ observations related to a serious failure to comply with a fundamental obligation towards the I.L.O. When a country had ratified a Convention it was under an obligation to apply it. It appeared from the reply of the Government representative that this country had ratified Conventions prematurely.

The Workers’ members regretted that the country had not asked for the help of the technical services of the I.L.O.

The Government representative stated that the Government of Ecuador had asked the I.L.O. for assistance with a view to the setting up, in the Ministry of Labour, of a service dealing with questions relating to Conventions and Recommendations.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would in future comply fully with its reporting obligations.

Guatemala. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government was anxious to comply fully with its obligations in regard to ratified Conventions. A department had recently been created in the Ministry of Labour and Social Security which would enable it to meet these obligations. The Committee of Experts had indicated in paragraph 27 of its report that the Government’s reports on Conventions Nos. 79, 89 and 94 had not replied to observations; this would be done in the reports for the period ending 30 June 1965.

The Central American Labour and Social Welfare Council had set up two regional technical committees which were to study the legislation of the Central American countries and advice on modifications in the national legislations; full consideration would be given to international labour Conventions and Recommendations, whether ratified or not, in making any such modifications.

Guinea. A Government representative made the following statement:

It was correct that no reports had been sent, but this was merely a delay and the reports were now ready for despatch to the I.L.O. In the seven years since independence 20 Conventions had been ratified and the ratification of 11 others was being considered. The ratified Conventions were fully applied and in some cases the legislation was even more favourable. For example, forced labour was formally prohibited under section 3 of the Labour Code. As regards the Conventions on minimum age, section 150 of the Code prescribed a minimum age for admission to employment of 14 years in all sectors.

The Employers’ members stated that it was essential for reports to be sent within the prescribed time limits. The Government had failed to send any reports for two years. In addition, the first report due on Convention No. 105 had not been sent for two years. Finally, the Government had not replied to two observations and 12 requests of the Committee of Experts.

The Workers’ members stated that they were glad that measures were being taken to meet the Government’s reporting obligations. However, the Committee of Experts’ report indicated that reports had not been supplied for two years, including the first report on Convention No. 105. Although the Convention was always welcome, it was essential to be able to ascertain by means of reports how far it was applied. The trade unions attached great importance to this matter.

The Government representative stated that it was inconceivable for a country which had gained freedom from colonial domination to fail to ratify and apply fully Convention No. 105.
The Committee was informed at a later sitting that 15 of the 30 reports due from Guinea had just been received.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would in future comply fully with its other reporting obligations.

Honduras. A Government representative made the following statement:

The position taken by Malawi on attaining independence, in regard to the four Conventions in question gave rise to difficulties in connection with Convention Nos. 50 and 64. The difficulties in connection with Convention No. 50, Article 18, provision is not made in any positive terms in the relevant ordinance for the medical examination of all recruited workers, because the medical services of Malawi are not sufficiently developed for them to accept this responsibility. Further, it would be necessary in the ordinance to ensure that all necessary measures are to be taken for the acclimatisation and adaptation of recruits to the local conditions and climate.

The fact is that no recruitment, as defined in the ordinance, of Malawi workers is authorised for employment abroad and it is not considered necessary that any acclimatisation or adaptation in the ordinary sense be given to workers recruited from one part of this country to another.

It is intended to submit trial reports on these two Conventions and await the comments of the Committee of Experts. Subject to their comments it is hoped that, in view of the explanations given above, they would accept ratification as being possible within the present legislative provisions.

The Committee was informed at a later sitting that the I.L.O. reports on Conventions Nos. 59 and 64.) The difficulties in connection with Convention, No. 29 and No. 105 are still under study and the Government of the United Kingdom but which the Government had been unable to accept on its behalf by the United Kingdom Government but which the Government had been unable to accept on joining the Organisation. It was not the Government's intention to adopt an inflexible attitude in this matter. It was, however, anxious faithfully to apply ratified Conventions. When examining the Conventions in question the Government had found that the legislation was not fully in line with their provisions. However, further examination following receipt of the Director-General's letter showed that there was no major obstacle to the acceptance of these two Conventions. The Government was now prepared to accept these two Conventions but would reserve the right to submit a conditional to the I.L.O. on its admission to membership of the I.L.O. This decision would be confirmed in writing to the I.L.O. The position in regard to Conventions Nos. 29 and 105 was more difficult. It had been necessary to accept the relevant ordinance for the medical examination of all recruited workers, because the medical services of Malawi are not sufficiently developed for them to accept this responsibility. Further, it was considered necessary in the ordinance to ensure that all necessary measures are to be taken for the acclimatisation and adaptation of recruits to the local conditions and climate. The fact is that no recruitment, as defined in the ordinance, of Malawi workers is authorised for employment abroad and it is not considered necessary that any acclimatisation or adaptation in the ordinary sense be given to workers recruited from one part of this country to another. It is intended to submit trial reports on these two Conventions and await the comments of the Committee of Experts. Subject to their comments it is hoped that, in view of the explanations given above, they would accept ratification as being possible within the present legislative provisions.

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tions. All four of the Conventions dealing with recruitment of workers, contracts of employment and forced labour, were of capital importance. These Conventions had been declared applicable to the country by the United Kingdom. In the case of Convention No. 29, it could be applied. It was essential to avoid any situation where independence led to a reduction in the social protection of workers. The full application of these Conventions as indicated by the Government, was of capital importance. These Conventions dealing with matters such as forced labour.

The Employers' members made the following statement:

The Employers' members associated themselves with all remarks made by the Workers' members. However, the Committee should also note the sense of responsibility of the Government of Malawi which had carried out a careful examination of the Conventions, so as to ascertain that they were fully implemented, before deciding to accept them. The Government representative had indicated that legislation was not now in conformity with Conventions Nos. 29 and 105 the provisions in question would soon be amended. The Employers' members shared the hope expressed by the Workers' members regarding the early modification of these legislative provisions.

Malaysia. The Government communicated the following information:

Copies of the reports submitted for the state of Sarawak were in fact communicated to the Sub-Committee on Labour Matters of the State Economic Consultative Council. The latter is a tripartite body consisting of representatives of the Government, organised labour and management. Its functions are to deliberate on the economic situation, the economic and labour policies of the Government on labour and social security matters and other specified matters in these fields that may be referred to it. The Sub-Committee on Labour Matters was set up by the State Economic Consultative Council for the express purpose of considering all matters connected with labour. The Sub-Committee too is a tripartite one representing the Government, organised labour and management.

Organised labour is represented by the National Trades Union Congress. Management is represented by the Singapore Employers' Federation, the Singapore Manufacturers' Association and the Joint Chambers of Commerce. In future the names of employers' and workers' organisations will be included in the reports.

In addition, a Government representative made the following statement:

In paragraph 27 of their report the Experts indicated that the Government had not supplied for the state of Sabah, the supplementary information requested on Convention No. 94. They had also indicated that the Government had not communicated reports for the state of Sarawak. The Government regretted these omissions, which were due to administrative difficulties because these two states had become independent only in 1963. The Government would do everything within its power in the future to frequent constitutional obligations within the prescribed time limit.

The Employers' members expressed the hope that in the future the information and reports requested would be supplied within the prescribed time limit.

Mali. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government was anxious to meet all its obligations towards the I.L.O. Reference was made in the Committee of Experts' General Report, paragraph 28, and in the General Observations, to the Government's failure to support the reports due, including certain first reports. In fact these reports had been communicated to the I.L.O. on 20 November 1964, by registered letter No. 1101. On receiving a copy of the Experts' observations the Government informed the I.L.O. by letter dated 30 April 1966, that its reports had already been sent in November 1964. Copies of these reports had been handed in to the I.L.O.

Mexico. A Government representative supplied information as regards various Conventions (see below under Conventions Nos. 8, 32, 42, 62, 63, 87 and 106). He referred in particular to legislative provisions which were more favourable than those of a ratified Convention to the fact that ratified Conventions acquired force of law under the national Constitution and could be invoked by the workers if their provisions were more favourable than those of the national law. Accordingly the Workers' members insisted on the importance of acceptance by Malawi of Conventions Nos. 29 and 105 and hoped that this would soon be agreed to by the Government, as indicated by the Government representative. The governments of all newly independent countries should realise that they must guarantee for the workers at least equal standards of living prior to independence, particularly as regards Conventions dealing with matters such as forced labour.

The Workers' members noted that the Government representative indicated that the national legislation contained provisions which were more favourable than those of several ratified Conventions. It was essential to avoid any situation where the legislation might go further than these texts, but in no case should it be in conflict with ratified Conventions. The report of the Experts mentioned a number of discrepancies and the Government regretted these omissions, which could be rectified after certain minor adjustments into harmony with the Conventions, as the Experts had suggested. The Government representative of Mexico had indicated that the workers might invoke the application of a ratified Convention if its provisions were more favourable than the national legislation. How could the workers be aware of the two texts and compare them?

The Workers' members pointed out that several members of the Committee had tried to obtain answers to specific questions, but that in general the Government questioned the accuracy of the observations made by the Committee of Experts. It was not within the power of the Government to judge the merits of the observations by the Experts, but it had to seek information on the measures proposed to deal with these observations.

The Employers' members noted that there had been no progress in its obligations under a series of ratified Conventions for a number of years.

In reply the Government representative stated that ratified Conventions prevailed over domestic legislation. The Mexican Parliament included representatives of workers from the urban and agricultural sectors. These representatives communicated the Conventions to the organisations of workers concerned. For its part, the Ministry of Labour communicated these instruments to all sectors of the economy.

The Committee regretted that there had been no progress in the elimination of divergences regarding various Conventions and expressed the hope that the necessary measures would be taken at an early date.

Nicaragua. A Government representative made the following statement:

All the reports required had been supplied. In addition to preparing these reports, acting on the instructions of the President, a comprehensive study had been prepared of the labour legislation of Nicaragua and I.L.O. Conventions. However, both had been subject to modifications. As a result of this study the Government had found that it would be possible to ratify a further 36 Conventions on the basis of existing legislation and that 31 other Conventions could be ratified after certain minor adjustments or legislative modifications. As regards the 30 Conventions already ratified by Nicaragua 15 were fully applied and the application of the remaining instruments merely called for minor legislative amendments. With the assistance of an expert from Uruguay the Government had drafted a bill to amend the 1945 Labour Code so as to meet all the comments made by the Committee of Experts in regard to ratified Conventions. The draft Code had been sent to the I.L.O. for examination in September 1966 and the latter had declared that the bill had been incorpo rated in the draft Code. The proposed amendments to the Labour Code would soon be submitted to Congress. It should be noted that the Central American countries were endeavouring to bring their legislation on labour and social security into line and that I.L.O. experts were collaborating in this task, particularly through two regional committees of the I.L.O. on labour and social security. The failure to communicate copies of the Government's reports to the representative employers' and workers' organisations was due to an administrative omission.

The legislation was very developed and went beyond the Conventions in such fields as compensation for overtime and public holidays, annual leave (including provisions for foreigners, etc. As to maritime employment and employment of women and children, changes would be made in the bill already mentioned.
The Employers' members made the following statement:

The Experts had indicated four main problems: (1) the late sending of reports; (2) the absence of information on the communication of reports to employers' and workers' organisations; (3) in respect to a number of Conventions, the necessity for legislative amendments, the absence of information or the absence of any progress; (4) the delay in sending reports. Since the redemission of Nicaragua to the I.L.O. in 1957 to the competent authorities. However, it was the first year that this country actively participated in the work of the Committee to its full advantage. The Committee should do everything possible to meet the Committee of Experts' observations.

In reply the Government representative made the following statement:

Nicaragua was a small country with limited resources. It was doing everything possible to apply I.L.O. standards. The delay in sending reports and the failure to supply information were due to administrative reasons which had prevented the necessary detailed analyses. Nicaragua had been absent from the Organisation from 1938 to 1957, and this necessitated a readjustment. Moreover, the Ministry of Labour had been established only in recent times as an independent body.

The Workers' members made the following statement:

This was a serious case, since Nicaragua had been included for several years on the special list with respect to reports 50 years ago. There had been no reply to 15 of the 18 observations or requests made by the Experts. However, the information supplied by the Government representative permitted some hope for the future.

In reply the Government representative stated that a Bill to amend the Labour Code had been prepared and sent to the I.L.O. in September 1963 for its comments. These comments had only been received recently, and it had been impossible to submit the Bill to Parliament, which met in April each year.

A number of Government members and the Employers' and Workers' members expressed satisfaction at the measures being taken to ensure the application of ratified Conventions.

The Committee noted with interest the efforts mentioned by the Government representative; it expressed the hope that the draft Labour Code would soon be adopted, and that the Government would in future comply fully with its reporting obligations.

Pakistan. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government regretted the delay in sending the reports enumerated in paragraph 21 of the Experts' report and would take steps to ensure that reports were sent in future by the prescribed date.

Panama. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government deeply regretted the fact that the Committee of Experts had found it necessary to address further observations to it. Its failure to comply with its obligations was due to certain inevitable deficiencies. Thus last year the whole country had been stirred by unfortunate events and, in addition, an electoral campaign had been held. The Government had also been actively engaged in negotiations for the revision of the 1913 Convention on the Isthmus. Finally, the country was faced with a serious unemployment setting in and 10 per cent. of the population. All these problems had caused major repercussions, whose effect was widespread in a country so small as Panama. It was hoped that the question of Panama's full membership would be solved, and that, once Panama's undoubted right to sovereignty in this area was recognised, the racial discrimination practised there would be lifted. Panama, as a Ministry of Labour, and with the recent appointment of a permanent representative in Geneva who would ensure close relationship with the I.L.O., the situation would be improved and the Government would be able to comply with its obligations.

The Workers' member of Panama indicated that the Committee had been informed of the many difficulties faced by the Government of Panama. Some improvement could be expected since on 1 May 1965 the President had promised that relations with the I.L.O. would be normalised.

The Workers' members pointed out that the Committee of Experts had made a general observation drawing attention to the Government's disregard of its obligation to supply reports on ratified Conventions and to the fact that nine first reports had not been supplied. The present Committee understood the difficulties facing the Government, but could not accept the view that these should prevent the supply of reports. The Employers' members stated that the information supplied by the Government member of Panama in regard to the observations made by the experts had not been satisfactory.

In reply the Government representative stated that the Government had no intention of not complying with its obligations. As already indicated, the failure to supply reports was due to the fact that there had been no Ministry of Labour, and this could not be considered as a serious breach of obligations.

Subsequently, the Government representative communicated the following information:

"The Government of Panama has so far ratified I.L.O. Conventions Nos. 3, 12, 17, 30, 42, 45, 52, 81, 87, 100 and 103. The Government is aware that, according to the I.L.O. Constitution, it is required to report in annual reports on the measures taken to apply Conventions. It regrets not having done so in time but, at the same time, gives the assurance that Panama is one of the countries which attaches most importance to these Conventions and their application.

"Unfortunately, because of circumstances entirely beyond its control, it had been unable to send the reports; however, these reports are being prepared, and the Government is confident that, if they do not arrive before the end of the Conference, they will be available very soon."

In addition the Government representative indicated in his communication that the Government of Panama had attached the greatest interest and the greatest importance to the application of the above-mentioned Conventions, as to all treaties which it had ratified, and that accordingly the present communication might be considered as a preliminary report.

The Workers' members stated that the Committee should note with interest that this communication gave ground for hope. The Committee noted with interest the explanations supplied and the communication which had been received from the Government representative. It noted with regret the difficulties experienced by the Government, the Committee expressed the hope that with the setting up of a Ministry of Labour and the appointment of a permanent representative in Geneva, the Government would in future find it possible to discharge fully its obligations under the Constitution of the I.L.O.

Peru. A Government representative made the following statement:

Peru had not been able in the past to fulfil all its obligations concerning the sending of reports because of administrative difficulties. However, 31 reports for the period 1962-64 had recently been sent to the I.L.O.

Portugal. A Government representative made the following statement:

Inquiries were being made concerning the sending of additional information on Convention No. 107. Information had been sent by letter E.C.54 of 3 February 1965 at the same time as that on Convention No. 111.

Romania. A Government representative made the following statement:

The delegate regretted the delay in sending seven of its reports. All 12 reports due, however, had been sent, five in the prescribed time. The preparation of the reports had necessitated consultation with various ministries and secretaries, which explained the delay. In future, every effort would be made to send reports on time.

The Employers' members expressed the hope that, in accordance with the promises made, there would be no cause for comments next year on the sending of reports.
El Salvador. A Government representative made the following statement:

The necessary information had not been sent because of force majeure; recent earthquakes had imposed governmental activities. The Government had decided to fulfil all its obligations to the I.L.O. The Regional Central Authorities had been at present studying the unification of labour and social security legislation, taking Conventions into account, and this had interrupted the action of the Government. The Government would not spare any effort to fulfil its obligations in the near future.

The Workers' members expressed the hope that all the necessary information would be communicated by next year.

In reply the Government representative gave the assurance that El Salvador would fulfill all its obligations next year.

Senegal. A Government representative made the following statement:

Although reports had not been sent, one could be assured that the legislation fully applied the Conventions and was even more favourable. Administrative difficulties had prevented the sending of reports in time. In future all reports would be sent in a satisfactory manner.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would in future comply fully with its reporting obligations.

Sudan. A Government representative made the following statement:

Sudan had been subject to military dictatorship for six years, and the Government's failure to supply reports was the responsibility of this past régime. With the change of government the Labour Department was being reorganised and might become a separate ministry. This should facilitate measures for dealing with matters relating to the I.L.O. It was important to ensure the proper training of labour officers in the I.L.O. reporting procedures, particularly since many such officers had resigned during the régime. It was hoped that in future the Government would be able to comply with its reporting obligations within the prescribed time limits.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would now find it possible to discharge satisfactorily its reporting obligations under article 22 of the Constitution.

Tanzania. A Government representative made the following statement:

Administrative difficulties had existed, particularly following the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The necessary measures would be taken and the Government would communicate, in the information requested. Concerning Convention No. 105 the definition of "forced labour" had given rise to certain discussions, and the Government was seeking "appropriate solutions in co-operation with the I.L.O."

The Employers' members stated that the task of supervision was made impossible when all necessary information was not supplied.

The Government representative stated that complete reports would be supplied by next year.

Trinidad and Tobago. A Government representative made the following statement:

Trinidad and Tobago had achieved independence less than three years ago. As with other developing countries, one of the problems which faced it was a shortage of trained personnel to work with such matters relating to notification and submission in proper time of reports on Conventions. There was also the question of priorities to be given to other programmes which made great demands on the limited staff available. All outstanding reports on ratified Conventions had subsequently been sent to the Office, and additional steps were being taken to ensure that in future all reports would be sent within the proper time. In this regard an increase of staff in the Ministry of Labour had been provided for and a request for help in training officers to deal with the preparation of reports was being made.

U.S.S.R. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Committee of Experts had referred once again to the fact that it had been unable to consult the Labour Codes of the various Republics of the Union. As already indicated by the Government, these Codes would be communicated to the Committee as soon as they had been adopted. In this connection it should be noted that, three years ago, the Government had forwarded the Labour Code of the Turkmen Republic and this fact had never been supplied appropriate and regular information was due to difficulties of administrative organisation. However, in 1961 a tripartite working party responsible for I.L.O. questions had been established and had already achieved some results. Likewise in December 1964 a decree had been adopted to establish the necessary co‐ordination between government services with a view to preparing reports and information to send to the I.L.O. Finally, in April 1964 a permanent mission of Uruguay had been established in Geneva and it would be able to ensure the due transmission of reports and information. From next year the situation with respect to the sending of reports would certainly be satisfactory. The Ministry of Industry and Labour had sent to the I.L.O. the reports on ratified Conventions for 1962-64 as well as several Bills on sickness insurance, work of young persons, road transport, night work of women, maternity protection and employment services. A Decree of 1963 had created in the Ministry a department responsible for compiling labour statistics. The various administrative measures and Bills mentioned illustrated the efforts of Uruguay to fulfil its obligations to the I.L.O. Although information had not been supplied, maternity protection and the protection of women in general were fully ensured in Uruguay in the public sector, in industry and in commerce. This statement was confirmed by the Employers' delegate of Uruguay.

The Employers' members stated that the Committee could not carry out its task if it did not receive the necessary information to fulfils their obligation to send reports and reply to the Experts' observations and requests. Uruguay had not replied to the observations and the requests regarding nine Conventions and had not sent reports on Conventions on which the Committee of Experts had made comments. The various observations of the Experts showed that in a number of cases there had been no progress. The Government had replied to only six of the 23 observations and requests.

The Workers' members stated that for many years there had existed serious discrepancies and that the
Government had not eliminated them. It had been necessary to put the case on the special list in 1960, 1961, 1962 and 1964. This year the Experts had noted that no reply had been given concerning the observations on 49 of the Conventions in question (Nos. 1, 27, 30, 43, 62 and 73), some of which dated back to 1957, and they had been obliged to repeat their observations. In the absence of the Experts, the Committee had also been the case for Conventions Nos. 34 and 94. Concerning Convention No. 52, the new decree mentioned by the Government in fact aggravated the discrepancies. The whole situation was disappointing and disturbing. Urgent measures were necessary. The Committee noted that the setting up of a mission in Geneva would enable the Government to improve its communications with the I.L.O. and express the hope that the necessary measures would be taken within the near future.

Venezuela. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government regretted that the reports had not been sent in due time. This delay was due to purely administrative difficulties. Reports on 15 Conventions had been sent to the I.L.O. on 26 May 1965.

B. Observations and Information on the Application of Conventions

Convention No. 1 : Hours of Work (Industry), 1919.

Czechoslovakia (ratification : 1921). A Government representative made the following statement:

The draft Labour Code was about to be discussed by the National Assembly which had been summoned for this purpose to meet on 15 June 1965. The new Code took account of the provisions of the Conventions and would close the existing divergencies. Its adoption could be expected in the very near future.

Nicaragua (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Bill for the amendment of the Labour Code would ensure legislative conformity with the Convention. However, many collective agreements already made up for the omissions in the Code.

Peru (ratification : 1945). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Bill had not yet been approved. The committee drafting the Labour Code had been established by law and comprised representatives of political parties, Parliament, the Government and also employers' and workers' organisations. It was hoped that it would complete its work in August this year.

An Employers' member noted that no progress had been made, as the Bill, mentioned in 1964, had not been adopted. It was hoped that the new draft Labour Code would be satisfactory.

The Workers' members recalled that the Convention had been ratified 20 years ago and was not yet fully applied. The Government had made every effort to ensure that the necessary legislation was adopted this year.

In reply, the Government representative pointed out that the work of the drafting committee did not depend exclusively on the executive and that its composition guaranteed compliance with its objectives, as it included representatives of the various sectors concerned.

Spain (ratification : 1929). The Government communicated the following information:

As already indicated, the national legislation and practice fully comply with the provisions of this Convention in all branches and sectors of activities, and that the regulations on conditions of work which are adopted in consultation with representatives from the employers' and workers' organisations, in accordance with the Act of 16 October 1942, and which constitute a genuine statute of labour for each branch of labour activities, do not imply any restriction of the provisions of this Convention.

The Employers' members stated that in view of the delay in the receipt of reports it was impossible to know whether any progress had been made as regards the various points raised by the Experts. Last year the Government representative had stated that the reports would be submitted within the prescribed time limits; this had not been done.

The Committee of Experts had informed that 15 reports had been received too late, and that two reports were missing. The Committee of Experts had made four observations and ten direct requests; the reports received contained replies to these measures and requests.

The Government representative stated that the discussions which had taken place in the Committee would be communicated to the Government so that it could take the necessary measures.

Viet-Nam. The Government communicated the following information:

Owing to certain circumstances of the present political conditions in Viet-Nam, it is physically impossible for the Minister of Labour to supply to the I.L.O. the reports requested within the prescribed dates; he has had to concentrate all his efforts in finding an immediate and urgent solution of the present crucial problems. In spite of these circumstances the necessary instructions have been given to the responsible services to speed up the preparation of these reports with a view to their communication to the I.L.O. at an early date.

It should be noted that even presuming, for the purpose of discussion, that the labour regulations could modify, to the prejudice of the worker, the general legal provisions on maximum hours of work, they would be without effect because of the priority which these provisions have in the application of the standards of the labour contract over those contained in the regulations, except where these latter, which is often the case, lay down conditions more favourable for the worker; all this is derived from section 9 of the Act concerning Contracts of Employment of 26 January 1944. It should also be pointed out that according to section 23 of the Act on the Legal Status of the State Administration of 26 July 1957, no administrative provision shall prejudice the provisions of a superior grade and that, moreover, there is a control of the legality of all administrative provisions, including the Decrees by the Council of Ministers, by means of administrative contentious recourse to the Supreme Court, in accordance with the Act of 27 December 1946.

Furthermore, as it has already been indicated on previous occasions, in the cases where the Committee of Experts had pointed out the existence of some provisions which might not be completely clear, these were amended rapidly, as for example the provisions relating to hours of work in road transport in 1961.

The Government has not abandoned its proposal to adopt a new general legislative labour text, which has not yet been submitted to the Cortes, because it is to constitute not only a mere recapitulation of the existing standards, but is also to include new legal provisions which should be truly progressive and in favour of the workers.

The fact that standards on hours of work, in so far as they are more favourable, are not included in the Act, is not only in the Act of 9 September 1934 but also in the regulations and the collective agreements, cannot and does not mean that there is an infringement of Convention No. 1, but on the contrary that they ensure fuller compliance with it.

In addition, a Government representative made the following statement:

It should be emphasised that when the Committee of Experts had pointed out the existence of some regulations which might not be completely clear, these had been amended rapidly, as for example in 1961 (hours of work in road transport). The draft general text had as its sole purpose to establish a single and clear text, which would also permit the Committee of Experts to satisfy itself as to the situation in the country.

Venezuela (ratification : 1944). A Government representative made the following statement:

Although the legislation had not so far been suitably amended, various collective agreements applying to a
large number of workers contained fully satisfactory standards.

**Convention No. 3 : Maternity Protection, 1919.** Federal Republic of Germany (ratification : 1927). A Government representative made the following statement:

Bills at present before Parliament contained amendments designed to bring the Maternity Protection Act into conformity with the Convention. New provisions for nursing breaks were proposed which fully corresponded to Article 3 (d). It was also provided in the Bill that all women covered by the Maternity Protection Act shall receive maternity benefits in accordance with the provisions of the State Insurance Code. Under a proposal submitted to Parliament the Federal Government would reimburse the sickness insurance funds their expenditure on maternity benefits. As it was very likely that these proposals would be adopted by Parliament, the Government hoped that the existing problems concerning Article 3 (e) and (d) would be settled. In these circumstances it seemed unnecessary at present to comment with respect to the provisions of the Federal Social Assistance Act.

The possibility of amending section 9 of the Maternity Protection Act absolutely and without exceptions the giving of notice to a pregnant woman worker had not yet been raised in Parliament. However, this matter was also likely to be raised.

*Nicaragua* (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement:

The possibility that the provisions of the Labour Code would remove the remaining divergences with the Convention was also likely to be raised.

**Convention No. 4 : Night Work (Women), 1919.**

*Afghanistan* (ratification : 1939). The Government communicated the following information:

Section 81 C of the text of the draft Labour Law does, in fact, specifically prohibit night work by women. Moreover, this matter is somewhat theoretical as the custom of the country would make it virtually impossible for any industrial undertaking to employ women at night.

*Chile* (ratification : 1931). A Government representative made the following statement:

The present legislation which prohibited the night work of women applied only to women engaged on manual work. The new Government had, however, appointed a committee which was preparing a general revision of labour and social security legislation. The revised text of the Labour Code would ensure the extension of the prohibition to prevent young persons engaged in night employment and also to domestic workers. The legislation would thus be brought into full and formal conformity with the Convention.

In reply to the question the Government representative indicated that the government majority in Congress would permit the adoption of the revised labour legislation. In practice, the problems of night work hardly arose for non-manual workers. The Employers' members welcomed the steps being taken by the Government. The Employers' members expressed satisfaction at the measures being taken to ensure the full application of the Convention.

*Nicaragua* (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement:

The observation made by the Committee of Experts was not entirely justified. Although night work was not specifically prohibited in Nicaragua the labour inspection regulations expressly required inspectors to ensure that neither young persons under 14 years nor women were employed in night work. The proposed amendment of the Labour Code would bring the legislation into formal compliance with the Convention. This measure would not modify the situation since the above-mentioned regulations already ensured a full application of the Convention.

**Convention No. 5 : Minimum Age (Industry), 1919.**

*Denmark* (ratification : 1923). A Government representative made the following statement:

It was the Government's intention to ensure the full application of Article 4 of the Convention. Modifications in the occupational safety, health and welfare legislation had been prepared; once these were enacted, regulations would be issued to require the keeping of the registers in question. However, the new legislation was a comprehensive Bill and, although it was hoped that it would soon be enacted, it was not possible to specify exactly when this would be achieved.

*Nicaragua* (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement:

Although no provision was made for registers of young workers, the employment of young persons under 14 years of age was prohibited and numerous provisions existed in the Labour Code to protect young persons. The proposed amendment of the Labour Code would bring legislation into conformity with the Convention.

**Convention No. 6 : Night Work of Young Persons (Industry), 1919.**

*Hungary* (ratification : 1928). A Government representative made the following statement:

Night work for young persons under the age of 16 years was prohibited. As regards young persons between the ages of 16 and 18 years night work was limited to the persons employed on night work was very limited, since apprentices did not work at night and there was a long list of occasions prohibited for female workers. In addition, they were subject to medical examination before taking up employment and, in the exceptional cases where night work was permitted, to further examination every two months. If this examination showed that night work might be prejudicial to the persons concerned their employment was prohibited.

Under regulations adopted at the end of 1964 the trade unions' labour inspectors might prohibit the employment of these young persons and impose fines on employers who violated this prohibition. The great majority of young persons between the ages of 16 and 18 years were not workers properly so-called because they either followed secondary education courses or were apprentices. Consequently, the differences between practice and the provisions of the Convention were negligible. The reason why the legislation had not yet been brought into full conformity with the Convention was mainly the desire to lay down general standards for the whole economy, and not only for industry. Young persons employed in commerce and agriculture must not feel that they were being made the object of discrimination. The Government was fully aware of the fact that its legislation in this respect was not perfect and the reason for not having modified it as yet was not that it disagreed with the observations made by the Committee of Experts but that it had not yet completed the study which was being undertaken. It would do its utmost to remedy the situation.

The Employers' members urged the Government to hope that conformity between the legislation and the provisions of this Convention, which was ratified in 1926, would be achieved as soon as possible.

*Nicaragua* (ratification : 1934). See under Convention No. 4.

**Convention No. 7 : Minimum Age (Sea), 1920.**

*Nicaragua* (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement:

The employment of young persons under 14 years of age on board ship was in general prohibited, but this prohibition did not apply to coastal shipping. The national legislation would be modified in this respect also.

**Convention No. 8 : Unemployment Indemnity (Shipwreck), 1920.**

*Mexico* (ratification : 1937). A Government representative made the following statement:

The discrepancies mentioned by the Experts were of a technical nature and were due to different interpretations of the national legislation. The Experts referred to the Navigation and Maritime Trade Act of 1903, but not to section 40 of this Act which provided a guarantee for payment of unemployment indemnity in case of shipwreck. The Committee of Experts asked the Government to confirm that the insurance to which section 211 of the General Communications Act referred included payment of compensation for unemployment arising out of a shipwreck. The payment of this allowance was
ensured by the Federal Labour Act, whose provisions were wider than those of the Convention, since they guaranteed the payment of unemployment benefits in all cases of force majeure, including shipwreck. Moreover, the collective agreements applicable to the Mexican Oil Company, which had the largest ship in the country, as well as collective agreements concluded with the fishermen's co-operatives, contained more favourable provisions than those of the Convention. Furthermore, any breach of contract, as well as the in the Convention, which had become municipal law, by its ratification, by virtue of article 133 of the Constitution. Under section 211 of the Labour Code, the captain of a ship was not allowed to proceed on the voyage if he did not prove that all members of the crew benefited from industrial accident and sickness insurance. In accordance with the Federal Labour Act, the minimum wage amounted to three months' wages and under the collective agreements of the Oil Company to six months, plus cated by the final allowances and benefits. An Employers' member indicated that the statement by the Government representative did not reply to the observations by the Experts in a satisfactory manner. It was not certain whether the national provisions were in conformity with the Convention. The Experts had also requested the Government to amend section 126, paragraph XII, of the Federal Labour Act by removing the conditions attached thereto for the payment of benefit. No information had been supplied by the Government as regards the measures taken to this effect. In its representation made the following statement: Notwithstanding the fact that the amendment of this section would be contrary to the interests of the workers since it laid down more favourable provisions in respect to all cases of force majeure. See also under "General Observations". Nicaragua (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement: The Government agreed with the observations made by the Committee of Experts and the proposed amendment of the Labour Code would bring the legislation into conformity with this Convention. Convention No. 9 : Placing of Seamen, 1929. Nicaragua (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement: There was no specific prohibition in the legislation but in fact there were no employment agencies in the country other than those run by the Government. Convention No. 11 : Right of Association (Agriculture), 1921. Chile (ratification : 1925). The Government communicated the following information: A Bill which completely repeals Book III of the Labour Code of 1921 contemplates substantial reform in the system of trade unionism which has been submitted to the National Congress. The Bill contains uniform standards for trade union organisations of both public and private enterprises. Its result would permit fuller compliance with the Convention. (A copy of the draft Bill has been communicated by the Government.) A Government representative made the following statement: The Government had submitted to Congress proposals for the replacement of Book III of the Labour Code, relating to trade unions, this text, which would improve the position of agricultural workers in this respect, and which had been drafted with the assistance of an I.L.O. expert, was before the Chamber of Deputies. In addition to ensuring the application of Convention No. 11, it would permit the ratification of Conventions Nos. 87 and 98. In its statement before the Chamber of Deputies, the President of the Republic had indicated on 1 May 1965 the Government's intention to ratify Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 and this would imply the repeal of section 6 of the trade union regulations. This would present no difficulties as it involved a measure adopted by the Government. Argentina (ratification : 1936). See under "General Observations". Nicaragua (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement: The proposed amendment of the Labour Code would bring the legislation into conformity with Conventions Nos. 13, 15 and 16. In practice, Convention No. 16 was already applied in virtue of collective agreements. Convention No. 14 : Weekly Rest (Industry), 1921. China (ratification : 1934). The Government communicated the following information: As declared at the time of ratification, this Convention is applicable only to factories which come within the scope of section I of the Factories Act; but, in fact, many workers other than those who work in such factories also enjoy weekly rest. Some factories were found by inspectors to be not strictly enforcing the relevant provisions in the Factories Act and corrective sanctions were taken by the inspectorate. The Government will see to it that such provisions will be faithfully observed and their coverage enlarged. The draft Labour Code mentioned in the observation is being revised by a special committee in the light of comments made by the Committee of Experts. Turkey (ratification : 1946). The Government communicated the following information: The new draft Labour Code extends the scope of the labour law to all industrial and commercial workplaces and to undertakings employing even one worker and, as regards the trade union movement, he could ensure compulsory for workers in towns with less than 10,000 inhabitants. It is hoped that this Bill, which is under consideration by various committees in the National Assembly, will be adopted before next November. Convention No. 15 : Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers), 1921. Nicaragua (ratification : 1934). See under Convention No. 13. Convention No. 16 : Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea), 1921. Nicaragua (ratification : 1934). See under Convention No. 13. Convention No. 17 : Workmen's Compensation (Accidents), 1925. Chile (ratification : 1931). A Government representative made the following statement: Considerable progress had been made in the revision of the legislation relating to safety and industrial safety. A Bill to this effect was now being considered by the Senate and the Health and Safety Committee of the Chamber of Deputies. It provided in particular for compulsory insurance against accidents and occupational hazards, and for a pension in all cases of invalidity. The proposed modification of the legislation had been prepared with the assistance of an I.L.O. expert. In the firm intention of the President and of Parliament to enact the Bill, which had long been desired by the workers.
The Employers' members welcomed the steps being taken by the Government.

The Committee expressed satisfaction at the measures being taken to ensure the full application of the Convention.

Convention No. 20 : Night Work (Bakeries), 1925.

Nicaragua (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement:

Last year special regulations had been issued to prohibit night work in bakeries. This would enable Nicaragua to ratify this Convention once again.

Spain (ratification : 1923). The Government communicated the following information:

After the adoption of the Order dated 9 June 1964, which modified section 33 of the Law of 13 January 1925, the Government had noted the Committee of Experts' observations and the possibility of a convention which would be consistent with the Convention. As was reported in 1964 the resolution of 5 July 1961, to which the Committee of Experts has referred, ceased to have effect and a copy of the said new resolution will be appended to next year's report, and is also attached hereto.

Convention No. 22 : Seamen's Articles of Agreement, 1926.

Argentina (ratification : 1950). The Employers' members recalled that the Government had been referring for ten years to a Bill which was to ensure conformity with the Convention.

In reply, a Government representative stated that there had been two successive Bills, in 1959 and 1962, to adapt the legislation to the maritime Conventions, but that their enactment had been delayed. See also under "General Observations".

Federal Republic of Germany (ratification : 1930). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government had noted the Committee of Experts' observations. Consultations with employers' and workers' organisations were continuing. The Government, which still maintained its previously expressed view of the legal position, would immediately on conclusion of these consultations provide information concerning their outcome.

The Workers' member of the Federal Republic of Germany made the following statement:

The relationship between Article 9 of the Convention and section 63 of the Seamen's Act of 1957, it should be noted, could be considered as a basic provision of the Convention since it aims at guaranteeing the seaman's freedom of choice and movement. If the fact that a seaman whose agreement was terminated abroad would not be able to afford the travelling expenses back to the Federal Republic and the prospects of other employment might be too uncertain to consider that the provisions existing in the Federal Republic ensured protection at least equivalent to that required by Article 9. The Committee of Experts might reconsider the matter. The Convention should not be considered as a basic provision of the Convention since in cases in which the Government had taken place; the fact that in certain cases the employers had not participated was due to their failure to nominate representatives. The Committee of Experts had also pointed out that a certain number of countries had modified their legislation, or were taking steps to do so, subject to Article 9. The Committee of Experts had also considered the position of seafarers as regards repatriation expenses and it had noted that, under Convention No. 23 (which had been ratified by 24 States including the Federal Republic of Germany), a seafarer whose agreement was terminated abroad was entitled to be taken back to his own country, or to the port at which he was engaged, or to the port at which the voyage commenced.

The Employers' member of the Federal Republic of Germany stated that the Committee had fully agreed with the views expressed by the Workers' member from the Federal Republic of Germany. The national provisions were more favourable than the terms of Convention No. 9 of the Convention. The question should be reconsidered, particularly in relation to the effect on this problem of Convention No. 23, and to the possible overlapping between Conventions Nos. 22 and 23, both of which had been ratified by the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Government representative stated that the above discussion had shown that the members from the Federal Republic of Germany agreed with the Government's views that the national legislation was more favourable than the terms of Convention No. 22. This Convention might be included amongst those whose revision was to be considered as from next year.

Nicaragua (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government agreed with the observations made by the Committee of Experts. The proposed amendment of the Labour Code would bring the legislation into full conformity with the Convention.

Convention No. 23 : Repatriation of Seamen, 1926.

Nicaragua (ratification : 1934). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government did not share the general observation made by the Committee of Experts. Chapter 5 of the Labour Code ensured the application of the Convention and the legislation mentioned by the Experts was not relevant. The Government's views on this matter were set out in detail in the volume of Nicaraguan Labour legislation which had been communicated to the I.L.O.

Convention No. 24 : Sickness Insurance (Industry), 1927.

Romania (ratification : 1929). A Government representative made the following statement:

The information requested by the Experts could not be sent because amendments to the legislation were being made. As soon as they were adopted a detailed report would be sent. At present the Convention was applied. All wage earners without distinction were covered by state social insurance which provided benefits in cases of incapacity due to sickness or accident. In 1964 more than 4 million wage earners were protected. The workers of producers' and craftsmen's co-operatives, writers, artists, sculptors, composers, etc., were also protected by their special schemes. Benefits were from 60 to 90 per cent. of fixed rate of pay per cent. of fixed rate of pay irrespective of length of service. For industrial accidents or diseases the rate was 90 per cent. in all cases. Workers had free medical care for themselves and their families. The employers had been fully protected. Payments were made under the direction and supervision of trade unions. Agricultural workers in producers' co-operatives were protected under the regulations of the co-operatives and that agricultural workers employed in state undertakings were covered by state insurance like all other employees.

The Employers' and Workers' members expressed the hope that the new legislation and a complete report would be sent as soon as possible.

Convention No. 26 : Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery, 1928.

Ecuador (ratification : 1954). A Government representative made the following statement:

In more than 200 cases of wage fixing, previous consultation of the Employers' and Workers' representatives had taken place; the fact that in certain cases the employers had not participated was due to their failure to nominate representatives.

The Committee was informed that there seemed to be some relationship between the observations by the Experts concerning the lack of consultation of representatives from employers' and workers' organisations and the absence of representatives from these organisations at this Conference.

In an additional written communication to the Chairman of the Committee of Experts, the Government representative indicated that, in cases in which the Government had fixed wages, it had done so at the request of the workers.
and the employers failed to appoint representatives as stated in the preamble of the relevant regulations.

Uruguay (ratification: 1933). The Uruguayuan Workers’ representative made the following statement:

"It was true that there had been an effective application of the standards in Conventions, as the Government representative had stated (see "General Observations", Uruguay). However, certain standards were not respected as for example with respect to the Convention on minimum wage fixing in the case of workers in the cold storage industry in the interior of the country (except for those who worked in the Anglo works as discards at a lower treatment), existed, different wages being fixed for identical jobs for which there were higher wage rates in the capital. The Workers’ representative of Uruguay was transmitting all relevant information to the I.L.O.

A Government representative stated in reply that this question would be brought to the attention of the Government so that it might take any necessary measures.

Convention No. 27: Marking of Weight (Packages Trans­ported by Vessels), 1929.

Nicaragua (ratification: 1934). A Government rep­resentative made the following statement:

"In practice, marking of weight was the responsibility of shippers. Certain collective agreements provided for this. It would be an interesting question, perhaps before the adoption of the general Bill.

Convention No. 28: Protection Against Accidents (Dockers), 1929.

Nicaragua (ratification: 1934). A Government rep­resentative made the following statement:

"The necessary changes would be made. It should be noted that only four countries had ratified this Convention, which was no longer open to ratification.

Convention No. 29: Forced Labour, 1930.

Congo (Leopoldville) (ratification: 1960). A Govern­ment representative made the following statement:

"The particular situation of the Congo and its political, economic and social problems were known to the Committee. After the departure of the United Nations forces foreign aid had been in abundance, a rebellion was drawing principally on delinquent youths who had not been to school. During this period the Government and the Parliament had been unable to function normally. Under the new Government of Mr. Tschombé there had been very real improvement.

The failure to supply reports on Convention No. 29 and replies to the Experts’ requests for several years was due to the special problems. Colonial legislation permitted compulsory portage in certain regions as well as restrictions on the freedom of cultivation and certain cor­munal work. These services had been repugnant to the population and some politicians had based their propa­ganda on promises to abolish them. In demogogic manœuvres these politicians had called on the rural popu­lation to cease all work. The result was that famine existed in several regions. The country had to import maize and rice which it had previously exported. It also had to import cotton in order to avoid work stoppages in the spinning mills and unemployment. The Government had the firm intention of applying the policy defined by the Convention but a period of transition would be necessary. It was certain that there were other methods to arouse the rural masses and make them participate in the country’s economic life without which these were slow and required qualified staff and capital. The country had to find new methods for ensuring the proper functioning of the system of distribution. Free elections had just been held. Parliament would meet at the end of June and the Ministry of Labour would submit a file on this question. It was hoped that Parliament would be able to consider the problems raised by the Convention in the near future. The Government considered that a reexamination of Convention No. 29 would be opportune for the needs of the developing countries where the rural masses lived in a subsistence economy. This indicated no intention to re-establish a form of slavery; the Government had decided to abolish all forms of forced labor within the period of transition was completed.

The Committee took note of the difficulties indicated and expressed the hope that these would soon be over­come.

Liberia (ratification: 1931). The Government commu­nicated the following information:

Paragraph 429 of the report of the Commission appointed under article 26 of the I.L.O. Constitution. A Handbook of Labour Law of the Republic of Liberia has been produced by the Bureau of Labour as the current labour legislation together with brief law sum­maries in layman’s language and the Bureau of Labour’s interpretations of difficult sections. It is expected that later editions of the Handbook will contain the text of the various I.L.O. Conventions.

Paragraph 453. The inspectorate service of the Division of Labour Standards of the Bureau of Labour informs itself of and investigates complaints made by workers through the Bureau before they reach the Labour Practices Review Board.

Paragraphs 454 to 459 and Part IV of the report form adopted by the Governing Body. The inspection figures furnished for the industrial undertakings in the country from the first half of June 1964 included inspections of plantations, etc. Since the major proportion of agricultural output in the country is produced on plantations owned by large international concerns and because the rubber, coffee, etc., undergo processing upon such plantations, the inspections thereof were erroneously included in the industrial undertakings.

A Government representative made the following statement:

"With regard to paragraphs 419 and 420 of the report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed under Article 26, the Bill which was to amend section 1502 of the Labour Practices Law and section 346 of the Penal Law was before the Senate, which was in session, and it was hoped that this Bill would soon be approved. As regards para­graph 421 of the report a second draft of the Bill of Labour Law was being prepared; it would include the text of all Conventions ratified by Liberia. A copy of this new edition would be attached to the Government’s next report. As regards paragraphs 444, 445, 446, negotiations were under way for the modification of the clauses by which the Government undertook to assist certain companies to secure an adequate labour force. Any changes had to be approved by the Legislature and it was hoped to have this done by the time the next report was sent. As regards paragraph 446 steps had been taken to prevent abuses in the employment practices of various concerns, by setting up an employment bureau through which the Government could supervise the recruitment of all labour. As regards paragraph 451, the above-mentioned employment bureau ensured the elimination of any possible abuse in regard to the construction and maintenance of secondary roads and provided for full supervision of the recruitment by the Government.

With regard to points on which the Commission of Inquiry had made specific recommendations. Already in the past the task of the supervisory bodies had been hampered by the repeated failures of Liberia in sending reports. In spite of the formal assurances given by the Government the reports contained to be submitted to the Committee of Inquiry seemed not to have been done.

1. Certain amendments to the legislation should have been adopted in the 1963-64 legislative session.
2. Legislative approval should have been sought in the 1962-63 legislative session to the deletion from the Firestone Concession Agreement of the clause concerning government assistance in securing labour.

3. The similar clause in the concession of the Liberian Mining Company had fully been rescinded and the legislative approval to this alteration sought in the 1963-64 legislative session.

4. All other agreements should have been reviewed with a view to the abrogation of such clauses by the 1963-64 legislative session.

5. A thorough review should have been made of policy and practice concerning the construction and maintenance of secondary roads and public works, with a view to eliminating any remaining abuses. Last year the Government had requested legislative revision as providing sufficient protection and this year it confined itself to mentioning the general activities of the labour inspectorate. In view of past abuses in this work, the special review recommended by the Commission of Inquiry should have been made.

6. The Commission of Inquiry had recommended publication of the Conventions ratified by Liberia with an indication of the effect of their ratification on national legislation. Last year the Government pointed out that the Conventions were to be reproduced in a handbook of labour law. It appeared that this handbook had been published in the text of the Conventions.

The Government's failure to act on the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry was a matter for serious concern. The necessary measures should be taken without delay in important cases.

The Employers' members supported the statements made by the Workers' members and expressed the hope that the question would be given the attention that it deserved and that reports would be sent by the dates requested.

A Workers' member noted that there were numerous discrepancies between the situation in Liberia and the Convention. The Government representative made the following statement:

"The Convention was fully applied. The Experts' observation related only to the sending of legislative texts. These would be sent in the near future."

A Government representative made the following statement:

"Upper Volta (ratification; 1960). A Government representative made the following statement:

Considerable discussion had already taken place in 1962 on these questions. The discrepancies related to the letter to the spirit of the text to which they were applied. The points concerning the utilisation of military and civic service should be examined having regard to developing countries. There should be no objection to teaching young conscripts also to use the hoe or the plough. It was to be hoped that the I.L.O., would review this question; the Convention might be revised. The Government hoped that it would not have to renounce this Convention, the objectives of which it respected. The peoples of countries which had previously struggled against forced labour could not accept it after their independence. Concerning the Decree of 4 December 1950 on prisons, it was a text adopted prior to independence which through inadvertence had not been revised, but which hinged a lot to private persons or undertakings. This text would be amended. Concerning work exacted in case of non-payment of taxes by the form of other measures such as agrarian reform and the development of the co-operative movement; these questions appeared on the agenda of the Conference this year. Above all an employment policy should be worked out; this policy might be based on the instruments adopted last year on this subject. His own country had in the past experienced the unfortunate consequences of forced labour."

A Government member (France) stated that he should avoid the repetition of the mistakes of the past, to be taken before reaching any definite conclusions. It was not clear to what extent the work carried out in Upper Volta under military service might not constitute a system of vocational training.

A Workers' member stated that the question under discussion was not vocational training or the voluntary participation of the population in the improvement of the conditions of life of the citizens, but the compulsory utilisation of the population for civilian work. Convention No. 29 contained a very clear definition of forced labour. While understanding the desire among the African countries to speed up development, it should be emphasised that such work was carried out on a voluntary basis. The Committee of Experts was absolutely right in saying that the work in question in Upper Volta should be organised on a voluntary basis.

A Government member (U.S.S.R.) stated that one should await the results of the social survey undertaken before reaching any definite conclusions. It was not clear to what extent the work carried out in Upper Volta under military service might not constitute a system of vocational training.

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to understand the situation. In any case, no publicity ought to be given to this matter because that might be detrimental to the cause of the African countries, instead of helping them.

**Convention No. 30 : Hours of Work (Commerce and Offices), 1930.**


**Convention No. 32 : Protection against Accidents (Dockers) (Revised), 1932.**

Argentina (ratification: 1930). See under "General Observations".

China (ratification: 1935). The Government communicated the following information:

The observations made by the Committee of Experts are being carefully studied by the competent authorities. However, the Convention is applicable to dockers by virtue of section 2 of the Regulations governing the protection of dockers against accidents, jointly promulgated by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Communications on 17 May 1960.

**Convention No. 34 : Fee-Charging Employment Agencies, 1933.**

Mexico (ratification: 1934). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Committee of Experts referred to certain articles of the Convention which it considered not to be applied. To do away with certain gaps in the national legislation, the Ministry of Labour had requested the Ministry of Shipping to take the necessary measures. The latter Ministry had reported that the text of the Convention had been brought to the notice of the port authorities, as well as the oil company which employed the greatest number of dockers and the labour inspectors in charge of supervising the application of national provisions. In virtue of article 133 of the Federal Constitution all parts of the country are to be set up as a whole employment exchange system. The text of the Convention had been regarded as regards this category of workers. The Government had done everything possible to apply this Convention. It would, however, be glad to receive any proposals to improve the situation.

The Employers' members pointed out that this Convention had been ratified more than 30 years ago and in order to meet the increase in the number of employments given by the Government no measures had been taken to take account of the observations by the Experts. Proposals on means of improving the situation had been made by the Committee. See also under "General Observations".

**Convention No. 35 : Old-Age Insurance (Industry, etc.), 1933.**

France (ratification: 1939). The Government communicated the following information:

The Government does not agree with the opinion of the Committee of Experts. It act of 30 June 1956 establishing the National Solidarity Fund and the subsequent texts do not constitute a scheme of compulsory old-age insurance falling within the scope of the Convention. In fact, the separate legislation gives it the character of assistance in supplement of old-age insurance since the National Solidarity Fund covers persons entitled to social aid benefits as well as persons entitled to old-age benefits.

Moreover, under section 25 of the Act of 30 June 1956 the supplementary allowance is due only when a reciprocity agreement has been signed. France has signed many reciprocity agreements giving foreigners residing in France and entitled to basic benefits under the French insurance system. The Government has not signed any difficulty in bringing its legislation into conformity with the existing practice and with the Convention which had been ratified over 25 years ago.

A Government representative stated that the Government considered that the Convention was fully applied. It did not agree with the views of the Experts since the supplementary allowance was a form of assistance and not a social security benefit. In any case the matter was of little practical importance since because of bilateral agreements the majority of foreigners residing in France could in fact receive this allowance.

The Workers' members noted that the question was whether the supplementary payment should be granted to all foreigners or might be limited to those covered by a reciprocity agreement. According to Article 12, paragraph 2 of the Convention foreign insured persons and their dependants were entitled under the same conditions as nationals. France in 1939 and its application had given rise to no observation until 1956, at which date without in any way restricting the earlier legislation additional benefits were granted to old persons.

**Convention No. 41 : Night Work (Women) (Revised), 1934.**

Hungary (ratification: 1936). A Government representative made the following statement:

It had not yet been possible to bring the legislation into conformity with the provisions of this Convention which was ratified by the previous regime. However, the Labour Code of 1951 prohibited night work for pregnant women and for nursing mothers. The Code also contained several provisions protecting women workers, e.g. section 94 of the Code which provided that women should not be employed on work which might be prejudicial to them due to their physical condition. All women were subject to medical examination before
taking up employment and to subsequent periodical examinations; they could also request medical examination in order to be exempted from night work. Moreover, the labor inspectors could prohibit night work for women or for young workers. In some countries, the legislation put the burden of proof upon the worker, this could be considered as an exception, since the legislation puts the burden of proof upon the employer and since the said decision would only be binding if there were five other decisions with the same result. It should be recalled that under article 133 of the Constitution Conventions on ratification acquired force of law and the Government could not invoke the application of a ratified Convention if its provisions were more favourable than the relevant legislation.

See also under "General Observations."

**Appendix V : Application of Conventions and Recommendations**

**Convention No. 50 : Recruiting of Indigenous Workers**, 1936.

**Congo (Leopoldville) : ratification : 1936.** The Government communicated the following information:

This Convention is no longer relevant to the Congo. In practice, Congolese workers present themselves spontaneously at work places. The number of unemployed seeking employment is proof of this spontaneity. In law, recruiting had been regulated by the Royal Order of 19 July 1954. This Order was repealed by the Legislative Decree of 1 February 1961 concerning contracts for the hire of services, which in turn was repealed by the Legislative Decree of 21 February 1965 concerning contracts for the hire of services.

**Convention No. 59 : Minimum Age (Industry) (Revised)**, 1937.

**China : ratification : 1940.** The Government communicated the following information:

The draft Labour Code is being revised in the light of comments made by the Committee of Experts. Pending its enactment, the Government is considering prohibiting children under the age of 15 from working in the mines, by means of administrative measures in accordance with the Convention.

**Luxembourg : ratification : 1958.** A Government representative made the following statement:

The Bill which was pending had not yet been adopted but the ratification of Conventions Nos. 59 and 60 gave the Government the force of law and repealed all contrary provisions. The rule providing for a minimum age of 15 years was thus part of the law and no child under that age had been employed in work covered by these Conventions since their ratification. The Government recognised that it was preferable to eliminate all uncertainty in the legislation. The Bill in question was broader in scope than the Conventions and covered all aspects of work of young workers. Employers' and workers' organisations and the Council of State had been requested to give their views, and modifications had been made several times. This explained the delay. The Ministry of Labour would urge Parliament to give priority to this Bill and to adopt it at its next session.

**Convention No. 60 : Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) (Revised)**, 1937.


**Convention No. 62 : Safety Provisions (Building)**, 1937.

**Mexico : ratification : 1941.** A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government of Mexico appreciated the importance of giving effect to the Convention. The Federal Government had drawn the attention of the constituent states and the federal district to the Convention and requested them to implement it, since ratified Conventions were part of national law. Most states had reported that they intended to adopt regulations in this field, and a supplementary report would be sent subsequently.

The Employers' members recalled that the Convention had been ratified by Mexico 24 years ago. No steps appeared to have been taken yet to put the experts' observations. Thus, in the federal district no progress had been made in implementing Articles 11 to 15 of the Convention and, as regards the constituent states, more than half the Mexican building workers remained without the protection contemplated by the Convention. In reply, the Government representative stated that the situation had been improved by the federal structure of Mexico. There might be cases of discrepancies, but all states had been recommended to bring their legislation into conformity with the Convention.

See also under "General Observations."

**Convention No. 42 : Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases) (Revised)**, 1934.

**Mexico : ratification : 1937.** A Government representative made the following statement:

Although some of the observations by the experts were correct, it should be pointed out that as regards occupational diseases, Mexican legislation considered an occupational disease in all cases without conditions, whereas the Convention laid down two conditions. As the mining industry was an important sector of the economy, the Government had been concerned to protect workers against hazards in this industry. The list in section 326 of the Federal Labour Act was not exhaustive but illustrative; all diseases falling under it were considered to have medical knowledge. As regards poisoning by phosphorus, Mexican legislation gave better protection than that provided for by the Convention. It contained a list of processes. With respect to the decision of the Supreme Court, according to which the burden of proof rested with the worker, this could be considered as an exception, since the legislation puts the burden of proof upon the

Cuba (ratification : 1954). A Government representative made the following statement:
The Government was now setting up a statistical service which would meet the requirements of this Convention. Various regulations had already been issued to repeal the former legislation dealing with this matter. Under the proposed new legislation a department of statistics would be set up, which would report to the Planning Board and would publish statistics regularly. The publication of these statistics would be of great value to the Government in establishing and carrying out its programmes and plans.

Mexico (ratification : 1942). A Government representative made the following statement:
The Government had not been able to reply to the request for information concerning the Convention because it referred to statistical information which it was not easy to prepare without co-operation with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned. A circular had been sent to these organisations on this matter and a supplementary report would be supplied to the I.L.O. in the near future.

The information needed to give an exact picture of the situation had to be gathered from employers' and workers' organisations. When these data were received by the Government a full report would be sent to the I.L.O. The preparation of such statistics was a time-consuming task.
The Employers' members noted that no answer had been given to the specific questions raised by the Committee of Experts, and that this Convention had been ratified over 20 years ago.

In reply the Government representative pointed out that it was not correct to claim that the Government had sent no statistics, although perhaps the statistics sent had not been as complete as desirable. As regards the statistics required under Article 5 and Article 10, the information needed to give an exact picture of the situation had to be gathered from employers' and workers' organisations. When these data were received by the Government a full report would be sent to the I.L.O. The preparation of such statistics was a time-consuming task.

The Employers' members noted that no answer had been given to the specific questions raised by the Committee of Experts, and that this Convention had been ratified over 20 years ago.

Convention No. 64 : Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers), 1939.

Zambia (ratification : 1964). The Government communicated the following information:
The new Employment Bill was further delayed during the latter part of last year and circumstances did not permit its presentation to Parliament as was hoped. This was due partly to other urgent legislative work and partly to a decision to include further provisions to benefit workers. However, the Bill will most certainly be introduced to Parliament during the course of this year.

Convention No. 65 : Food and Catering (Ships' Crews), 1946.

Argentina (ratification : 1956). See under "General Observations".

Convention No. 73 : Medical Examination (Seafarers), 1946.

Argentina (ratification : 1955). See under "General Observations".

Convention No. 77 : Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry), 1946.

Italy (ratification : 1952). The Government communicated the following information:
On 9 April 1965 a Bill on the protection of employment of young persons was submitted to Parliament (the Government has communicated a copy of this Bill). This Bill modifies previous legislation (Act No. 653 of 20 April 1954, Act No. 1325 of 29 November 1961, etc.) and is intended to bring national legislation into conformity with Conventions Nos. 77, 78, 79 and 90. In the explanatory memorandum appended to the Bill particular emphasis is placed on the standards giving effect to the provisions of the above-mentioned Conventions referred to in the Committee of Experts' observations.

Convention No. 78 : Medical Examination of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations), 1946.

Italy (ratification : 1952). See under Convention No. 77.

Convention No. 79 : Night Work of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations), 1946.

Italy (ratification : 1952). See under Convention No. 77.


Argentina (ratification : 1955). A Government representative made the following statement:
The Ministry of Labour and Social Security had established a centre for training medium-grade officers, which had begun to function at the end of last year. Moreover, the general directorate of the labour inspections and the technical inspectorate organised training courses for labour inspectors. It had sent officers to the provinces to assist the provincial services technically. All the documentation required would soon be communicated. Concerning Articles 20 and 21 of the Convention, the annual report of the inspection services was being published and it would soon be sent to the I.L.O. in future, such report would be published and communicated regularly.
See also under "General Observations".

Guatemala (ratification : 1952). A Government representative made the following statement:
A Bill had been prepared which provided for the notification of occupational diseases. It was being studied by the Social Security Institute, which had made favourable comments, as well as by the Technical Committee of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, and it would be adopted immediately. As regards Articles 20 and 21 of the Convention, instructions had been given to the labour inspection service to prepare a general report for 1964.


Burma (ratification : 1955). A Government representative made the following statement:
The following texts gave effect to this Convention : law defining the fundamental rights and responsibilities of the people's workers ; regulations regarding the establishment of the people's workers' councils ; trade union rules. The first of these texts came into force on 1 May 1964 and by virtue of section 9 thereof the second text had been promulgated later. Steps were now being taken to form workers' councils.
The Employers' members recalled that the observations by the Experts related in particular to the following points : a trade union could not be registered unless its membership included more than half the workers in the undertaking concerned ; an executive member of a political party could not be an official of a trade union ; all officers of a registered trade union had to be workers in the undertaking for which the trade union was formed. The Convention was not fully applied.

In reply, the Government representative stated that the present restrictions on trade union rights would be removed.

Cameroon (Eastern Cameroon) (ratification : 1950). The Government communicated the following information:
The repeal of Ordinance No. 62-OP-24 of 31 March 1962 cannot be envisaged until the Legislative Assembly of Eastern Cameroon (which is the only competent organ to decide on such repeal and has just completed its term) is reconstituted after the general elections of which the principle has just been approved by the Federal Legislative Assembly. The question of repealing the provisions referred to will be taken up in the preparation of the
lighten the Legislature in taking a decision. The Committee of Experts will constitute valuable guidance which will not fail to enlighten the Legislature in taking a decision.

Central African Republic (ratification: 1960). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government was determined to ensure the application of the Convention. The Committee of Experts had taken account of all observations made by the Committee of Experts in its draft Labour Code. In this draft the question of repealing Act No. 60-170 of 12 December 1960 would be considered.

The experts expressed dissatisfaction at the fact that the President of the Central African Republic, in his speech to the Conference, had not referred to the workers in the service of the State only. Obviously these workers could not have the same status as other workers, since their status was subject to restrictions of a public nature.

Cuba (ratification: 1962). The Workers' members stated that, in accordance with the decision taken by the Committee of Experts, they did not wish to discuss further the two concepts regarding this Convention. They would be glad to know, however, whether the Bill relating to the co-existence of several unions in the country was still being considered.

Guatemala (ratification: 1952). A Government representative made the following statement:

As already indicated in 1964 a legislative decree had been adopted in June 1963 to provide for exemption from the prohibition on re-election of trade union leaders, contained in section 222 (a) of the Labour Code. The observances made by the Experts on this point had been communicated to the technical committee of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare which would consider the possibility of amending section 222 (a).

The Workers' members pointed out that the Committee of Experts had, for many years, been drawing attention to a number of legislative provisions which were contrary to the Convention, such as the prohibition on re-election of trade union leaders. The Convention concerning public employment in the Federal Labour and Conciliation Court—which comprised some confusion. However, these provisions related not to the prohibition of re-election of trade union leaders but only in the case of trade unions with a small membership. Thus no real progress had been made. The Committee must urge the Government to ensure full legislative conformity with the Convention at the latest by next year.

Mexico (ratification: 1950). A Government representative made the following statement:

Although apparently the Committee of Experts had made a careful study of the legislation relating to this Convention, there seemed to be some misinterpretation. The Government considered that the provisions relating to the free association and to the prohibition on re-election of trade union leaders, and the provisions on the refusal to authorise or register trade unions, were contrary to the Convention, as regards, for example, the refusal to elect trade union leaders. Thus the Government representative made the following statement:

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would be able to present its Bill on time and that it would be in a position to indicate progress next year.

Niger (ratification: 1961). A Government representative made the following statement:

On 11 May 1965 the National Assembly had adopted a law modifying Ordinance No. 59-101 of 4 July 1959, which had empowered the President to dissolve trade unions by decree. In certain cases, however, the prohibition to re-elect trade union leaders, which had existed for some time in regard to the Convention, had now been eliminated.

Pakistan (ratification: 1952). A Government representative made the following statement:

Freedom of association was guaranteed in Pakistan, no difference being made between workers in the public and private sectors, even as regards undertakings run by the Government or by another central authority. In all these sectors workers were free to found trade unions. However, certain technical difficulties existed as regards civil servants. They were free to form trade unions; the only restriction was that they had to organise according to category, and were forbid to join an existing trade union from their own choosing. The competent government service hand had now decided that the legislation should be modified so that this divergence with the Convention could be eliminated.

Philippines (ratification: 1952). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government regretted that it could not report progress in adopting the necessary Bill. Because of the separation of powers, it was very difficult for it to intervene to expedite the work of the Legislature. A new Congress would meet at the beginning of next year. Bills which had not been adopted by then would have to be presented again. The Government hoped that it would be in a position to indicate progress next year.

The Workers' members pointed out that discrepancies had existed for some time in regard to the Convention and that in view of the importance of the question, these divergencies could have been reduced.

The Government representative stated, in reply, that the Government would do everything possible to obtain action by Congress on these points.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would be able to meet its obligations and that the observation would not have to be repeated.

Senegal (ratification: 1960). A Government representative made the following statement:

In the past the dissolution of trade unions by administrative discretion has taken place only in exceptional cases. The law, trade unions could be dissolved only by judicial process. There would be no further cases of dissolution.

The Workers' members stated that the situation was disquieting. The Experts always emphasized that...
administrative dissolution, even in special political conditions - to withdraw the Convention. The fact that this possibility existed showed that the legislation was not in conformity with the Convention.

The Employers' representatives in the special consultation of employers' and workers' organisations in regard to certain exceptions; in practice, however, such exceptions were never authorised without the intervention of the workers' organisations. Although the national legislation had not yet been brought into compliance with the Convention, in virtue of the national Constitution the self-executing provisions of the Convention were incorporated in the national legislation. The Ministry of Social Administration fully agreed with the workers that it was desirable to eliminate any discrepancy between the national legislation and the Convention and hoped that by next year this would have been achieved.

The Austrian Workers' member agreed with the Government's statement that exceptions were not authorised until the employers' and workers' organisations concerned had been consulted; however, the legislation, and not only practice, would be in conformity with the terms of the Convention. It was also correct that the self-executing provisions of the Convention had become part of the national legislation but the fact remained that there were no legislative provisions corresponding to certain provisions of the Convention, guaranteeing protection for the workers.

The Employers' members recalled that the Convention had been ratified by Austria 15 years ago; it should have been possible during this period to reach agreement between the various bodies and parties concerned regarding the measures to be taken for its application. No real progress seemed to have been achieved since last year and it was to be hoped that the Government would make every effort to ensure legislative conformity with the Convention without any further delay.

The Committee took note of the information supplied and expressed the hope that the full application of the Convention would be ensured at an early date.


Philippines (ratification : 1953). The Government communicated the following information:

In view of the failure of the Congress to pass the Bill designed to bring the Women and Child Labor Law into conformity with Article 2 of Conventions Nos. 89 and 90 (a period of night rest of at least 11 and 12 consecutive hours for women and young persons respectively), the Government had decided to introduce in the next session of Congress to eliminate the existing discrepancies between the legislation and the Conventions.

The Workers' members recalled that since 1956, the Government had been referring to Bills designed to give full effect to Conventions Nos. 89 and 90, particularly regarding the minimum period of rest at night. The Government's reply showed that once more there would be delay in the elimination of discrepancies. This situation was disturbing and it was essential that progress be made by next year.

The Government representative stated, in reply, that the Government would do everything possible to obtain action by Congress.


Argentina (ratification : 1956). See under "General Observations".


Italy (ratification : 1952). See under Convention No. 77.

Pakistan (ratification : 1951). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Convention was applied in substance, although the legislation had not yet been amended. Democratic parliamentary procedures entailed unavoidable delays. All the organisations concerned had been consulted in order that agreement might be reached on the proposed legislation. The Government was fully agreed in principle that appropriate legislation should be adopted.

The Employers' members noted that for the past ten years the Government had been referring to amending legislation which was to give effect to the Convention. They wished to know whether any real progress had now been achieved.

In reply the Government representative stated that the Bill in question had now passed through all stages of
prior consultation and had obtained the agreement of the employers' and workers' organisations and of the Government in its capacity as employer. A unanimous draft would now be submitted to the legislature.

Philippines (ratification: 1953). See under Convention No. 89.

Convention No. 92: Accommodation of Crews (Revised), 1949.

Cuba (ratification: 1952). A Government representative made the following statement:
/.../ of the Convention...

Philippines (ratification: 1953). The Government communicated the following information:

The desire expressed in this Convention regarding labour clauses on public contracts may be considered as having been complied with. The standard legal forms provided for all forms of contracts, including contracts for all public works.

United Arab Republic (ratification: 1960). A Government representative made the following statement:

It seemed that there was a misunderstanding. Law No. 3456 of 1962 expressly provided that the Labour Code was applicable to all workers in public undertakings. A copy of this law had been sent to the I.L.O.

The Workers' members recalled that the Government had indicated as far back as 1957 a wish to work for fixed or specially low wages since they required to work for fixed or specially low wages since they were free to bargain collectively. The Government of East Pakistan, which had been consulted, had indicated that there was no need for legislation prohibiting fee-charging employment agencies and that such a text would burden the statute book to no purpose. The Government of West Pakistan, however, had not yet made a final decision and it seemed to share the views of the East Pakistan Government. Nevertheless, if the I.L.O. bodies insisted on such a measure, the Government was prepared to enact legislation prohibiting fee-charging employment agencies. The Government representative now indicated that no such agencies existed in the country but this statement differed from previous government statements. No progress had been made and the promises made by the Government had not been fulfilled.

In reply the Government representative stated that the contradiction mentioned above was more apparent than real since the Government had found that there were no fee-charging employment agencies and no labour contractors in the sense envisaged by the Convention. However, if the Committee considered it necessary, the Government would adopt legislation.

The Employers' members stated that the Committee emphatically required the adoption of legislative prohibiting fee-charging employment agencies, as the Convention could not otherwise be considered as applied. It was hoped that these measures would be taken without delay before the next session of the Conference.


Philippines (ratification: 1953). The Government communicated the following information:

It is regretted that the Government is not aware of any Bill pending in Congress eliminating the exemption provisions in the Minimum Wages Law (Republic Act No. 602) concerning retail and service enterprises. It is hoped, however, that a Bill will be filed in the next session of Congress.

Article 7, paragraph 2. In the absence of a special law or provision dealing only with works stores and control of prices of commodities sold in said stores and services provided by the employers, Republic Act No. 2610, although a law of general application in so far as control of prices of commodities is concerned, is deemed adequate to cover the above matters.

Article 13, paragraph 2. The requirement of this paragraph is sufficiently met by section 10 (i) of the Minimum Wages Law (Republic Act No. 2610) which provides: "Payment of wages shall be made at or near the place of undertaking, except as otherwise provided by such rules and regulations as the Secretary of Labour may prescribe". Accordingly, where taverns, etc., are not the place of undertakings, payment of wages in those places is prohibited under section 10 (i) of the Law which is the exact import of Article 13, paragraph 2, of the Convention, which states that payment of wages in taverns shall be prohibited except in the case of persons employed therein.

The Workers' members recalled that the Government had indicated as far back as 1957 a wish to work for fixed or specially low wages since they were free to bargain collectively. The Government representative indicated the Committee made the following statement:

The Government stated that the Government would do everything possible to obtain action by Congress.

Convention No. 96: Fee-Charging Employment Agencies (Revised), 1949.

Pakistan (ratification: 1952). A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government had carried out an inquiry and found that there were no fee-charging employment agencies in the country. The employment offices were run by the Government in both East and West Pakistan and financial provision had been made in the next budget for the expansion of this service. The position in Pakistan as regards labour contractors differed from that in many other countries since, under such contracts, there was no form of compulsory labour, workers were free to leave their employment when they wished and they were not required to work for fixed or specially low wages since they were free to bargain collectively. The Government of East Pakistan, which had been consulted, had indicated that there was no need for legislation prohibiting fee-charging employment agencies and that such a text would burden the statute book to no purpose. The Government of West Pakistan, however, had not yet made a final decision.

The Workers' members stated that the Government had promised to adopt legislation prohibiting fee-charging employment agencies. The Government representative now indicated that no such agencies existed in the country but this statement differed from previous government statements. No progress had been made and the promises made by the Government had not been fulfilled.

In reply the Government representative stated that the contradiction mentioned above was more apparent than real since the Government had found that there were no fee-charging employment agencies and no labour contractors in the sense envisaged by the Convention. However, if the Committee considered it necessary, the Government would adopt legislation.

The Employers' members stated that the Committee emphatically required the adoption of legislation prohibiting fee-charging employment agencies, as the Convention could not otherwise be considered as applied. It was hoped that these measures would be taken without delay before the next session of the Conference.

Convention No. 97: Migration for Employment (Revised), 1949.

France (ratification: 1954). The Government communicated the following information:

The studies mentioned in 1963 and 1964 have led to the conclusion that the maternity allowance provided for by the French legislation need not be granted to foreigners in France pursuant to Article 4, paragraph 1 (b), of the Convention. This provision covers "social security (that is to say, legal provision in respect of employment injury, maternity, sickness, invalidity, old age, death, unemployment and family responsibilities as well as any other risk which in accordance with the national legislation is covered by a social security scheme)". France previously emphasised the maternity allowance should not be regarded as covered by this enumeration: this allowance does not aim at compensating for family responsibilities, but has an essentially demographic character. The conditions attached to its payment demonstrate clearly that this allowance has the character of a payment on the occasion of birth: "In respect of the first birth, the allowance is granted provided that the mother is not older than 25 years and the birth takes place within two years after marriage. It is not granted in respect of the second birth, if the couple, after the birth, take place within three years after the preceding birth. The allowance is payable in two equal sums, one at the time of birth and the other six months after the birth."
These conditions for entitlement lead the Government to call attention to the definition of "family benefits" given by Article 42 of Convention No. 102. These benefits are to include either periodical payments, or the provision of goods, services, or a combination of these two benefits. It is quite obvious that the maternity allowance provided for by the French legislation does not, by its very nature, correspond to this definition.

The Committee of Experts bases its own position, however, on the consideration that the maternity allowance is financed through a family allowance scheme in the same way as all other benefits of this nature. In fact, the financing of the maternity allowance is not merely essential for its purpose, but is also a condition of its implementation. The committee recognizes that benefits financing in the same way as all other benefits of this nature. The Committee of Experts has admitted that this is the basis for the financing of the maternity allowance, provided it was granted in the same way as all other benefits of this nature.

Furthermore, the various bilateral and multilateral agreements concerning social security signed by France as a general rule specify, without reservations, that the principle of equal pay for equal work is to be applied, as a general rule, to the beneficiaries of the maternity allowance, as well as to all other benefits of this nature.

The Committee of Experts bases itself, however, on the principle that the maternity allowance is financed through a family allowance scheme in the same way as all other benefits of this nature. Hence, the fact that the maternity allowance is financed through a family allowance scheme in the same way as all other benefits of this nature is the basis for the financing of the maternity allowance, provided it was granted in the same way as all other benefits of this nature.

The Government had informed the Committee of Experts that the maternity allowance was granted to all beneficiaries of the maternity allowance, as well as to all other benefits of this nature. The Government had also informed the Committee of Experts that the maternity allowance was granted to all beneficiaries of the maternity allowance, as well as to all other benefits of this nature.

Finally, the Committee of Experts bases itself on the principle that the maternity allowance is financed through a family allowance scheme in the same way as all other benefits of this nature. Hence, the fact that the maternity allowance is financed through a family allowance scheme in the same way as all other benefits of this nature is the basis for the financing of the maternity allowance, provided it was granted in the same way as all other benefits of this nature.

Moreover, the fact that the maternity allowance is financed through a family allowance scheme in the same way as all other benefits of this nature is the basis for the financing of the maternity allowance, provided it was granted in the same way as all other benefits of this nature.
trade unions were strong and in a position to have appropriate clauses included in collective agreements.

As regards the elimination from collective agreements of variables resulting in a disbenefit to female workers, the Government had taken various measures to persuade the trade unions to apply the equal pay principle.

The problem raised by the Committee of Experts in paragraph 4 of the observation, relating to an objective system of job evaluation, entailed certain difficulties. Canada had, however, suggested a system that proposed to apply the provisions of the Convention but a difference of views existed as regards the question of the application of the Convention. The Committee of Experts had specified three distinct categories of employment, workers employed as a result of trade disputes, and the trade unions agreed with the views expressed by the Committee in this connection. It was hoped that when the Government had examined the text to which the Experts seemed to have adopted because of the nature of the relevant legislation in certain countries. Prior to that time, the German unemployment benefit was not excluded, and the position should be the same in case of unemployment resulting from a strike occurring in another country.

The Employers' member of the Federal Republic of Germany made the following statement: "The employers of the Federal Republic of Germany were glad that the Experts had modified their original view on this matter. He did not agree however with their conclusions regarding the relationship between Article 69 (i) of the Convention and the three distinct categories of persons who might become unemployed as a result of a trade dispute. This constituted a free interpretation of the text which the Experts seemed to have adopted because of its limited nature. The German unemployment insurance scheme financed by both parties should observe an attitude of neutrality in disputes. The unemployment insurance financed by both parties should not be used to finance one party to a trade dispute. The Convention did not imply that a labour dispute was bound to occur in the undertaking itself or in the branch of activity concerned. National legislation, which had limited the field of application of the Convention, had been extended to take account of the purpose of unemployment insurance. The German government was not always easy to determine. Where a strike which took place in another country caused unemployment in the Federal Republic, unemployment benefit was not excluded, and the position should be the same in case of unemployment resulting from a strike in the Federal Republic in a dispute to which the workers concerned were not parties. The Employers' member of the Federal Republic of Germany stated that causality between trade disputes and unemployment was not always easy to determine. Where a strike which took place in another country caused unemployment in the Federal Republic, unemployment benefit was not excluded, and the position should be the same in case of unemployment resulting from a strike in the Federal Republic in a dispute to which the workers concerned were not parties. The Employers' member of the Federal Republic of Germany stated that causality between trade disputes and unemployment was not always easy to determine.

The Government's first impression on reading the Committee's comments showed that the application of a Convention by means of collective agreements could give rise to special difficulties. The Workers' member added that account should be taken of the position of workers not covered by a collective agreement in regard to the equal pay principle, and the issue of special regulations applying to such workers might be necessary.

The Employers' member of the Federal Republic of Germany indicated that it was now a normal practice in the Federal Republic for trade unions to take steps in regard to trade disputes occurring in another country.

The Government representative stated that the Government's first impression on reading the Committee's comments showed that the application of a Convention by means of collective agreements could give rise to special difficulties. The Employers' member added that account should be taken of the position of workers not covered by a collective agreement in regard to the equal pay principle, and the issue of special regulations applying to such workers might be necessary.

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The Employers' member of the Federal Republic of Germany indicated that it was now a normal practice in the Federal Republic for trade unions to take steps in regard to trade disputes occurring in another country.
of Experts' observations was that the various legal views had come closer together. The Government would welcome it if a thorough examination of the Experts' comments led to acceptance of the Government's view. However, should the divergence of views persist, it might be worth consideration as to whether the matter might not appropriately be submitted to the International Court of Justice or some other arbitration body set up by the Governing Body.

Paragraph 730 and 736 of the Commission of Inquiry's report, to which the I.L.O. had been given and the information requested would be sent as soon as possible.

Paragraph 735. Even before the publication of the Experts' report the official gazette on 19 March 1965 had published Decree No. 46551 which expressly revoked the legislative instrument permitting compulsory recruitment for the Labour and Economic Recovery Corps. A copy of this decree had been sent to the I.L.O.

Paragraph 738. It was to be noted that the Diamond Company operated in the district of Luanda. The recruits' contracts imposed on the employer the obligation of transporting the workers to their workplaces. Inspections were made. As the Experts noted in regard to paragraph 734, the inspection services had been developed considerably in Angola.

Paragraph 741. The necessary instructions had been given to satisfy the Experts' wish concerning the sending of the texts indicated. Moreover, working conditions in the ports and railways had greatly improved. The question was being considered by a working party. The most important railway in Angola was the Benguela Railway, one of the two great railways, which the Commission of Inquiry (paragraph 737 of its report) had exonerated entirely from the accusation of forced labour, while emphasising the exceptional economic importance of this railway.

Paragraph 744. The rules of operation of the Independent Board of Roads had not yet been issued; they were being examined by the Provincial Legislative Council of Angola. On publication they would be communicated. The I.L.O. was already aware of the Organic Law of the Board of Roads.

Paragraph 749. As already stated, several inspections had been made of the Casemoel Company. Wages had increased by 10 per cent. since last year. The number of workers recruited (in the technical sense of the term) had substantially diminished. The question would be discussed at the meeting of the Committee of Experts with regard to Convention No. 105; theExperts would supply complete information. For example, information had not been given on the development of the inspectorate in Mozambique, which seemed to be little developed since there were only six inspectors for the whole country.

With respect to Convention No. 111, the Committee of Experts had indicated that the possibilities for education and training could not be left without consideration. The text of the Convention was not only afforded in law, but also provided for the opportunities of equal education and training. As a basis for its comments concerning Convention No. 111, the Committee of Experts had used the statistics supplied by the Government, as well as those appearing in official year books. However, as for example, found, for workers born in the region concerned were employed in certain senior positions in Portuguese Guinea than in Angola and Mozambique. After the latter country had not furnished any detailed indications but the figures showed that 55 per cent. of the officials of the public and municipal services were born in the territory. The Committee of Experts had not been concerned with the possibility of extending the principle of equality of opportunity and treatment provided for in the Convention was not only afforded in law, but also promoted in practice.

Paragraph 754. The expansion of the inspectorate had already been noted by the Experts. With respect to recruitment for the Rand mines, the Commission of Inquiry (paragraph 745) had stated that it was based on the economic attraction of employment and on the fact that it conferred on those so employed an element of social status, and that there was no element of compulsion under Portuguese jurisdiction and no element of fraud in such recruitment.

Paragraph 777. The Government had recognised that she was rightly proud of the absence of any complaint concerning Convention No. 111. The Government, in application of the Convention, sought to promote equality of opportunity and treatment not only in law, but in everyday life. The statistics supplied proved this irrefutably. One wondered why the Committee of Experts had found differences between Angola and Mozambique on the one hand, and Portuguese Guinea on the other. It was not apparent from the existing statistics. Similarly, it was not evident from the statistics that the opportunities for education and training were less for Africans than for non-Africans. The relevant statistical indications could be given to the Committee.

The Committee was informed that the decree mentioned by the Government representative in relation to paragraph 773 of its report of the Commission of Inquiry concerning Convention No. 105 had in fact been received by the I.L.O.; the Experts' question related to the subsidiary provisions issued under it in Angola. As a basis for its comments concerning Convention No. 111, the Committee of Experts had used the statistics supplied by the Government, as well as those appearing in official year books. However, as for example, found, for workers born in the region concerned were employed in certain senior positions in Portuguese Guinea than in Angola and Mozambique. After the latter country had not furnished any detailed indications but the figures showed that 55 per cent. of the officials of the public and municipal services were born in the territory. The Committee of Experts had not been concerned with the possibility of extending the principle of equality of opportunity and treatment provided for in the Convention was not only afforded in law, but also promoted in practice.

The Employers' Vice-Chairman made the following statement:

Paragraph 795. As already stated, several inspections had been made of the Casemoel Company. Wages had increased by 10 per cent. since last year. The number of workers recruited (in the technical sense of the term) had substantially diminished. The question would be discussed at the meeting of the Committee of Experts with regard to Convention No. 105; the Experts would supply complete information. For example, information had not been given on the development of the inspectorate in Mozambique, which seemed to be little developed since there were only six inspectors for the whole country.

With respect to Convention No. 111, the Committee of Experts had indicated that the possibilities for education and training could not be left without consideration. The text of the Convention was not only afforded in law, but also provided for the opportunities of equal education and training. As a basis for its comments concerning Convention No. 111, the Committee of Experts had used the statistics supplied by the Government, as well as those appearing in official year books. However, as for example, found, for workers born in the region concerned were employed in certain senior positions in Portuguese Guinea than in Angola and Mozambique. After the latter country had not furnished any detailed indications but the figures showed that 55 per cent. of the officials of the public and municipal services were born in the territory. The Committee of Experts had not been concerned with the possibility of extending the principle of equality of opportunity and treatment provided for in the Convention was not only afforded in law, but also promoted in practice.

The Workers' Vice-Chairman read the following statement drawn up by the African Trade Union Confederation:

"In connection with the examination by the Conference Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations of the state of application of international instruments in various parts of the world, the African Trade Union Confederation wishes to draw the special attention of the Conference to the case of Portugal as regards the application of the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105), and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111)."

"Whereas, in this second half of the twentieth century, the history of the world is marked by the struggle of oppressed peoples for national independence and for the complete elimination of colonialism and imperialism and their consequences, as well as of all forms of racial discrimination;"

"Whereas the international community has emphatically condemned all colonial practices, in virtue of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations;"

"Whereas, far from complying with this resolution, Portugal is endeavouring to reinforce its colonial system by accentuating all forms of pressure on the peoples of the African countries still under its domination: massacre of African patriots, arbitrary arrests, practices of forced labour for political and economic reasons, practices of racial discrimination in education, employment and occupation;"

"Whereas the practice of forced labour is covered by Convention No. 106;"
Appendix V : Application of Conventions and Recommendations

- Whereas Article 1 of this Convention provides that
  each Member of the International Labour Organisation which ratifies this Convention undertakes to suppress and not to make use of any form of forced or compulsory labour (a) as a means of political coercion or education or as a punishment for holding or expressing political views contrary to the established political, social or economic system; (b) as a method of mobilising and using labour for purposes of economic development; (c) as a means of labour discipline; (d) as a means of raising funds; (e) as a means of racial, social, national or religious discrimination;

- Noting that all the forms of forced labour dealt with in this Convention are systematically practised in the Portuguese African colonies, where the prisons and concentration camps are overflowing with political detainees, who constitute penal labour;

- In view of the fact that these practices of forced labour have contributed to the result of Portugal's manifest desire to oppose by every means the application of the United Nations resolution on the abolition of colonialism and that they constitute a flagrant violation of human rights as dealt with in the United Nations Charter and as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Declaration of Philadelphia;

- "In view of the fact that the International Labour Organisation must, within the framework of its competence, ensure the application of the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and in particular the resolution concerning the abolition of colonialism, and the application of the principles stated in the previous paragraph, particularly when the violation of those principles characterised a violation of international instruments such as the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention (No. 105) and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (No. 111);

- Constitutional provisions of the International Labour Organisation;

- "The African Trade Union Confederation requests the solemn condemnation of Portugal and the suspension of its powers as Member of the Organisation until it revives its policy in conformity with the basic principles of the I.L.O., principles which every Member undertakes to respect as a condition of its admission."

The Algerian Government member made the following statement:

The Portuguese Government tried to take advantage of these practices of forced labour and discrimination in employment and occupation did exist in the territories administered by Portugal. The Committee of Experts, having taken note of the adoption of certain texts by Portugal, but its observations raised doubts as to their application; it left to the Conference the task of evaluating the situation. The importance of the railways was mentioned but they were principally used to transport prisoners and soldiers. With respect to inspection, it was carried out by inspectors who were in the service of the authorities and the companies. Accord­

- The Committee should not disappoint the hopes of the world. Because of the violation of fundamental rights by Portugal, the presence of the representatives of that country in the debate should not be conducive to the best hopes of the world.

- In the African territories of Portugal Conventions Nos. 105 and 111 were covered by Convention No. 105 occurred in Angola and Mozambique. Conventions Nos. 105 and 111 were ratified six years ago and the situation, far from having improved, in fact had deteriorated. The memorandum of U.N.E.S.C.O. proved this. More than 380,000 persons were affected by forced labour. Portugal should be included in the special list under points C and E, but this did not suffice; it was essential that ratified Conventions, which should have force of law, be fully applied.

In reply to a question by the Workers' members the Committee was informed that the Government of Portugal had received a request for a Commission of Inquiry concerning discrimination in employment and occupation; this request was submitted to the Governing Body in November 1964. The Officers of the Governing Body had recommended the acceptance of the request. The Committee should not disappoint the hopes of the world.

The Yugoslav Government member made the following statement:

The Governing member of Portugal had made a logical statement in referring to the request made by his country concerning the sending of a Commission of Inquiry to that country. The I.L.O. had not yet acted on this request. The information supplied by the African Trade Union Confederation which had been submitted to the Committee showed that the factual situation clearly contradicted all legal agreements used by the Government member of Portugal.

As regards Convention No. 105, the Government member had skillfully used the words of the Experts. It was logical for the Experts to be satisfied on receiving information from governments and it always took note thereof with interest. But it was also certain that many parts of the observations by the Experts had been passed over in silence and had been disregarded. But, for example in the case of the references by the Experts to paragraphs 738, 741, 744, 749 and 754. All these referred to essential information which had been supplied, neither had it been supplied by the Govern­

- The Bulgarian Government member made the following statement:

The Committee had before it the information from the African Trade Union Confederation, transmitted by the Workers' Vice-Chairman, and a memorandum by the All-African Trade Union Federation, both of which were important to the union organisations and to several resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on this subject. All this proved that in the African territories of Portugal Conventions Nos. 105 and 111 were seriously violated. During the full documentation, the Governor of Portugal persisted in denying the facts, whereas all humanity accused Portugal and the Government of Portugal. The Committee was certainly aware of the true situation in Angola and Mozambique and the case of Portugal should be included in the special list. However, it was to be feared that the government of Portugal would not be convinced by this request and that next year the same situation would recur in the Committee. Therefore the Committee should take a more effective action. They should be informed, in a detailed report, in which the various stories which had been made should be reproduced and it should be recommended to adopt a resolution, within the framework of the I.L.O. Constitutions, and the Standing Orders of the Conference, which could constitute
a real contribution to the improvement of the lot of workers in Angola and Mozambique.

The Nigerian Workers' member made the following statement:

The question under discussion was a very serious one. Two fundamental Conventions were flagrantly violated. The information from the African Trade Union Confederation gave a true picture of all the atrocities committed by Portugal in Angola and Mozambique in violation of Conventions Nos. 105 and 111. The Experts were right in saying that the elimination from legislation and administrative practice of any discriminatory element was only one aspect of the action envisaged by Convention No. 111 and that the purpose of the international standards was to promote equity of opportunity and treatment irrespective of employment and occupation, not only before the law but in day-to-day social relationships, and that it was essential that positive action be taken to this effect.

In reply the representative of the Portuguese Government stated:

As regards the accusation made in the memorandum of the All-African Trade Union Federation that hundreds of thousands of Angolans were exported and sold at prices varying from 1,000 to 1,200 escudos to Rhodesia, Nyasaland, the delegation from Malawi could be invited to state whether any Angolan was working in that country. Neither were there any Angolan workers on the railways in South Africa. As regards Angolans who had gone there freely, and the Government of Portugal had established in that country a system of protection for the migrant workers. The suggestion had been made on the special list because the Government had not supplied information on the conditions of employment on the railways. Twenty-six thousand workers were working voluntarily for the Benguela railway; ten years ago there were 1,200 recruited workers, but this had nothing to do with forced labour. The Government had received the report of the Committee on Experts one in the last year and in order to give detailed information on a number of large companies a certain amount of time was required. The Government of Portugal would agree to the visit of a Commission of Inquiry.

In the memorandum by the All-African Trade Union Federation it was stated that during the last 30 years only a single writer had been able to enter Angola. Only last year more than 350 foreign journalists had visited the country. One month ago three journalists from the Soviet Union had been in Mozambique. Decree No. 45859 applied to Angola as well as to Mozambique. As regards paragraph 744 of the report of the Commission of Inquiry mentioned by the Experts, it stated that the Government did not consult the Legislative Council to act; it was not for the Government to adopt the rules of operation of the Independent Board of Roads of Angola.

The Byelorussian Workers' member made the following statement:

The memorandum of the All-African Trade Union Federation and the information from the African Trade Union Confederation contained very serious accusations, for example that forced labour was the basis of the Portuguese economy and affected more than 50 per cent. of the population. They were not declarations by individuals but by very important trade union organisations. The existence of Portuguese colonies in Africa was proved by the evidence of witnesses, the Committee of Experts' observations, the conclusions of the Article 26 Convention (I.L.O. 1951); it was also proved by universally known facts. The Government of Portugal exploited the workers of these colonies in co-operation with other countries; it sent workers to South Africa thus contributing to the policy of apartheid. Workers were forcibly recruited on the basis of laws as well as under confidential provisions not meant for publication which it was difficult to reconcile with constitutional and legislative provisions. Many African delegates had repeated these accusations. He fully supported the Bulgarian Government member's proposal that this Commission should adopt more effective measures than the mere inclusion of Portugal in the special list, by condemning the policy of forced labour and discrimination practiced in Portugal in Africa.

The Algerian Government member made the following statement:

It was not for this Committee to ask for the reasons why the Governing Body had not yet acted on the request by Portugal concerning the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry. Referring to visits by journalists and writers to Angola and Mozambique, he added that the representative of Portugal had not chosen a good example because it was well known how these visits were organised. The incidence of Portugal in Africa required more effective measures than the mere inclusion of Portugal in the special list. The Committee should, however, try to find other means within its power to condemn the policy of the Government of Portugal as regards its African territories. In this respect he supported the proposal by the Bulgarian Government member and the Byelorussian Workers' member.

The Portuguese Employers' member made the following statement:

The proposal to include Portugal on the special list was not based on proper documentation relating to facts. The observations made by the Experts were not comparable, either from the point of view of their importance or their gravity. He had addressed a request to the Director of the Bureau of Information whose inclusion in the special list had not been proposed. The Government of Portugal for its part based itself on the impartial and objective conclusions reached by the Commission of Inquiry established under article 26 of the I.L.O. Constitution. This Commission was composed of independent persons who had travelled all over Angola and Mozambique and had been in touch with the workers of all the major undertakings. The Government of Portugal had accepted the conclusions and recommendations of this Commission which, by virtue of this acceptance, had become res iudicata. This Commission noted in paragraph 743 of its report that it had found no evidence of, or any need for, the removal of forced labour in light industry or commerce in either Angola or Mozambique. As regards the publicly owned railways and ports in Mozambique, the Commission had also noted that they did not employ forced labour and that their conditions of employment and social services were in certain respects exemplary (paragraph 742). The case of Portugal was a classical one of the non-application of the Convention in practice. According to the Experts, the Portuguese Employers' member observed that the Government of Portugal had not supplied information on the conditions of employment on the railways. Twenty-six thousand workers were working voluntarily for the Benguela railway; ten years ago there were 1,200 recruited workers, but this had nothing to do with forced labour. The Government had received the report of the Committee on Experts one in the last year and in order to give detailed information on a number of large companies a certain amount of time was required. The Government of Portugal would agree to the visit of a Commission of Inquiry.

In the memorandum by the All-African Trade Union Federation it was stated that during the last 30 years only a single writer had been able to enter Angola. Only last year more than 350 foreign journalists had visited the country. One month ago three journalists from the Soviet Union had been in Mozambique. Decree No. 45859 applied to Angola as well as to Mozambique. As regards paragraph 744 of the report of the Commission of Inquiry mentioned by the Experts, it stated that the Government did not consult the Legislative Council to act; it was not for the Government to adopt the rules of operation of the Independent Board of Roads of Angola.

The Byelorussian Workers' member made the following statement:

The memorandum of the All-African Trade Union Federation and the information from the African Trade Union Confederation contained very serious accusations, for example that forced labour was the basis of the Portuguese economy and affected more than 50 per cent. of the population. They were not declarations by individuals but by very important trade union organisations. The existence of Portuguese colonies in Africa was proved by the evidence of witnesses, the Committee of Experts' observations, the conclusions of the Article 26 Convention (I.L.O. 1951); it was also proved by universally known facts. The Government of Portugal exploited the workers of these colonies in co-operation with other countries; it sent workers to South Africa thus contributing to the policy of apartheid. Workers were forcibly recruited on the basis of laws as well as under confidential provisions not meant for publication which it was difficult to reconcile with constitutional and legislative provisions. Many African delegates had repeated these accusations. He fully supported the Bulgarian Government member's proposal that this Commission should adopt more effective measures than the mere inclusion of Portugal in the special list, by condemning the policy of forced labour and discrimination practiced in Portugal in Africa.

The Algerian Government member made the following statement:

It was not for this Committee to ask for the reasons why the Governing Body had not yet acted on the
pointed out the existence of forced labour in these terri-
tories, and it was the duty of the Committee to con-
demn Portugal.

by the General Assembly of the United Nations stated
with regard to forced labour, and the resolution adopted
Everyone was aware of the facts which occurred in these
territories. If, as the representatives of Portugal
claimed, forced labour and discrimination did not exist
in the African colonies of this country, why had Govern-
ment delegates from African countries as well as represen-
tatives of other organisations spoken in condemnation
of the policy of Portugal in those territories, referring to
a number of facts? And why had no representative from
any other country risen to defend Portugal in the I.L.O.? This
proved that in fact there existed forced labour and
discrimination. International opinion condemned Portu-
gal for its policy in this matter. For more than three
years this Committee had considered the application of
Conventions Nos. 105 and 111 in these territories.
Portugal had not yet been included in the special list
because the Committee had adopted a liberal
attitude. Not only should Portugal now appear on this
list, but there should also be added a particular reference in
the report of the Committee to the fact that in Angola
and Mozambique, as well as in the other colonies of
Portugal, Conventions Nos. 105 and 111 were not applied
in practice. Portugal should be called upon to apply these
Conventions as soon as possible. As regards the three
Russian journalists who had visited these territories,
reference should be made to their articles to learn the true
situation.

The Workers' Vice-Chairman made the following
statement:

The decisions of the Committee should be based on the
Standing Orders of the Conference and the criteria of
the Committee. On this basis the great majority of the
Workers' members proposed to include Portugal on the
special list in virtue of point C, since the Committee was
not competent to go further. If the members could judge
according to their conscience, Portugal should be con-
demned not only for its non-application of Conventions
Nos. 105 and 111, but also with regard to other Con-
ventions, and in particular those in the field of human
rights.

The Liberian Government member stated that there
was discrimination and forced labour in Angola and
Mozambique, as well as all sorts of oppression. The
case of Portugal was a classic case, and the Committee
should condemn this country for the policy it
practised.

The Government member of Guinea made the follow-
ing statement:

One should appeal to the conscience of the members of
this Committee. The essence of the statement made by
the representatives from Portugal was that force was
stronger than law. Portugal claimed that all other mem-
bers of this Committee did not base themselves on facts
and appeared to be of the opinion that it was not Portugal
that should be condemned, but rather the African coun-
tries. The Republic of South Africa had previously taken
the same obstinate position, but now it had taken the
consequences and withdrawn from the I.L.O. It was to
be hoped that Portugal would follow suit. The con-
science of the members of this Committee should tell it to
condemn one single country. Not one single country had
defended Portugal, and the reason was that this simply
could not be done. The Article 26 Commission had made a
full report on the situation in the Portuguese territories
with regard to forced labour, and the resolution adopted
by the General Assembly of the United Nations stated
that the economy of Portugal was based on forced labour.
Everyone was aware of the facts which occurred in these-
territories, and it was the duty of the Committee to
condemn Portugal.

A representative of the Portuguese Government made the
following statement:

It should be kept in mind that this Committee worked
in a legal context; it should base itself on the provisions
of the Constitution, the Standing Orders and ratified
Conventions. The Portuguese Government member of Yugoslavia
had stated that 380,000 men did forced labour in the
Portuguese territories. This accusation was completely
false. The Article 26 Commission's conclusions had been
published and accepted by the majority of the comments;
the minority of the comments had been made by the Committee of Experts
and the Government was prepared to give full replies to
any questions that might be raised. The Government
was ready to accept a new Commission of Inquiry,
condition that this Commission also inquired into the
situation in the countries which accused Portugal.

The Portuguese Workers' member made the following
statement:

He represented the workers of Portugal, including the
overseas provinces, and could state in a categorical
manner that there was no discrimination in the Portu-
guese territories, nor forced labour in any way. It was
easy to accuse, but the best proof, namely the establish-
ment of a Commission of Inquiry, had not yet been
accepted. There had been a number of journalists in the
Portuguese territories and the Commission of Inquiry
had been organised by the Government. A number of
other prominent persons, including ambassadors of countries
represented in this Committee, had also visited these
territories.

The Algerian Government member stated that he did
not recognise the right of the Portuguese Workers' member to
speak on behalf of the workers of the Portu-
guese territories.

The proposal by the Workers' Vice-Chairman to include
Portugal on the special list was put to a vote. On a vote by a show of hands, the proposal obtained
51 votes to 7, with 33 abstentions. The quorum of
68 votes cast not having been obtained, the vote was not valid (article 66, paragraph 1, of the Standing
Orders). A record vote was thereafter taken in accord-
ance with article 66, paragraph 2, of the Standing
Orders. The proposal received 49 votes to 5, with 35 abstentions. The quorum of 68 votes cast not having been obtained, the vote was not valid (article 66, paragraph 1, of the Standing
Orders).

The Workers' Vice-Chairman made the following
statement:

The inclusion of Portugal in the special list had not
been accepted because a quorum had not been obtained. It
should, however, be noted that the great majority of the
members of the Committee had voted in favour of this
inclusion under point C. This fact should remind the
country concerned that a Convention referring to funda-
mental human rights should be applied.

Convention No. 106: Weekly Rest (Commerce and Offices),
1957.

Ghana (ratification : 1958). The Government com-
municated the following information:

The proposed regulations which will give effect to the
Convention have not yet been adopted, because the
Labour Code under which they will be made has not
yet been published. While the Government appreciates
that, in the absence of the appropriate regulations it has
still not been able to give full effect to the Convention,
these regulations cannot be published in advance of
the passing of the Labour Code by Parliament, and
every effort will be made to adopt the regulations when
the Labour Code is passed in the next few months, so that
a copy can be forwarded with the next report on ratified
Conventions to be submitted in October 1965.

Mexico (ratification : 1959). A Government repre-
sentative made the following statement:

The Government would like the Committee of Experts
to make its request for information more specific because,
in its view, the Convention was applied by virtue of
article 123 (X) of the Constitution, which provided that
for every six days of work there should be granted at
least one day of rest. This was also provided for under
section 78 of the Federal Labour Act.
### Appendix V: Application of Conventions and Recommendations

#### C. Detailed Reports on Ratified Conventions

*Reports Received and Reports Not Received by 15 June 1965*

Reports due: 1,495. Reports received: 1,356. Reports not received: 139.

The table published in the *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Convention and Recommendations*, pp. 127-134, should be brought up to date as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Reports received</th>
<th>Reports not received</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>Number received</td>
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* Reports received too late to be summarised in Report III (Part I).
### D. Statistical Table of Annual Reports on Ratified Conventions

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<th>Period</th>
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<th>Reports received at the date requested</th>
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<th>Reports received in time for the session of the Conference</th>
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<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>1932-33</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>508</td>
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<td>1959-60</td>
<td>1,495 ^ *</td>
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1 The opening date of the session of the Committee of Experts has, in general, been between the middle of March and the beginning of April. In a number of cases, however, the session has opened on other dates, varying between 29 February in 1932, and 23 July in 1945. * The Conference did not meet in 1940. * First year for which this figure is available. * As a result of a decision by the Governing Body, detailed reports were requested on only certain ratified Conventions.
APPENDIX II

OBSERVATIONS AND INFORMATION CONCERNING THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS IN NON-METROPOLITAN TERRITORIES (ARTICLES 22 AND 35 OF THE CONSTITUTION)

A. General Observations

**Denmark**

A Government representative made the following statement:

The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs had done its utmost to have the reports in respect of the Faroe Islands and Greenland forwarded to the I.L.O. There had, however, been certain practical difficulties. Thus the Government of the Faroe Islands was considering new legislative measures regarding labour inspection which had created difficulties regarding the supply of reports, and the Government authorities in Greenland had experienced difficulties because the entire economic structure of the country was under review. It had been hoped that the missing reports would be received before the end of the Conference and it was regretted that this had not been possible. The authorities in the Faroe Islands and in Greenland were also considering the adoption of legislation relating to Conventions Nos. 5 and 6. A considerable number of Bills were before Parliament so that it had not yet been possible to enact the above-mentioned texts. It was hoped that next year the reports due would be supplied within the prescribed time limits.

**Netherlands**

The Government communicated the following information:

The Netherlands Antilles reports on Conventions are sent each year to the trade unions and to the Association for Trade and Industry (employers' organisation).

The Government had urgently invited the Government of Surinam to be represented in the delegation of the Netherlands at the Conference, but to its deep regret the Government of Surinam had not been able to nominate a delegate, and consequently there was no representative who might reply to the questions which the Committee might wish to put. This year the Government of Surinam had sent 18 reports on the application of Conventions in force in the territory of Surinam. It was to be hoped that the Government of Surinam would be able to supply all the reports due next year to the Committee of Experts, and that a representative of this country would be present to give, if necessary, further explanations to this Committee. Finally, the Government of the Netherlands regretted that it was unable to reply to questions by this Committee due to the Surinam Government's autonomy in internal affairs.

The Workers' members stated that the Committee should appeal to the Government to find a solution whereby it would be possible in future to secure the sending of reports to the I.L.O. regarding this territory on the application of Conventions and in particular on Convention No. 29, which was a fundamental Convention.

The Netherlands Workers' member stated that the Government of the Netherlands had been in a difficult position since it could not intervene in the domestic affairs of Surinam. The Government could only urge the Government of Surinam to submit the information and reports requested. In spite of several requests to the Government of the Netherlands there had been no response except for the above-mentioned 18 reports. In order to remedy this situation the Netherlands Government had repeatedly proposed that the authorities of this territory should appoint a representative to the Conference, but this had always been refused by the Surinam Government. The Dutch trade unions had also urged the Government to send at least a Workers' delegate, and the Netherlands Government had been quite prepared to support this proposal, provided the trade unions of Surinam requested such representation. However, this had been refused by the Surinam Government for purely political reasons. In this situation it was impossible for the Netherlands to discharge its obligations with regard to Surinam.

B. Observations and Information on the Application of Conventions

**Convention No. 5 : Minimum Age (Industry), 1919**

**Denmark**

*Faroe Islands.* See under "General Observations".

**Convention No. 6 : Night Work of Young Persons (Industry), 1919**

**Denmark**

*Faroe Islands.* See under "General Observations".

**Convention No. 33 : Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment), 1932**

**Netherlands**

*Netherlands Antilles.* The Government communicated the following information:

As regards Article 5 of the Convention, section 17, paragraph 1, of the Labour Ordinance of 1952 relates to women and young persons, and not to children. Under section 18 children are not allowed to perform work in paid employment. In the case of women and young persons, certain activities may, by national decree, be prohibited as dangerous. The need for such measures has not yet made itself felt, as undertakings in which dangerous work is performed do not engage female workers or young persons, in accordance with their own regulations. Should it appear that some form of dangerous work is likely to be performed by women or young persons, their employment in this type of work may be prohibited.

**Article 6.** Street hawking by young persons is not a problem and has never been. In a small community such as the Netherlands Antilles it would never be possible for hawking without a licence—granted by the local police—to escape attention. It is therefore very difficult to promulgate new legislation, the need for which is neither felt nor understood.

**Convention No. 50 : Recruiting of Indigenous Workers, 1936**

**British Guiana.** A representative of the Government of British Guiana made the following statement:

The existing legislation already implemented a number of provisions of Conventions Nos. 50 and 64 but no legislation had yet been adopted to give effect to Con-
The Conventions. Following the general elections last year and the formation of a new government, a department had now been set up to deal with Amerindian affairs and discussions would be initiated with the department on this matter. A Labour Advisory Board would be set up to deal, among other things, with the application of Conventions and Recommendations. These new administrative measures would provide a more effective machinery for dealing with questions relating to the I.L.O.

Hong Kong. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Hong Kong Government had indicated that the Contracts for Overseas Employment Bill, which would give legislative effect to the provisions of the Convention, had been enacted in April 1965, and that it would enter into force on 1 October 1966.

Convention No. 88: Minimum Age (Sea) (Revised), 1936
Netherlands

Netherlands Antilles. The Government communicated the following information:

The Bill providing for employment at sea has now been completed but it will be some time before it can be considered by all the advisory bodies. In actual practice there are no difficulties, as ratings are engaged by officials of the Shipping Inspectorate or the Labour Inspectorate, who would never allow a young person under 16 years of age to be engaged for employment at sea.

Convention No. 64: Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers), 1947
United Kingdom

British Guiana. See under Convention No. 50.

Convention No. 81: Labour Inspection, 1947

Netherlands Antilles. The Government communicated the following information:

The modifications, mentioned by the Committee of Experts, which are to be inserted in National Decree of 1958 are now in the final stage of preparation.

Convention No. 86: Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers), 1947
United Kingdom

British Guiana. See under Convention No. 50.

Convention No. 87: Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise, 1948

United Kingdom

Aden. A Government representative made the following statement:
A Bill to replace the Industrial Relations (Conciliation and Arbitration) Ordinances, No. 6, 1960, had been prepared after consultation with both sides of industry through the Aden Joint Advisory Council and approved by the competent authorities for final drafting and publication; the new Ordinance would fully implement the Convention.

Convention No. 99: Minimum Wage Fixing Machinery (Agriculture), 1951

France

Overseas Departments. The Government communicated the following information:

The fixing in the overseas departments of minimum wages due to the evolution of the cost of living was set out in the Government's statement on the Programme (Overseas Departments) Act of 31 July 1960. In application of the Act the Government has decided, in order to ensure the protection of the purchasing power of wages, that any measure relating to the increase of minimum wages in the metropolitan territory, which may have occurred due to changes in salary scales, should also be extended to the overseas departments within minimum four months. Minimum wages were therefore fixed for these departments by decree. This was mainly in application of measures taken with regard to the metropolitan territory after consultation with the organisations of employers and workers concerned.

Trade unions and employers' associations were duly represented in the Subcommittees on the Cost of Living and the High Council for Collective Agreements, which were consulted prior to any increase in minimum wages occurring due to changes in salary scales or any other reasons. During the last meeting of the High Council for Collective Agreements, for example, a motion was adopted on the proposal of a workers' trade union calling for an accelerated rate of increase in minimum wages in the overseas departments.

The procedures in force allowed successive and substantial increases in the minimum wages in the overseas departments. Their difference between zone 0 (Parisian region) was considerably reduced. It was 16.6 per cent. in 1951 and reduced to 6 per cent. as of 1 January 1965 for French Guiana, Martinique and Guadeloupe. Thus an effective policy for minimum wages has made it possible to promote substantially the protection of workers in the overseas departments.

The Workers' members stated:

The Government's written reply was satisfactory as regards the statement that any measure relating to the increase of minimum wages in the metropolitan territory was extended to the overseas departments. However, the question of the consultation of employers' and workers' organisations still remained. Minimum wages were fixed in the metropolitan territory after consultation with the organisations concerned, but the employers' and workers' organisations in the overseas departments had no opportunity of expressing their views on the rates applicable there.

In reply the Government representative stated that the metropolitan trade unions represented also the interests of the workers in the overseas departments. Any trade union leader residing in one of these departments who was appointed by his organisation for participation in the consultation, was of course entitled to do so. In reply to a question put by the Workers' members, the Government representative added that he did not know whether in such cases the travelling expenses of the trade union representative would be borne by the Government.
C. Reports Received and Reports Not Received by 15 June 1965

Reports expected : 1,211. Reports received : 1,127. Reports not received : 84.

The table published in the Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, pp. 154-159, should be brought up to date as follows :

(The numbers of Conventions in respect of which declarations of application without modification or declarations of application with modifications had been registered by 1 January 1964 are printed in italics.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries and territories</th>
<th>Reports received</th>
<th>Reports not received</th>
<th>Population 1 (thousands)</th>
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<td>Martinique</td>
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<td>St. Pierre and Miquelon</td>
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* Reports received too late to be summarised in Report III (Part I).
APPENDIX III

SUBMISSION TO THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES OF THE CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE (ARTICLE 19 OF THE CONSTITUTION)

Observations and Information

Afghanistan

A Government representative made the following statement:

The Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference at its 41st Session related to seafarers and were not, therefore, applicable to Afghanistan. The Convention and Recommendation relating to plantations, adopted at the 42nd Session, were being considered by an inter-ministerial committee before being submitted to the Council of Ministers and then to the competent authorities. The Convention and Recommendation regarding discrimination, also adopted at the 42nd Session, had been taken fully into consideration when the national Constitution was being prepared; the Constitution had now been adopted, ensuring full compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, the I.L.O. Constitution, and the Declaration of Human Rights, and it specifically prohibited all forms of discrimination in article 25 and in other relevant provisions. The instruments adopted at the 43rd Session related to maritime fishing and were not, therefore, applicable to Afghanistan. As regards the Conventions and Recommendations adopted at the 46th and 47th Sessions, their submission to the competent authorities had been delayed because of the difficulties involved in having them translated; this matter was, however, being dealt with and they would be submitted to the competent authorities in due course, after consideration at the inter-ministerial level.

Austria

The Government communicated the following information:

The instruments adopted at the 47th Session of the Conference have been submitted to the National Council with a report of the Government. According to this report the legislation on protection of machines is on with a report of the Government. According to this report the legislation on protection of machines is on

Byelorussia

A Government representative made the following statement:

In accordance with article 19 of the I.L.O. Constitution, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet was the competent authority. Conventions and Recommendations were regularly submitted to it, and all information would be sent in the prescribed time to the I.L.O.

China

The Government communicated the following information:

All Recommendations have been submitted to the Legislative Yuan. Convention No. 112 has been ratified. Convention No. 119 is under examination by the Legislative Yuan. Convention No. 109 was submitted by the Executive Yuan to the Legislative Yuan. Conventions Nos. 87, 88, 89, 94, 96, 97, 101, 102, 103 and 106 are under study by the Executive Yuan. Conventions Nos. 96, 91, 92, 104, 110, 120 and 121 are in the process of submission to the Executive Yuan after examination by the agencies concerned.

Colombia

A Government representative stated that the Government had submitted to Congress with a view to their ratification various Conventions (Nos. 29, 30, 62, 98, 99, 101, 104, 106, 111, 116, 118) and the instruments of amendment of 1964.

Congo (Brazzaville)

The Government communicated the following information:

Convention No. 119 having been ratified, the Government considers that the obligation established by article 19 of the I.L.O. Constitution has been fulfilled concerning this instrument and Recommendation No. 118, which completes it. Recommendation No. 119 is applied by the Labour Code.

Congo (Leopoldville)

The Government communicated the following information:

The reports on all the instruments in question have just been submitted to the Prime Minister and the President of the Republic. By the end of May the President will not fail to communicate to the Government his position on the application of the Recommendations submitted and to approve the Conventions whose ratification has been proposed to him by the Government. The Government's inability to submit the instruments to the competent authority in the prescribed period was due to the recent situation in the Congo. It is hoped that in the course of the second legislative session which is due to begin at the end of May the functioning of Parliament will permit the period fixed by the I.L.O. Constitution to be respected.

Costa Rica

The Government communicated the following information:

Convention No. 118 and Recommendation No. 117 have been submitted to the Legislative Assembly and Conventions Nos. 101, 110 and 120 have also been submitted with a view to ratification.

Cuba

A Government representative made the following statement:

The ratification of Convention No. 111 had been approved. Convention No. 118 had been submitted to the competent authorities. The other instruments were being considered by a co-ordinating committee on which employers' and workers' organisations, as well as all other services concerned, were represented. They would be submitted to the competent authorities as soon as possible.

The Workers' members pointed out that a large number of instruments adopted since the 33rd Session of the Conference had not yet been submitted to the competent authorities. The Government should supply full information in writing regarding the submission of Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities. The Government representative indicated in reply that Cuba had ratified a total of 65 Conventions, in
cluding the recent ratification of Convention No. 111. The above-mentioned co-ordinating committee was now considering a series of Conventions and Recommendations which were to be submitted to the competent authorities. The necessary information would be supplied.

**Dehorsney**

A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government’s failure to ratify more Conventions was due to certain institutional changes which had affected the technical services concerned. Measures would now be taken for the submission of Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities. The Workers’ members pointed out that the obligations under article 19 of the Constitution related to the submission of instruments and not to their ratification. The Employers’ members hoped that by next year the Government would have found it possible to submit all the instruments in question to the competent authorities.

**Ecuador**

A Government representative made the following statement:

Parliamentary procedure did not always permit the approval of Conventions, but they were submitted to this body by the Ministry of Labour.

**Ethiopia**

A Government representative made the following statement:

The Conventions and Recommendations had not been submitted to Parliament. Under the national Constitution submission of the instruments to the Council of Ministers gave effect to article 19 of the I.L.O. Constitution. This submission had taken place. The Workers’ members recalled that information had not been supplied either on the submission of the instruments adopted by the Conference at its 40th to 47th Sessions or on the action taken or contemplated regarding these instruments. Furthermore, it had always been understood that the competent authority within the meaning of article 19 of the I.L.O. Constitution was the authority which had the power to legislate, and not the Government itself.

In reply, the Government representative stated that under article 86 of the national Constitution the Council of Ministers could also propose legislation. Parliament was competent in certain matters and the Council of Ministers in other matters where powers had been conferred on it by Parliament. Questions concerning I.L.O. Conventions and Recommendations were within the legislative competence of the Council of Ministers. The information requested by the Experts would be supplied by the next session.

A Workers’ member (Byelorussia) stated that the Committee’s discussion should deal with the question of knowing whether submission had actually taken place to the competent authority, and not with the nature of the competent authority. The latter was determined by each country in accordance with the national constitution. The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would take measures to ensure compliance with its obligations under article 19.

**Finland**

The Government communicated the following information:

The instruments adopted by the Conference at its 47th Session will also be submitted to Parliament as soon as certain questions of interpretation of Convention No. 118 are clarified by the I.L.O.

**France**

The Government communicated the following information:

Each year the Government communicates to the Chairman of the Committee for Cultural, Family and Social Affairs of the National Assembly all instruments, without exception, adopted by the International Labour Conference during the preceding session. Moreover, it should be noted that with a view to ensuring greater publicity for the work of the I.L.O., the text of adopted Conventions and Recommendations is published in the Review of the Ministry of Labour. At the same time the Government submits to the competent ministerial departments the texts of Conventions and Recommendations with a view to determining to what extent their application is in conformity with national legislation and to studying the measures which possibly might be taken in this respect. The various ministerial departments have at present concluded their studies on several Conventions. An inter-ministerial working party has been set up to examine the extent to which they may be ratified in the near future.

**Greece**

The Government communicated the following information:

The Government has now overcome the formerly existing procedural difficulties regarding submission of instruments adopted by the Conference to the competent authorities. The Minister of Labour submitted on 26 May 1965 to the Parliament the instruments adopted at the 47th Session (Convention No. 119 and Recommendations Nos. 118 and 119). Subjoined to these instruments was a declaration by the Minister of Labour relating to an examination in the near future, in co-operation with the occupational organisations concerned, of the possibility of giving effect to the instruments in question as regards the points which are not already covered by the national legislation (the official minutes of the Parliament in which the submission of the said instruments and the Ministerial Declaration appear, have been communicated). This is the first time since the entry into force of the constitutional amendments of 1946 that the Government has been able to fulfil its obligations under article 19 of the Constitution of the I.L.O. The Government hopes that it will be able to proceed in the near future to the submission to Parliament of all other instruments of a general importance which have not hitherto been submitted to the competent authorities and that in the future this obligation will be fulfilled within the time limit provided for by article 19 of the Constitution of the I.L.O.

**Guatemala**

A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government had ratified Convention No. 116. All instruments adopted by the Conference had in fact been submitted to the competent authorities.

**Guinea**

A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government regretted the delay regarding the submission to the competent authorities of instruments adopted at the Conference. This was due to administrative difficulties, but an official had been appointed two months ago to deal with all these matters and this would remedy this delay.

The Workers’ members expressed their regret that this important constitutional obligation had not been fulfilled and hoped that the necessary measures would be taken soon.
Italy

The Government communicated the following information:

Convention No. 119 and Recommendations Nos. 118 and 119, adopted at the 47th Session of the Conference, were submitted to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate on 4 February 1965. The Government has proposed that the Convention be ratified and the two Recommendations accepted.

Jordan

A Government representative made the following statement:

The Government had recently ratified Conventions Nos. 29 and 120. The remaining Conventions and Recommendations had been submitted to the competent authorities but were still being considered by them. As soon as a final decision had been reached in regard to these instruments, this would be communicated to the I.L.O.

The Employers' and Workers' members regretted that Jordan had not yet complied with all its obligations regarding the submission of Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities.

Lebanon

A Government representative made the following statement:

A misunderstanding had existed for a number of years between the Government of Lebanon and the Committee as regards exactly what information was requested under article 19. This misunderstanding had been dispelled in 1963 and it was clear that the competent authority in regard to the submission of Conventions and Recommendations was the legislative body or authority. It had been found however that, under the procedure existing in Lebanon, the Government could normally submit to Parliament only papers which called for positive action and could not therefore submit I.L.O. instruments to Parliament unless their ratification was proposed. The Government was however endeavouring to find a solution to this problem but these difficulties had delayed it in complying with its obligations under article 19. It was hoped that it would soon be possible to fulfil the obligations regarding the submission of instruments. In addition to the seven Conventions already ratified by Lebanon, 14 other instruments had been processed for submission to Parliament and for ratification and yet other Conventions were being considered as regards ratification, in spite of the linguistic and other difficulties involved.

The Employers' members stated that they appreciated the difficulties experienced by the Government in complying with its obligations under article 19. The Committee had been concerned not with the nature of the competent authority but with the fact that numerous Conventions and Recommendations had not so far been submitted to this authority.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would take steps to ensure compliance at an early date with its obligations under article 19 of the Constitution.

Liberia

The Government communicated the following information:

The instruments adopted at the 47th Session of the Conference were submitted to the Department of Commerce and Industry. The small volume of operations of the machines has not necessitated the adoption of provisions in the fields provided for by Convention No. 119 and Recommendation No. 118. When the time comes to make such provisions, account will be taken of Recommendation No. 119. For the time being, the means available to the Labour Office are sufficient to ensure the application of the security measures. Recommendation No. 119 will be taken into consideration in the application of the law in this field.

In addition, a Government representative stated that the Government maintained the views already expressed in 1954 regarding the nature of the competent authorities. It deemed that the executive was the competent authority in all cases where no legislative measures were called for.

The Employers' members stated that the opinion of the Government appeared to differ from that of the Committee of Experts as to what was the competent authority within the terms of article 19. The instruments seemed to be submitted to the executive and not to the Legislature.

The Committee noted that the point of view constantly taken by the Committee of Experts and the Conference Committee was that Conventions and Recommendations should be submitted to the authorities which had the power to legislate, normally the Parliament. Moreover, the instruments should be submitted in all cases and not only when ratification of a Convention or implementation of a Recommendation was contemplated. These principles were respected in the instruments submitted by the Government in the obligations of submission, which was regularly sent to governments.

The Government representative pointed out that in Liberia, Bills were first placed before the executive which, in turn, submitted them to the Legislature whose decision had to be finally approved by the President. The explanations supplied by the Committee would be examined by the Government and it was hoped that additional information might be furnished in the near future.

The Workers' members expressed the hope that the Government would carefully examine this question and would soon supply satisfactory information.

Mali

A Government representative made the following statement:

A misunderstanding had existed for a number of years between the Government of Mali and the Committee as regards exactly what information was requested under article 19. This misunderstanding had been dispelled in 1963 and it was clear that the competent authority in regard to the submission of Conventions and Recommendations was the Legislative Assembly. It had been found however that, under the procedure existing in Mali, the Government could normally submit to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate only Bills which called for positive action and could not therefore submit I.L.O. instruments to Parliament unless their ratification was proposed. The Government was however endeavouring to find a solution to this problem but these difficulties had delayed it in complying with its obligations under article 19. It was hoped that it would soon be possible to fulfil the obligations regarding the submission of instruments. In addition to the seven Conventions already ratified by Mali, 14 other instruments had been processed for submission to Parliament and for ratification and yet other Conventions were being considered as regards ratification, in spite of the linguistic and other difficulties involved.

The Employers' members stated that they appreciated the difficulties experienced by the Government in complying with its obligations under article 19. The Committee had been concerned not with the nature of the competent authority but with the fact that numerous Conventions and Recommendations had not so far been submitted to this authority.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would take steps to ensure compliance at an early date with its obligations under article 19 of the Constitution.

Netherlands

The Government communicated the following information:

The Parliament has approved the ratification of Conventions Nos. 32, 112, 116 and 118. The ratification of Conventions Nos. 14, 24, 25 and 44 will probably be registered before the end of the year. Conventions Nos. 106, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121 and 122 are to be submitted to Parliament before the end of the year. Conventions Nos. 24 and 25 have now passed the Second Chamber of the States General. As regards the Conventions mentioned in the last column of the table on page 172 of the report of the Committee of Experts (except Conventions Nos. 106 and 117 which will be submitted to Parliament before the end of the year) they have been published in the Negatendaalblad (Treaty Series) which is automatically sent to the members of the States General. Since this publication only contains Conventions and treaties a systematic publication of Recommendations is also envisaged. The submission of Recommendations data to the States General has been fixed for the year 1966 on the one hand because priority has been given to the Conventions and on the other hand because the necessary consultations with the employers and workers, the Ministries, the Chambers of Commerce, etc. have not been completed at the end of the year. Moreover the fact must be taken into account that the Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of three parts: the Netherlands, the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam.

However, in view of the progress made as regards submission of Conventions it is hoped that the submission of Recommendations will be more rapid. Appendix V of the Memorandum containing the discussions on the budget for 1969 of the Ministry of Social Affairs and
Appendix V : Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Public Health (Document No. 5700, No. 13), which was communicated to the Committee in 1964, contains a survey of all Conventions adopted by the Conference at its First to 43rd Sessions which have not yet been ratified by the Netherlands. This survey contains the comments made by the Government to the States General on the reasons which have prevented ratification of these Conventions.

Niger

The Government communicated the following information:

The instruments adopted by the Conference at its 45th to 47th Sessions have been submitted to the National Assembly. In its report to the National Assembly, the Government proposed ratification of Conventions Nos. 117 and 119 (the ratification of these instruments has been registered since then). According to the report, it appears that these conventions No. 119 cannot be ratified at present because of the new demands this would make on the economy of the country. The Recommendations adopted at the sessions in question contain provisions which are either superfluous because they are already incorporated in the legislation or cannot yet be applied.

In addition a Government representative stated that the delay in complying with the obligation to submit Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities was due to the fact that the Government had not considered this indispensable in regard to instruments which it did not wish to ratify. It had given priority to four Conventions which were ratified in 1964. The delay was also due to the fact that the provisions of many of these Conventions were already applied by national legislation, so that ratification was not urgent. Finally, it should be borne in mind that legislative procedures were slow and often prevented compliance with specified time limits.

Pakistan

A Government representative made the following statement:

The instruments adopted by the Conference had certainly been submitted to the competent authorities. Further information would be supplied in writing on this point.

Panama

A Government representative stated that the failure to comply with obligations was due to recent events and to the existing conditions (see under "General Observations").

The Workers' member of Panama stated that the country was run by an oligarchy which oppressed the workers. As a result Bills proposing the ratification of Conventions, or the adoption of social legislation, had not been dealt with in good faith. However, there had now been some change, and it was hoped that a series of Conventions would be ratified and modifications made in the Labour Code and in the Agrarian Code, which were soon to come into force. It was unfortunate that when Conventions were submitted to the competent authorities, pressure was put on these authorities to prevent ratification. Some improvement could be expected since, on 1 May 1965, the President had promised to submit I.L.O. Conventions to the appropriate authorities, and to proceed with the ratification of some of the Conventions.

The Workers' members pointed out that the Committee of Experts had made an observation noting with great regret that apparent to have been taken to submit to the competent authorities a large number of instruments. The Committee understood the difficulties facing the Government, but could not accept the view that these difficulties could prevent the submission of instruments to the competent authority.

The Employers' members stated that the information supplied by the Government member of Panama had not been satisfactory.

In reply the Government representative stated that the Government had no intention of not complying with its obligations. It had submitted to the competent authorities those Conventions which it intended to ratify, and these ratifications had been duly communicated to the I.L.O.

The Committee, whilst appreciating the difficulties experienced by the Government, expressed the hope that with the proposed setting up of a Ministry of Labour and the appointment of a permanent representative in Geneva, the Government would in future find it possible to discharge fully its obligations under the Constitution of the I.L.O.

Peru

A Government representative made the following statement:

Peru had ratified 59 Conventions. Fifty-eight others, including Conventions Nos. 120, 121 and 122, had been submitted to Parliament.

Poland

The Government communicated the following information:

Conventions Nos. 115 and 116 have been ratified. The Council of State on 19 October 1964 postponed taking a decision on the ratification of Convention No. 108 for an indefinite period. Convention No. 117 as well as Recommendation No. 115 with the appropriate conclusions have been submitted to the Council of State which has not yet taken any decision on these instruments. The Council of Ministers has indicated that Recommendations Nos. 115 and 117 were already applied in Poland (resolutions Nos. 195/64 of 7 July 1964 and 196/65 of 23 March 1965).

Conclusions relating to other Conventions and Recommendations are at present being considered by the Committee on Labour and Wages and the institutions concerned.

In addition, a Government representative made the following statement:

Poland had been a member of the I.L.O. since 1919 without interruption. It had ratified a total of 53 Conventions and was thus amongst the ten countries having ratified most Conventions. It fully applied the Conventions dealing with fundamental rights. All this indicated that the Government was anxious to fulfil its obligations under the I.L.O. Constitution as regards Conventions and Recommendations. The Council of State, which was the competent authority in this respect, was considering a number of new ratifications, and conclusions relating to other instruments were now being considered by the Committee on Labour and Wages and the institutions concerned. The Diet, whose session had closed one month ago, had been codifying texts relating, for example, to the rights of workers, civil procedure, and family and other rights. Thus a chapter relating to labour disputes had been inserted in the Civil Procedure Code and a new law relating to the safety and health of workers had been adopted which codified the provisions on labour inspection. Most of the measures taken at the past parliamentary session were now in force, or would soon enter into force, and further measures affecting other Conventions could be expected shortly. These various factors explained the decision of the Chanceller of the Council of State to postpone its consideration of the Conventions and Recommendations to be ratified until it was in a position to make well-founded proposals regarding ratification.

The Workers' members expressed the hope that the question of the submission of Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities would be settled by next year.

Portugal

A Government representative made the following statement:

All the texts had been submitted to the National Assembly. The necessary information had been communicated to the I.L.O. by letters E.C.79/43.34 of 19 June 1964 and No. 46/43.34 of 20 February 1965. This information indicated that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had sent to the President of the National Assembly all the instruments constituting the records of the Conference. The I.L.O. had acknowledged the receipt of this communication.

Rumania

A Government representative made the following statement:

The competent authority was the Council of State. Under article 37 (2) of the National Constitution it was competent to adopt provisions having legal force and to ratify and denounced treaties. This competence met the
requirements of article 19 of the I.L.O. Constitution. Detailed information had been supplied since the publication of the Experts' report. Employers' members expressed the hope that detailed information would be communicated regularly in future.

Sudan

A Government representative made the following statement:

The Sudan had been subject to military dictatorship for the past six years and the Government's failure to submit Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities was the responsibility of this past regime. There had been no competent authority in the Sudan, for the purpose of the submission of Conventions and Recommendations, between November 1958 and October 1964. The provisional council to which reference had been made was in existence only for a few months. A Constituent Assembly had now been elected and would meet on 10 June. The instruments adopted by the Conference would be submitted to this Assembly, with the comments of the Labour Department.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would now find it possible to discharge satisfactorily its obligation to submit to the competent authorities the instruments adopted by the Conference.

Syrian Arab Republic

The Government communicated the following information:

Conventions Nos. 91, 92, 93 and 108 have been submitted to the competent legislative authority, which at present is the Council of the Presidency. Convention No. 119 has been ratified and Recommendations Nos. 118 and 119 have been submitted. The other Conventions and Recommendations will be submitted in the near future.

In addition, a Government representative stated that the Syrian Arab Republic had ratified Conventions Nos. 101, 117, 119 and 120, thus bringing the total ratifications to 35. In addition, Conventions Nos. 90, 91, 92, 93, 97, 99, 102, 103, 104, 108, 109 and 110 had recently been submitted to the legislative authorities. The Government had thus complied with many of its obligations in regard to the submission of instruments to the competent authorities. The delay in regard to the submission of the remaining instruments was due to purely administrative difficulties. It was likely, however, that these texts would soon be submitted, as a special service had been set up which would be responsible for dealing, inter alia, with relations with the I.L.O. It was hoped that in future there would be no delay in complying with obligations under the I.L.O. Constitution.

Thailand

A Government representative made the following statement:

The submission of instruments to the competent authorities was now being contemplated, with the assistance of I.L.O. experts and officials. A national constituent assembly had been set up and was the competent authority for the purpose of article 19. It was hoped that the instruments in question would be submitted to this body in the near future.

The Workers' and Employers' members noted that the instruments adopted since the 57th Session of the Conference had only in substance been submitted to the Council of Ministers; they should, in fact, have been submitted to Parliament. The fact that the Conventions and Recommendations had not been submitted to the proper competent authority constituted a breach of the Constitution.

The Committee expressed the hope that the necessary measures would be taken by next year with regard to the submission of Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities.

Tunisia

A Government representative made the following statement:

The initiative for proposing new legislation lay with members of Parliament or with the Government. When a Bill was to be tabled by the Government, the matter was first considered by the technical department immi-
dently concerned which then consulted any other department interested in the matter. The proposed Bill was then communicated to the Prime Minister's Office which had the sole competence for drafting government Bills. The same procedure was followed in regard to the submission of Conventions and Recommendations. As regards the Conventions adopted at the 46th and 47th Sessions, Convention No. 118 had now been ratified by Parliament; the procedure had been more rapid, as only one technical department was involved. Conventions Nos. 117 and 119 had been submitted to the competent authority, after having been examined by the competent departments concerned, and it was hoped that they would soon be ratified. The procedure took time but it should be noted that Tunisia had now ratified 39 Conventions.

The Workers' members stated that the obligation under article 19 of the Constitution did not arise from the ratification of instruments, but to their submission to the proper competent authorities within the prescribed time limits.

The Government representative stated that the Government appreciated the nature of the obligations under article 19 and it was required to make comments at the time of submission and these could only be made after consultation between the departments concerned and in accordance with the procedure indicated above.

Uganda

The Government communicated the following information:

The instruments adopted at the 47th Session of the Conference have been submitted to the National Assembly in March 1965. As soon as the necessary studies are completed, proposals will be submitted to the National Assembly so that effect could be given to these instruments. Already several provisions of the said instruments have been incorporated in the draft amendments to the labour legislation.

U.S.S.R.

The Workers' members recalled that the Committee of Experts had expressed the hope that the instruments adopted by the Conference would be submitted not only to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet but also to the Supreme Soviet itself, which was the most representative national legislative body.

A Government representative made the following statement:

As already indicated in previous years, the Government was convinced that the definition of the competent authorities for the purposes of article 19 of the Constitution was a domestic affair for the governments of member States as it depended on the national constitutions. Attention should be drawn in this connection to the report of the Conference Committee in 1962, where it was indicated, in paragraph 39, that the competent authority was the authority which, under the constitution of each State had power to legislate or take other action in order to implement Conventions and Recommendations. This passage constituted a judicious and sound decision which reflected the views both of the Committee and of the Government of the U.S.S.R. There was a contradiction in the present report of the Committee of Experts; in paragraph 44 of the General Report the Committee noted with pleasure that the governments of 34 member States, including the U.S.S.R., had submitted to the competent authorities the instruments adopted by the Conference at its 46th Session. Yet in its observation to the U.S.S.R., the Committee raised the question of the nature of the competent authority to which Conference decisions were submitted in this country. There seemed to be no point in pursuing the discussion of this case. The Committee should concern itself, not with the nature of the competent authority to which Conventions and Recommendations were submitted, but with the question of the actual submission to these authorities within the time limits prescribed by the Constitution of the I.L.O. The point that was of paramount importance. Nevertheless, as indicated in paragraph 51 of the Experts' report, only 33 of the 108 States which were members of the Organization at the time had submitted to the competent authorities within the required time limit all the instruments adopted at that session. This was an abnormal situation and the Committee should concentrate on trying to improve this aspect.
A member of the Committee stated that there was no contradiction between paragraph 44 of the Experts’ report and the particular observation concerning submission; in the first case the Experts had noted the indication of the Government that it had submitted the instruments, in the other case, the question concerned the nature of the authority to which they had been submitted.

In reply to a question by a Workers’ member, it was recalled that the Experts and the Committee had come to the following conclusions in the past concerning the nature of the competent authority: article 19 referred to the authority which, under the national constitution, had competence over the matters dealt with by a Convention or Recommendation for the enactment of legislation or other action. From a strictly legal view, article 19 was implemented when the authority to which the instruments were submitted had legislative competence to give them effect. However, the Experts and this Committee had taken the view that in cases where two kinds of legislative authorities existed, one of which was more widely representative than the other, it would be desirable to submit the instruments also to the latter in order that the aim of article 19, which was also to inform public opinion, would be more fully achieved.

The U.S.S.R. Government representative stated that the problem of competent authority could be settled only in the light of the constitution of each country. For example, France, which had been a member of the I.L.O. since its inception, had four times changed its opinion concerning the competent authority, which showed that there could be no uniform criterion. Article 19 only spoke of the authority within whose competence the matter lay with a view to the enactment of legislation or other action. The discussions on the nature of the competent authority of each country should be closed; what was important was that all instruments were submitted in time to the competent authority.

The Workers’ Vice-Chairman stated that in fact the competent authority of each country could only be determined having regard to the constitutional system of that country. It seemed that in the case of the U.S.S.R. and countries where the constitutional system was the same additional discussion would be pointless.

United Arab Republic

A Government representative made the following statement:

The information requested would soon be supplied. The instruments in question had in fact been submitted to the competent authorities. A number of them had been ratified.

Uruguay

A Government representative made the following statement:

Since 1963 all instruments adopted at the 38th to 46th Sessions had been submitted to the competent authorities, with ratification proposals. This information had not been available to the Committee of Experts. The instruments adopted since the 47th Session were being considered and would soon be submitted to Congress.
## APPENDIX IV

### TABLES ORIGINALLY PRESENTED BY SIR JOHN FORBES WATSON SHOWING THE POSITION OF RATIFICATIONS AND VOTES CAST BY GOVERNMENT DELEGATES (as brought up to date by the International Labour Office)

### TABLE A

**Conventions 1919-64—Total Adopted : 120** *(Position of Ratifications on 1 June 1965)*

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Population (latest available estimate) (millions)</th>
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<th>Conventions ratified</th>
<th>Conventions not ratified</th>
<th>Membership of I.L.O.</th>
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*For footnotes see p. 611.*
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* For footnotes see following page.
### TABLE A (concl.)

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1. The Final Articles Revision Conventions, 1946 (No. 80) and 1961 (No. 116), are procedural Conventions and as such are not included in the table; Convention No. 80 has received 50 ratifications, Convention No. 116, 45 ratifications.
2. With the exception of those marked by the sign (†) the figures given are taken from the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics of the United Nations (May 1965).
3. The States marked by the sign (*) are federal States.
4. Including Conventions which States have undertaken to implement in virtue either of a previous ratification by a State of which they formed a part, or of a declaration by a State which was responsible for their international relations.
# TABLE B

Conventions, 1919-64—Total Adopted : 120

(Position of Conventions Voted for by Governments but Not Ratified)

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| Total ... | 2,729 | 1,721 | 1,008 | 2,947 |

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*The Final Articles Revision Conventions, 1946 (No. 80) and 1961 (No. 116), are procedural Conventions and as such are not included in the table; Convention No. 80 has received 59 ratifications, Convention No. 116, 45 ratifications.

*With the exception of those marked by the sign (†) the figures given are taken from the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics of the United Nations (May 1963).

*The States marked by the sign (*) are federal States.

*This column includes 30 maritime Conventions (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 29, 22, 27, 28, 29, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 81, 92, 93, 108 and 109), three Conventions concerning fishermen (Nos. 112, 113 and 114), five non-metropolitan territories Conventions (Nos. 82, 54, 85 and 80), international workers Conventions (Nos. 50, 54, 74 and 104), one Convention concerning indigenous and tribal populations (No. 107), and one Convention concerning plantations (No. 110), i.e. a total of 44 Conventions.

*Including Conventions which States have undertaken to implement in virtue either of a previous ratification by a State of which they formed a part, or of a declaration by a State which was responsible for their international relations.
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Fourth Item on the Agenda: The Employment of Young Persons in Underground Work in Mines of All Kinds

(1) Text of the Proposed Convention concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(2) Text of the Proposed Recommendation concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(3) Text of the Proposed Convention concerning Medical Examination of Young Persons for Fitness for Employment Underground in Mines, Prepared by the International Labour Office.


(5) First Report of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners.¹

1. The Committee on Employment of Young Miners was set up by the Conference at its third sitting on 3 June 1965 and was originally composed of 78 members (35 Government members, 18 Employers' members and 25 Workers' members).

2. As from the fourth sitting of the Committee on 8 June 1965, two further members were, in accordance with the decision of the Appeals Board², added to the voting strength of the Employers' members of the Committee, thus bringing the total membership of the Committee to 80. In order to ensure equality in voting strength each Government member was given 20 votes, each Employers' member 35 votes and each Workers' member 28 votes, the entire voting strength of each group amounting to 700 votes. The change in the membership of the Committee gave rise to a statement by the Employers' Vice-Chairman of the Committee, who pointed out that the voting members on whose behalf he had spoken up to the decision of the Appeals Board consisted of members freely elected by the Employers' group. The two members added to the voting strength, who had not been elected by their group, could not be regarded as representing the Employers' group. The Employers' spokesman would, therefore, in any further statements made to the Committee, be speaking only on behalf of those members who had accepted the decision of the Employers' group. In reply, the new Employers' members stated that they would participate in the work of the Committee and exercise the right which had been conferred on them. They objected to the discrimination practised by the Employers' members against the employers of their countries.

3. The Committee elected its officers as follows:

   Chairman: Mr. Tokunboh, Government member, Nigeria.

   Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Després, Employers' member, Canada, and Mr. Jones, Workers' member, United Kingdom.

   Reporter: Mr. Pelzl, Government member, Austria.

4. The Committee set up a Drafting Committee consisting of the Reporter, Mr. Schuster (Government member, Luxembourg), Mr. Groten (Employers' member, Netherlands) and Mr. Semaan (Workers' member, Lebanon).

INTRODUCTION

5. The Committee had before it Reports IV (1) and IV (2) which had been prepared by the International Labour Office in connection with the fourth item on the agenda of the Conference, concerning the employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds. The draft texts based on the Proposed Conclusions adopted by the Conference at its 48th Session had received widespread approval by governments. Of the 68 governments whose replies had been received in time for inclusion in Report IV (2), 50 had indicated that they had no objections or observations to put forward or that the proposed texts constituted a satisfactory basis for discussions by the Conference. The observations made by other governments had not led the Office to suggest any substantial changes.

¹ See Second Part, p. 389.
² See Appendix X, p. 690.
6. The Committee had before it a proposed Convention and a proposed Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines, a proposed Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines, and a proposed Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines and containing suggestions concerning health, safety and welfare, weekly rest, paid annual holidays, training and consultation. These instruments aimed at applying the principles and Conventions previously adopted by the Conference on the subject in respect of all industrial undertakings to the special conditions of underground work in mines. This involved, in certain cases, the application of higher standards. It was hoped that the proposed Conventions would be drafted in simple terms with a view to securing widespread acceptance, keeping other more detailed provisions for inclusion in the proposed Recommendations.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

7. The spokesman for the Workers' members hoped that it would be possible to arrive at a general agreement on the substance of the proposals before the Committee without having to deal with too many details. The spokesman for the Employers' members agreed that the proposed texts constituted a satisfactory basis for discussions and indicated that the amendments he would submit would be aimed at making the texts more realistic.

8. The Committee agreed to take the texts submitted in Report IV (2) as the basis for discussion.

9. The Government members for Belgium and the Federal Republic of Germany submitted an amendment suggesting that the term "employment or work" underground should be used wherever appropriate. The Belgian Government member drew attention to certain variations in the terms used in different parts of the four instruments and urged that a greater uniformity be secured. The Drafting Committee was entrusted with this task and the amendment was thereupon withdrawn. The Committee decided to submit to the Conference in its first report the outcome of the consideration of the text of the proposed Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines, with a supplementary Recommendation.

CONSIDERATION OF THE PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING THE MINIMUM AGE FOR ADMISSION TO EMPLOYMENT UNDERGROUND IN MINES

Preamble

10. The United Kingdom Employers' members regretted that so much emphasis had been placed on the dangers to life and health alleged to be inherent in employment underground in mines. In fact, though certain hazards certainly existed, a great deal had been done to remove them, particularly as the result of improved measures of dust suppression. Emphasis on these dangers in an international text presented a distorted picture of conditions of work in mines and was likely to increase the difficulties of recruitment. The Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section had submitted an amendment designed to delete from the Preamble any reference to dangers inherent in underground work and to substitute a reference to the nature of such employment. This amendment was adopted.

11. The Preamble was adopted, subject to a reservation by the spokesman for the Employers' members to the effect that agreement could only be given to the form of the instrument after its content had been determined.

Article 1

12. A number of amendments were submitted with a view to extending the definition of a "mined" and therefore the scope of the instruments in order to ensure that the protection afforded by them would also extend to quarries. The Workers' members and the United States Government member, supported by some other Government members, would have wished to see the proposed measure extended to cover young workers employed in open-cast mines, clay pits, quarries and other surface workings. The representative of the Secretary-General having made it clear that the terms of reference of the Committee were limited to the employment of persons underground, amendments which might have extended to workers above ground were withdrawn, as was also an amendment submitted by the Rumanian Government member designed to extend the scope of the instruments to open-cast mines or quarries from which minerals containing silica were extracted. After considerable discussion the Committee adopted an amendment to the effect that in respect of the employment of persons in underground work the proposed Convention should also apply to quarries. The Workers' members accepted this solution in view of the proposed resolution submitted by the United States Government member to which reference will be made in a subsequent report of the Committee calling for further consideration of the conditions of employment of young persons in open-cast mines, quarries and similar undertakings.

Article 2

13. The Employers' Vice-Chairman pointed out that the effect of this Article was to introduce into a Convention the possibility of different countries meeting the conditions of the Convention by applying different standards. On behalf of the Employers' members for whom he spoke, he wished his reservation on this point to be recorded as it was thought that a new procedure of this kind might, in certain cases, give rise to difficulties of application.

14. The Government member of the U.S.S.R. had submitted an amendment suggesting that, in the case of employment declared by national laws and regulations to be
particularly dangerous or harmful to health or performed under conditions in respect of which a similar declaration had been made, the minimum age should be 18 years rather than 16 years. The Workers' members would have supported this amendment were it not for the fact that the question of a higher minimum age for particularly dangerous work was taken up in the proposed complementary Recommendation. In these circumstances the Workers' members thought it inadvisable to amend Article 2 as this might make ratification more difficult to secure. The Employers' Vice-Chairman took the same position with regard to this amendment, which was in consequence withdrawn.

15. The United Kingdom Government member stated that, whilst his Government, in principle, was in favour of fixing a minimum age, it attached even greater importance to adopting measures for the protection of all workers. His Government would agree to the adoption of the proposed Convention but had to make a reservation with regard to the proposed minimum age of 16 years, because for the time being the minimum school-leaving age in the United Kingdom was 15 years. This would, at the time of the adoption of the proposed Convention, result in a gap of one year before admission to underground work in mines, a point which could give rise to difficulty in recruitment.

16. Article 2 was adopted.

Article 3

17. The spokesman for the Employers' members referred in connection with this Article to the reservation made in respect of Article 2 regarding the inadvisability of having various national standards giving effect to the same international instrument.

18. Article 3 was adopted.

Article 4

19. The first three paragraphs, relating to measures designed to ensure that effect is given to the proposed Convention, gave rise to no amendments.

20. The fourth paragraph, which requires employers to keep certain records and to make them available to inspectors and workers' representatives, was the subject of a number of amendments submitted by the Austrian, French and Luxembourg Government members and by the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section. The proposal of the Austrian Government member was designed to make it clear that the workers' representatives to whom the records could be made available were those chosen in conformity with national laws or regulations. The amendments of the French and Luxembourg Government members and of the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section proposed the removal of any explicit reference to workers' representatives having access to records, but required them to be made available to "persons appointed pursuant to rules laid down by the competent authority". An amendment submitted by the Australian Government member proposed that the records should be made available to inspectors and where appropriate to workers' representatives.

21. The spokesman for the Employers' members contended that it was inappropriate for workers' representatives to be in a position to exercise supervision over the implementation of legislation by employers. To provide that the workers' representatives could duplicate the work of labour inspectors was to cast a reflection on the latter's efficiency. It constituted an infringement of the prerogatives of management. The attitude of many Employers' members towards the proposed Convention as a whole would depend on the decision taken with regard to this matter, which raised an important issue of principle. They could, however, agree that records should be made available to persons appointed in pursuance of rules laid down by the competent authority, recognising that in certain circumstances these would include workers' representatives. The Belgian Government member pointed out that in his country the Government had authority to appoint only officials to secure the enforcement of legislation.

22. The Workers' members considered that it was highly desirable that, only right that workers' representatives should have the records relating to the employment of young persons employed underground made available to them. They were in a better position than inspectors to know the real facts, the more so as the visits of inspectors were necessarily infrequent. They pressed for the maintenance of the text approved by the Conference at its 48th Session, which provided for the records to be made available to workers' representatives.

23. The United States Government member proposed a subamendment to the effect that the records should be made available to inspectors and workers' representatives appointed pursuant to rules laid down by the competent authority. This amendment was opposed by the spokesman for the Employers' members. It was adopted by 1,290 votes in favour, 730 against, with 20 abstentions. The amendment which proposed that the records be made available to persons appointed pursuant to such rules, omitting any reference to workers' representatives, was rejected by 750 votes in favour, 1,130 against, with 180 abstentions. The other amendments were withdrawn.

24. The Government member for the U.S.S.R. submitted an amendment designed to ensure that the date of birth of young persons employed in mines should be duly certified. He stressed the importance of ensuring that young persons below the minimum age of admission did not in fact secure employment underground and referred to the natural tendency of many youths to overstate their age when presenting themselves for work. The Nigerian and several other Government members pointed to the fact that in many countries records of birth were not available; insistence on the production of a birth certificate would either retard ratification of the Convention or prevent some youths from securing employment. The spokesman for the
Workers' members reminded the Committee that he had presented a similar amendment at the previous session of the Conference but had agreed to withdraw it on account of the very real difficulties referred to. The Committee finally agreed to state that the date of birth should be duly certified wherever possible.

25. Article 4, as amended, was adopted by 1,250 votes in favour, 615 against, with 55 abstentions.

26. The Chairman, wishing to secure the greatest possible degree of acceptance of the proposed Convention, undertook further negotiations through the Officers of the Committee with a view to securing a version of paragraph 4 of Article 4 which would not meet with opposition from any major part of the members of the Committee. As a result of these discussions he submitted an amendment deleting the reference to workers' representatives appointed pursuant to rules laid down by the competent authority in the main part of the paragraph and adding a further subparagraph to the effect that the employer should make available on request to the workers' representatives lists of the persons employed underground by him who were less than two years older than the specified minimum age for admission to employment, containing their dates of birth and the dates at which they were first engaged.

27. This text was accepted on behalf of the Employers' and Workers' members.

28. The French Government member, however, moved a subamendment to the effect that the workers' representative should be appointed according to rules laid down by the competent authority. He referred to the problems which arose in countries, such as his own, in which miners' delegates or members of works committees were customarily given access to information of this type, which was not, however, usually made available to workers' representatives as such. There were also difficulties in certain countries in which several conflicting trade unions were involved. He was supported in his request by some other Government members.

29. The Chairman explained that in this particular paragraph the obligation was on the employer and not on the competent authority, and that it therefore seemed superfluous to have to define the workers' representatives with whom the employer customarily dealt. The Austrian Government member was prepared to leave the text as it stood if an assurance could be given that the choice of the workers' representatives in question would in fact depend on the practices customary in the various countries, as had been stated at the session of the Committee the previous year. The representative of the Secretary-General expressed the view that, in the absence of any definition of "workers' representatives" in the text, the choice would clearly have to be made in accordance with the practices customary in each country. This, however, was not equivalent to stating that the workers' representatives would be those appointed according to rules laid down by the competent authority, if only because in a great many countries no such rules existed. On this understanding the French Government member withdrew his subamendment.

30. The amendment was corrected to make it clear that the employer would make the lists available at the request of the workers' representatives concerned. The proposal put forward by the Chairman was then adopted.

31. Article 4, as further amended, was adopted without opposition.

Article 5

32. The Australian Government member pointed out that he was fully in favour of consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned in regard to the determination of the minimum age to be laid down and that this was the practice in his country. Nevertheless such consultation was not always possible and he therefore submitted an amendment to the effect that it should take place as far as was practicable. The amendment was not seconded and was therefore not discussed.

33. Article 5 was adopted.

Consideration of the Proposed Recommendation Concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines

Preamble

34. The Preamble was adopted.

Paragraph 1

35. The Committee agreed that the definition of a mine adopted for the purposes of the proposed Convention concerning minimum age should apply also to the proposed Recommendation.

Paragraph 2

36. The Committee accepted an amendment submitted by the Australian Government, slightly subamended, to the effect that the steps to be taken to raise the minimum age for admission to employment underground to 16 years in those countries where it was lower should not necessarily be "immediate" but should be taken "as speedily as possible".

37. Paragraph 2, as amended, was adopted.

Paragraph 3

38. The spokesman for the Employers' members submitted an amendment to delete the reference to dangers inherent in employment underground based on the same arguments as those he had submitted in connection with the similar expression of opinion in the Preamble to the Convention. The Workers' members, who had accepted the proposed change in the case of the Preamble referred to, were not prepared to do so in a substantive Paragraph of the Recommendation. The amendment was withdrawn and Paragraph 3 was adopted without change.
Appendix VI: Young Persons (Underground Work in Mines)

39. The Austrian Government member submitted an amendment which aimed at permitting a young worker who either did not wish to undergo apprenticeship or other systematic training, or had completed such training, to be employed underground even if he were under the prescribed age for productive employment. In such cases he would, of course, be protected by the safeguards provided for in clause (b) of Paragraph 4. The Austrian Government member pointed out that young persons could not be compelled to undergo apprenticeship or other systematic training, and that even if they did there might be a gap between the completion of training and attaining the prescribed minimum age. It would be unreasonable to refuse to permit young persons to work underground during this period.

40. Several Government members, including in particular those of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as the Workers’ members, were opposed to allowing young persons to be employed underground if they had not received suitable training. The Algerian, Belgian, Luxembourg and United States Government members also expressed the view that the proposal put forward was contrary to the general purpose of the Recommendation, which aimed at setting the minimum age of 18 for productive employment, whilst permitting an exception for training purposes.

41. The proposed amendment was supported by the Employers’ members.

42. The Austrian Government member drew a distinction between the relatively short basic vocational training referred to in Paragraph 13 of the proposed Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines, and which, he agreed, every youth going down a mine should receive, and the apprenticeship or systematic training referred to in Paragraph 4 of the present proposed Recommendation, which would take substantially longer. The Workers’ members and the United Kingdom Government member were prepared to consider making an exception designed to cover a possible gap between completion of training (which would be longer and more thorough than the type of short basic training referred to by some members), and the prescribed minimum age for productive employment. An amendment on these lines was finally adopted in the form of a proviso permitting an exception to the provisions of Paragraph 4 in the circumstances referred to. The United States Government member wished his reservation as to the advisability of permitting young persons under the prescribed age to be thus employed underground to be recorded.

43. On the strength of the agreement arrived at in respect of the above point, the Employers’ members withdrew an amendment which aimed at deleting the indication of 18 years as the minimum age which should be prescribed by governments for productive employment. An amendment submitted by the Workers’ members was adopted to make it clear that the training for the purposes of which an exception to the minimum age for productive employment could be made was apprenticeship or systematic vocational training. The text submitted by the Office had omitted the word “vocational” in order to meet the suggestion made by the New Zealand Government in its observations on the text submitted to it in 1964 to the effect that students engaged in a course of study towards a university degree should be allowed to work underground even if under the prescribed minimum age in order to secure practical experience in a mine. They might be deemed not to be covered by an exception which referred to “vocational” training. The amendment submitted by the Workers’ members was, however, adopted, the New Zealand Government member expressing his regret that the point his Government had raised had not been met.

44. Paragraph 4, as amended, was adopted.

45. The Workers’ members submitted an amendment to the effect that the minimum age at which workers could be employed underground on work which was harmful to health, or carried out under conditions which were harmful to health or on jobs which might endanger the safety of themselves or others, should be fixed at 21 years rather than 18 years. The Government member for the U.S.S.R. submitted an amendment suggesting that the age should be higher than 18 years and that the aim to be pursued would be to fix this age at 20 years. He considered that it was not logical to recommend that the minimum age for all productive employment should be fixed at 18 years and at the same time to suggest the same age for such specially dangerous work. It was in his view essential to afford increased protection to young workers in such cases.

46. The spokesman for the Employers’ members, and several Government members, stressed the great variety of jobs covered by the higher minimum age with substantial variations in the extent of the potential hazards or degrees of responsibility involved. In some cases 18 years might be suitable; in others, for instance for shotfirers, the age of 20, 21 or even higher might be called for. The Austrian Government member added that if the age were set at too high a level the competent authorities in many countries might be tempted to leave out of these special lists some jobs which could be performed by workers below the higher age thus prescribed just in order to comply with the terms of the Recommendation. This would mean a lessening of the protection intended to be afforded by the regulations. It was also pointed out in this connection that, in virtue of Paragraph 7 of the proposed Recommendation, all such regulations would be adopted only after consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned.

47. After prolonged discussion a text was adopted indicating that the minimum age prescribed for the jobs and conditions in question should be sufficiently high appropriate to each job or condition, and in no case less
than 18 years. This text was adopted by 1,586 votes in favour, 182 against, with 115 abstentions.

48. Paragraph 5, as amended, was adopted.

**Paragraph 6**

49. Paragraph 6 was adopted without discussion.

**Paragraph 7**

50. An amendment was submitted by the Austrian Government member designed to bring the Paragraph relating to the consultation of employers' and workers' organisations in the proposed Recommendation into line with corresponding Articles or Paragraphs in the other proposed instruments before the Committee. He considered that it was not practicable to arrange for consultation in regard to any action, even of an administrative character, taken in pursuance of the terms of the proposed Recommendation. It would be better to limit such consultation to the general policies aimed at implementing its terms. The Workers' members accepted the change thus proposed, but considered that if consultation was to be effective it should take place before such general policies were determined. The Committee concurred with this point of view and added that such consultation should apply not only to general policies of implementation, but also to the adoption of regulations.

51. The Australian Government member considered that consultation, whilst desirable, was not always practicable, and submitted an amendment indicating that consultation should be undertaken "so far as practicable". He subsequently withdrew this amendment, but wished his reservation on this point to be recorded.

52. Paragraph 7, as amended, was adopted.

**Adoption of the Proposed Convention and the Proposed Recommendation Concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines**

53. The Committee remitted to its Drafting Committee the texts of the proposed Convention and the proposed Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines. At its ninth sitting on 14 June 1965 it considered the texts submitted to it by the Drafting Committee.

**Proposed Convention**

54. The Reporter explained that the Drafting Committee had made only minor changes except in regard to two points. The first of these related to Article 1 containing a definition of the scope of the proposed Convention. It was thought preferable not to cast doubt on the fact that the term "mine" included quarries but rather, in view of discussion which had taken place in the Committee, to indicate that the provisions of the proposed Convention concerning employment or work underground in mines should apply also to employment or work underground in quarries.

55. In this connection the representative of the Secretary-General made it clear that this addition did not imply any change in the scope of the term "mine" as used in other instruments adopted by the Conference and in particular the Underground Work (Women) Convention, 1935, which also applied to quarries.

56. The Reporter indicated that the other matter on which a change of substance had been introduced related to the records which should be kept in accordance with Article 4, paragraph 4, subparagraph (1). It had been provided that the records should indicate the date at which a young person was first engaged. It had been pointed out in the Drafting Committee that if the young person had been first engaged for work above ground, that date was not significant from the point of view of securing enforcement of the provisions of the proposed Convention and that the relevant date was that on which the person first worked underground. The Committee modified this proposal to make it clear that this date should apply to the beginning of employment or work underground and that the records in question could relate only to employment or work in the undertaking keeping these records, even if the young person concerned had previously been employed or worked underground in some other undertaking. A corresponding change was introduced into subparagraph 2 of Article 4, paragraph 4.

57. The Drafting Committee had also sought to make it clear that the Convention should apply either to employment or work underground and had introduced this wording wherever appropriate.

58. In respect of Article 2 the United Kingdom Government member indicated that he would have to abstain. The Japanese Employers' member, referring to the reservation made by the spokesman for the Employers' members on Article 2, indicated that he could not support this Article because it enabled various countries to apply differing standards in giving effect to the same Convention. The Iranian and Norwegian Employers' members made a reservation on the same lines. The Swedish Employers' member indicated that he would abstain on Article 2 owing to the minimum age prescribed.

59. The Committee adopted the text of the proposed Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines by 1,733 votes in favour, none against, with 175 abstentions.

60. The United Kingdom Government member stated that, while he had voted in favour of the proposed Convention, paragraph 3 of Article 2, which set the minimum age at 16 years, presented certain difficulties for the United Kingdom Government at the present time. He indicated that the Government would take measures as soon as practicable based on the principle of Paragraph 2 of the proposed Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines and that it hoped it would be possible for it to ratify the Convention before too many years had elapsed.
Proposed Recommendation

61. Several of the points indicated above relating to the drafting of the proposed Convention were also applicable to the proposed Recommendation.

62. The United States Government member wished it to be recorded that his Government was not in favour of the proviso to Paragraph 4, which made it possible for a young person under the prescribed minimum age to be employed underground for purposes other than training if he had completed his apprenticeship or other systematic vocational training. The Luxembourg Government member made a similar reservation.

63. With regard to Paragraph 7 the Australian Government member asked that his reservation be recorded regarding the practicability of consultation in all circumstances.

64. The Committee adopted the text of the proposed Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines by 1,901 votes in favour, none against, with 35 abstentions.

Future Work of the Committee

65. The Committee proposed to submit further reports concerning its discussions on the proposed Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines, and the proposed Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines.

Adoption of the Report

66. Some members requested that minor changes be made in the text of the draft of the present report. The changes have, where appropriate, been incorporated in the text reproduced above. The present report was adopted unanimously by the Committee for submission to the Conference.


(Signed) M. A. TOKUNBOH, Chairman.

L. PEZZL, Reporter.

(6) Text of the Proposed Convention concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines, Submitted by the Committee on Employment of Young Miners.1

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth Session on 2 June 1965, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines, which is included in the fourth item on the agenda of the session, and

Noting that the Underground Work (Women) Convention, 1935, prohibits in principle the employment of any female, whatever her age, on underground work in any mine, and

Noting that the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937, which is applicable to mines, provides that children under the age of 15 years shall not be employed or work in any public or private undertaking, or in any branch thereof, and

Noting that the Convention further specifies that, in respect of employment which by their nature or the circumstances in which they are carried on, are dangerous to the life, health or morals of the persons employed therein, national laws shall either prescribe or empower an appropriate authority to prescribe a higher age or ages than 15 years for the admission thereto of young persons or adolescents, and

Considering that, in view of the nature of employment underground in mines, international standards establishing a higher age than 15 years for admission to such employment are desirable, and

Having determined that these standards shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts this day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Convention, which may be cited as the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965:

Article 1

1. For the purpose of this Convention, the term “mine” means any undertaking, whether public or private, for the extraction of any substance from under the surface of the earth by means involving the employment of persons underground.

2. The provisions of this Convention concerning employment or work underground in mines apply also to employment or work underground in quarries.

Article 2

1. Persons under a specified minimum age shall not be employed or work underground in mines.

2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall specify the minimum age in a declaration appended to its ratification.

3. The minimum age shall in no case be less than 16 years.

Article 3

Each Member which has ratified this Convention may subsequently notify the Director-General of the International Labour Office, by a further declaration, that it specifies a minimum age higher than that specified at the time of ratification.

1 See Second Part, p. 394.
Article 4

1. All necessary measures, including the provision of appropriate penalties, shall be taken by the competent authority to ensure the effective enforcement of the provisions of this Convention.

2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention undertakes either to maintain an appropriate inspection service for the purpose of supervising the application of the Convention, or to satisfy itself that appropriate inspection is carried out.

3. National laws or regulations shall define the persons responsible for compliance with the provisions of this Convention.

4. (1) The employer shall keep, and make available to inspectors, records indicating, in respect of persons who are employed or work underground and who are less than two years older than the specified minimum age—

(a) the date of birth, duly certified wherever possible; and

(b) the date at which the person was first employed or worked underground in the undertaking.

(2) The employer shall make available to the workers' representatives, at their request, lists of the persons who are employed or worked underground and who are less than two years older than the specified minimum age; such lists shall contain the dates of birth of such persons and the dates at which they were first employed or worked underground in the undertaking.

Article 5

The determination of the minimum age to be specified in pursuance of Articles 2 and 3 of this Convention shall be made after consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned.

(7) Text of the Proposed Recommendation concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines. Submitted by the Committee on Employment of Young Miners.¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth Session on 2 June 1965, and

Having adopted the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain further proposals with regard to the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines, 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 one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Recommendation, 1965:

1. (1) For the purpose of this Recommendation, the term "mine" means any undertaking, whether public or private, for the extraction of any substance from under the surface of the earth by means involving the employment of persons underground.

(2) The provisions of this Recommendation concerning employment or work underground in mines apply also to employment or work underground in quarries.

2. Where the minimum age for admission to employment or work underground in mines is less than 16 years, measures should be taken as speedily as possible to raise it to that level.

3. (1) The minimum age for admission to employment or work underground in mines should be progressively raised, with a view to attaining a minimum age of 18 years.

(2) Each Member should work towards the objective set forth in subparagraph (1) within the limits of its possibilities, taking into account especially the dangers inherent in employment underground in mines, and also the development of educational facilities, including those for the vocational preparation of future miners, the minimum school-leaving age, the minimum age for admission to other industrial occupations and other relevant factors.

4. Persons between the age specified for the purpose of the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965, and a higher age to be laid down in each country and not to be less than 18 years should be employed or work underground in mines only—

(a) for purposes of apprenticeship or other systematic vocational training provided under adequate supervision by competent persons with technical knowledge and practical experience of the work; and

(b) under conditions determined by the competent authority relating to the places of work and occupations permitted and the measures of systematic medical and safety supervision to be applied:

Provided that if a young person to whom this Paragraph applies has completed apprenticeship or other systematic vocational training, he may, under the conditions provided for in clause (b), be employed underground for purposes other than such training.

5. (1) There should be special provision concerning the minimum age for employment or work underground in mines—

(a) on certain specified jobs which are harmful to health;

(b) under certain specified conditions which are harmful to health; and

(c) on certain specified jobs which may endanger the safety of the worker and that of other persons.

(2) The competent authority in each country should determine the jobs and conditions in question and should specify a sufficiently high
minimum age, which in no case should be less than 18 years, appropriate to each.

6. (1) Measures should be taken to meet the problems of persons who wish to work in mines but are too young for employment or work underground because the minimum age for admission to such employment or work is higher than the minimum school-leaving age. These measures should be related to or integrated with measures to educate, train and utilise all youth in the country.

(2) The measures to be taken in accordance with subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph might include one or more of the following:
(a) employment in surface work with appropriate training;
(b) vocational training on the surface designed to prepare the persons concerned for their future occupations;
(c) further education and vocational guidance;
(d) raising the minimum school-leaving age.

7. The competent authority in each country should consult the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned before determining general policies of implementation and before adopting regulations in pursuance of the terms of this Recommendation.

(8) Text of the Convention concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines, Submitted by the Drafting Committee.

(The text submitted by the Drafting Committee was adopted by the Conference without modification. For the authentic text see Appendix XIII, page 720.)

(9) Text of the Recommendation concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines, Submitted by the Drafting Committee.

(The text submitted by the Drafting Committee was adopted by the Conference without modification. For the authentic text see Appendix XIII, page 726.)


1. The Committee on Employment of Young Miners submitted a first report to the Conference, together with a proposed Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines and a proposed Recommendation.

2. During its eighth to tenth sittings, the Committee examined the proposed Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment under-ground in mines, contained in Report IV (2) which had been prepared by the International Labour Office in connection with the fourth item on the agenda of the Conference.

Discussion of the Proposed Convention concerning Medical Examination of Young Persons for Fitness for Employment Underground in Mines

Form of the Instrument

3. The Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section submitted an amendment aimed at giving the instrument concerning medical examination the form of a Recommendation. It was pointed out that, in view of the continual evolution in the field of industrial medicine and the steady improvement of working conditions in mines, it would be inadvisable to lay down requirements which were too rigid and that it was therefore essential to choose the more flexible form of instrument. After discussion, and in the light of the very strong views expressed by the Workers' members of the Committee, the amendment in question was withdrawn.

4. Another amendment submitted by the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section proposed deleting the word "high" from that part of the sixth paragraph of the Preamble which read "... the high health risks inherent in employment underground in mines, ...". The nature of these risks justifying the adoption of an instrument had already been mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and its repetition did not appear necessary. The Preamble, as amended, was adopted.

Article 1

5. As indicated in paragraph 12 of its first report, the Committee had adopted a revised definition of the scope which made it clear that the provisions of this proposed instrument apply to underground work in quarries. This definition also determined the scope of the provisions of the Convention concerning medical examination. Article 1, as thus amended, was adopted.

Article 2

6. This Article, which concerns periodic medical examinations of young workers and extension of this medical supervision until the age of 21 years, met with two kinds of objections. In the first place, the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section submitted an amendment aimed at determining the frequency of these examinations in accordance with rules established by the competent authorities. In addition, the Government member of India offered an amendment lowering the age up to which annual examinations were required from 21 to 18 years. In the course of discussion the second amendment was subamended by the Government member of the United Kingdom so as to take into account the aim of the first amendment. According to the subamendment, the medical
examinations would be annual for young workers up to the age of 18 years; between the ages of 18 and 21 years, its frequency would be fixed by the competent authority upon medical advice. A paragraph 2 was, however, subsequently added to this Article (see paragraphs 19 to 25, below).

7. The Employers' members as well as certain Government members pointed out that, in the opinion of certain industrial physicians and in view of the steady improvement of working conditions in mines, the possibility of other methods of medical supervision should be provided for. As the number of medical specialists was already inadequate to cope with the needs in certain regions, rigid requirements in this field would result in a wasteful use of qualified personnel. The Employers' members indicated that while they were not opposed to the provisions of the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1946, which required annual medical re-examinations for fitness until the age of 18 years, they felt it unnecessary to extend this requirement until the age of 21 years, in view of other possible methods of medical supervision. Other members of the Committee took the view that, as there would as a rule be no reason to fear a subsequent deterioration in the state of health of young persons who had been given regular check-ups until the age of 18 years, it appeared more appropriate to allow the competent authorities, after having taken medical advice, to lay down the rules regarding the frequency of further medical examinations, in the light of the various factors requiring consideration. Certain Employers' members stated that their position regarding the proposed Convention as a whole would be influenced by the decisions taken on Article 2.

8. The Workers' members and several Government members objected to this relaxation of medical supervision and pointed out that young workers, during the period of physiological adaptation to underground work, were particularly exposed to health risks which had to be detected in time. They declared their vigorous opposition to these amendments. The second amendment, subamended as indicated above, was rejected, following a record vote, by 795 votes in favour, 950 against, with 55 abstentions. After this vote the Employers' members withdrew their amendment and Article 2 of the proposed instrument was adopted without change.

Article 3

9. A full discussion of Article 3 of the proposed Convention took place as regards compulsory X-ray examinations and their frequency. An amendment submitted by the Government member of India proposed making the examining physician responsible for deciding whether an X-ray film of the lungs was necessary on the occasion of the initial medical examination. On the other hand, opinions were divided as to whether it was necessary to repeat the X-ray examination on the occasion of subsequent medical examinations. Certain members pointed to the fact that X-ray examination presented a risk of exposure to radiation, and that it consequently should be repeated only if considered necessary by the physician. It was also indicated that the risk of pneumoconiosis had become considerably lower, and that it varied from mine to mine. It was therefore more appropriate to allow the examining physician full scope to decide in each case whether an X-ray film was necessary. Other members considered that an X-ray film was essential for bringing to light the first signs of a pulmonary lesion, and that systematic examinations of this kind were therefore necessary in order to safeguard the health of young miners in an effective manner.

10. The members of the Committee were generally of the opinion that an X-ray film of the lungs was necessary on the occasion of the initial medical examination. On the other hand, opinions were divided as to whether it was necessary to repeat the X-ray examination on the occasion of subsequent medical examinations. Certain members pointed to the fact that X-ray examination presented a risk of exposure to radiation, and that it consequently should be repeated only if considered necessary by the physician. It was also indicated that the risk of pneumoconiosis had become considerably lower, and that it varied from mine to mine. It was therefore more appropriate to allow the examining physician full scope to decide in each case whether an X-ray film was necessary. Other members considered that an X-ray film was essential for bringing to light the first signs of a pulmonary lesion, and that systematic examinations of this kind were therefore necessary in order to safeguard the health of young miners in an effective manner.

11. Several subamendments to the text of the amendment submitted by the Government member of the U.S.S.R. were adopted in order to reach a compromise solution. Their aim was to maintain the requirement of a compulsory X-ray examination on the occasion of the initial medical examination, whilst allowing a certain flexibility as regards the frequency of repetition of the X-ray examinations and ensuring such repetition when employment conditions presented high health risks for young workers, or where the medical examination gave rise to a suspicion of lung disease.

12. During the course of the discussion it appeared that most of the Committee members were clearly in favour of allowing for the possibility of X-ray re-examinations, where this was considered necessary by the physician responsible for the medical supervision of young workers. On the other hand, these members wished to avoid establishing rigid rules as regards frequency and preferred to leave the examining physician free to decide in each case. It was also apparent that none of the proposals which had been put forward during the discussion was fully satisfying the various points of view which had been expressed. The spokesman for the Employers' members had expressed the view that the best course would be to return to the text contained in Report IV (2). In the light of the discussion, and with a desire for compromise and in order to ensure the greatest possible degree of agreement among members of the Committee, the Workers' members, following a vigorous pursuit of the most complete diagnostic arrangements, also finally accepted this suggestion, which was unanimously adopted by the Committee.

13. Article 3 was adopted without change.

Article 4

14. As no amendments had been submitted to paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Article 4, these were adopted without change. Consideration was given to two amendments to paragraph 4, which dealt with the keeping of records and with their contents. One of these amendments,
which had been submitted by the Government members of France and Luxembourg specified that these records should be made available to persons appointed pursuant to rules laid down by the competent authority. The other amendment, submitted by the Workers' members, aimed at making the records available to labour inspectors and workers' representatives. The Government member of Belgium pointed out that certificates for fitness for employment might very well be drawn up in different ways, and might, moreover, contain confidential medical information. As a result, these certificates could be revealed to labour inspectors, but not to any other persons. Other members of the Committee, although considering that it would be possible in the majority of cases to make known the information in question without causing prejudice to the worker, were concerned with making sure that this information should not be released without the worker's consent. The Government member of the United Kingdom proposed a subamendment which required the consent of the worker concerned before the information could be released, and the Government member of Belgium suggested that the text should clearly specify that the certificate for fitness for employment should not contain medical information. These two proposals were adopted by the Committee. The Committee also decided that the text of the clause concerning date of birth should be the same as that which had been adopted in the Convention concerning minimum age. Article 4, as thus amended, was adopted.

**Article 5**

15. Referring to an earlier decision, the Committee decided to modify the text of Article 5, so as to include therein the points contained in Paragraph 7 of the Recommendation concerning minimum age. Article 5, as thus amended, was adopted.

**ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED CONVENTION**

16. The Committee remitted to its Drafting Committee the draft text of the proposed Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines. At its twelfth sitting on 16 June 1965, it considered the text submitted to it by the Drafting Committee.

17. The Reporter informed the Committee that the Drafting Committee had made only a few minor changes. However, he drew the Committee's attention to paragraphs 4 and 5 of Article 4. In clause (c) of paragraph 4, which concerned the certificate for fitness for employment, the Drafting Committee, pursuant to the instructions given to it by the Committee, had specified that the certificate should not contain medical data. For this reason the certificate for fitness for employment should no longer be treated as a confidential document, and it was consequently felt that the words "and with the consent of the worker concerned" contained in paragraph 5 as adopted by the Committee could be deleted.

18. The Preamble and Article 1 were adopted.

19. As regards Article 2, which dealt with the medical examination for fitness for employment, the United Kingdom Government member indicated that in certain countries medical supervision and protection of the health of young persons were organised in a particularly effective manner, and that in such cases compulsory annual medical examinations were to a large extent superfluous, as adequate medical protection was in any event guaranteed. He proposed maintaining the existing text of Article 2 as a first paragraph, and adding a new paragraph 2 permitting alternative arrangements for medical supervision of young persons aged between 18 and 21 years to be made, where the competent authority was satisfied on medical advice that such arrangements were equivalent to or more effective than those required under the existing text. The new paragraph 2 also purported to require the competent authority to consult and reach agreement with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned.

20. The Government members of Algeria, Belgium and Cameroon pointed out that, where the protection of the health of young workers was concerned, it was incumbent upon the competent authorities to take the necessary measures, and they objected to the possibility of their action being made conditional upon the approval of organisations which might have conflicting interests. The Government member of Belgium considered that in rendering the previous text more flexible, a step backward was being taken in the field of industrial medicine.

21. Several Government members gave their opinion that the new paragraph 2 which had been proposed did not substantially weaken the effect of the previous text, but enabled the different countries to adopt measures of implementation, subject to appropriate guarantees, which could be adapted to the local situation.

22. The Employers' members, who had serious reservations regarding the text submitted by the Drafting Committee, signified their approval of the text of Article 2 as thus amended.

23. The Workers' members, however, feared that the addition proposed by the United Kingdom Government member might do damage to the well-established principle of an annual medical examination, and they consequently did not consider themselves to be in a position to accept the text in question.

24. In an endeavour to reach as general an agreement as possible on the text of the Convention as a whole, the Chairman undertook consultations, following which the Workers' members accepted the new proposed text, in the hope of securing unanimous agreement.

25. Article 2, as amended, was adopted.

26. Article 3 was adopted without change.

27. During the discussion of Article 4, the Workers' members supported the proposal made by the Reporter at the start of the dis-
The Committee did not see fit to alter not in accordance with sound practices of examination between the ages of 18 and 21.

Committee and the statements previously made regarding the continuance of medical re-examinations between the ages of 18 and 21. He contended that the text as adopted was not in accordance with sound practices of industrial medicine and proposed an alternative text. The Committee did not see fit to alter the text it had adopted, and the Government members voiced the opinion that the certificate for fitness for employment required by clause (c) did not appear to be a confidential document, and they therefore declared themselves to be in favour of the proposal made by the Reporter. In a spirit of conciliation, the Employers' members withdrew their reservations. The Government member of France wished it to be made clear that, in the absence of any specific indication on the subject in the text, the choice of the workers' representatives to whom the information would be made available would be made in accordance with national practice.

ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

30. Some members requested that certain changes be made in the text of the present report. These changes have been incorporated in the text reproduced above.

31. With reference to paragraph 2 of Article 2, the Government member of Belgium expressed the view that there was a contradiction between the text as adopted by the Committee and the statements previously made regarding the continuance of medical re-examinations between the ages of 18 and 21. He contended that the text as adopted was not in accordance with sound practices of industrial medicine and proposed an alternative text. The Committee did not see fit to alter the text it had adopted, and the Government members of Belgium and Italy made a reservation in regard to Article 2, paragraph 2.

32. The present report was adopted unanimously by the Committee for submission to the Conference.


(Signed) M. A. TOKUNBOH, Chairman,
L. PELZL, Reporter.

(11) Text of the Proposed Convention concerning Medical Examination of Young Persons for Fitness for Employment Underground in Mines, Submitted by the Committee on Employment of Young Miners.¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth session on 2 June 1965, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines, which is included in the fourth item on the agenda of the session, and

Noting that the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1946, which is applicable to mines, provides that children and young persons under 18 years of age shall not be admitted to employment by an industrial undertaking unless they have been found fit for the work on which they are to be employed by a thorough medical examination, that the continued employment of a child or young person under 18 years of age shall be subject to the repetition of a medical examination at intervals of not more than one year, and that national laws or regulations shall make provision concerning additional re-examinations, and

Noting that the Convention further provides that in occupations which involve high health risks medical examination and re-examinations for fitness for employment shall be required until at least the age of 21 years, and that national laws or regulations shall either specify or empower an appropriate authority to specify the occupations or categories of occupations to which this requirement applies, and

Considering that, in view of the health risks inherent in employment underground in mines, international standards requiring medical examination and periodic re-examination for fitness for employment underground in mines until the age of 21 years, and specifying the nature of these examinations, are desirable, and

Having determined that these standards shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts this day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Convention, which may be cited as the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Underground Work) Convention, 1965:

Article 1

1. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "mine" means any undertaking, whether public or private, for the extraction of any substance from under the surface of the earth by means involving the employment of persons underground.

2. The provisions of this Convention concerning employment or work underground in

¹ See Second Part, p. 396.
mines apply also to employment or work underground in quarries.

**Article 2**

1. A thorough medical examination, and periodic re-examinations at intervals of not more than one year, for fitness for employment shall be required for the employment or work underground in mines of persons under 21 years of age.

2. Alternative arrangements for medical supervision shall however be permitted where the competent authority is satisfied on medical advice that such arrangements are equivalent to or more effective than those required under paragraph 1 for young persons aged between 18 and 21 years, and has consulted and reached agreement with the most representative organisations both of the employers and workers concerned.

**Article 3**

1. The medical examinations provided for in Article 2—
   
   (a) shall be carried out under the responsibility and supervision of a qualified physician approved by the competent authority; and
   
   (b) shall be certified in an appropriate manner.

2. An X-ray film of the lungs shall be required on the occasion of the initial medical examination and, when regarded as medically necessary, on the occasion of subsequent re-examinations.

3. The medical examinations required by this Convention shall not involve the young person, or his parents or guardians, in any expense.

**Article 4**

1. All necessary measures, including the provision of appropriate penalties, shall be taken by the competent authority to ensure the effective enforcement of the provisions of this Convention.

2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention undertakes either to maintain an appropriate inspection service for the purpose of supervising the application of this Convention, or to satisfy itself that appropriate inspection is carried out.

3. National laws or regulations shall define the persons responsible for compliance with the provisions of this Convention.

4. The employer shall keep, and make available to inspectors, records containing, in respect of persons under 21 years of age who are employed or work underground—
   
   (a) the date of birth, duly certified wherever possible;
   
   (b) an indication of the nature of their occupation; and
   
   (c) a certificate which attests fitness for employment but does not contain medical data.

5. The employer shall make available to the workers' representatives, at their request, the information mentioned in paragraph 4.

**Article 5**

The competent authority in each country shall consult the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned before determining general policies of implementation and before adopting regulations in pursuance of the terms of this Convention.

(12) Text of the Convention concerning Medical Examination of Young Persons for Fitness for Employment Underground in Mines, Submitted by the Drafting Committee.

(The text submitted by the Drafting Committee was adopted by the Conference without modification. For the authentic text see Appendix XIII, page 730.)


1. The Conference has had before it the first report of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners relating to the proposed Convention and proposed Recommendation concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines and the second report of the Committee relating to the proposed Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines. The present report deals with the consideration of the proposed Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines, and with certain resolutions which were submitted to the Committee.

2. The Committee held a total of 16 sittings.

**Consideration of the Proposed Recommendation Concerning Conditions of Employment of Young Persons Underground in Mines**

**Preamble**

3. The Preamble was adopted.

**I. Definition**

**Paragraph 1.**

4. The Committee had, in connection with the other instruments submitted to the Conference, added a subparagraph after the definition of a mine to make it clear that the provisions concerning employment or work underground in mines should apply to employment or work underground in quarries. The Committee agreed that a corresponding change should be made in Paragraph 1 of the Recommendation concerning conditions of employment.

1 See Second Part, p. 435.

2 See Second Part, p. 397.
II. Methods of Implementation

Paragraph 2.
5. Paragraph 2 was adopted without change.

III. Health, Safety and Welfare

Paragraphs 3 and 4.
6. Paragraphs 3 and 4 were adopted without change.

Paragraph 5.
7. The Committee adopted an amendment to subparagraph (2) submitted by the Government member of the United States which added an additional clause to the measures for the development of a practical safety programme, calling for provisions to ensure correction of hazardous environmental and physical conditions.

8. The text before the Committee indicated that the measures for the development of a practical safety programme should include appropriate means and facilities for training, inspection and accident investigation. The Government member of the Federal Republic of Germany suggested that, "investigation" should be replaced by "prevention" as this was much more important. Other members, including the Government member of Belgium, stressed the importance of accident investigation and pointed out that measures regarding prevention were included in other clauses. The Committee finally agreed that this clause should refer to both accident investigation and prevention.

9. Two amendments were submitted, one by the Workers' members designed to ensure that the supply of protective clothing and equipment would be made at the employer's expense and the other, submitted by the Government member of the U.S.S.R., to ensure that such clothing and equipment should be provided without cost to the young persons, their parents or guardians. The Employers' members agreed that the initial supply of such clothing and equipment should be free of charge but were anxious to include a clause which would afford some protection against excessive claims for replacement arising out of abuses. For that reason they could not accept a sub-amendment by the Workers' members that all replacements should be at the employer's expense. Finally, the Committee accepted a compromise to the effect that replacements after normal wear and tear would be at the employer's expense. The Employers' members wished to make it clear that their only object was to prevent abusive claims for the replacement of such equipment and carelessness in its use, and the Workers' members wished to make it clear that they well understood that the workers concerned should have a responsible attitude regarding the use of the equipment they were given. On the strength of this arrangement, an amendment submitted by the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section to the effect that such protective clothing and equipment should be issued only during apprenticeship or systematic training was withdrawn.

10. The last clause of subparagraph (2) of Paragraph 5 referred to other measures for the safety of young persons. The Committee decided to add to this clause a reference to the health of young persons.

11. Paragraph 5, as amended, was adopted.

Paragraph 6.
12. The Government member of Poland submitted an amendment to the effect that measures should be taken with a view to keeping young persons in employment underground in good health, which aimed in particular at constantly improving the conditions of work of young persons and at the prevention and treatment of occupational diseases in an early stage of their evolution. It was pointed out, however, that the latter part of this amendment had already been covered by the amendments adopted in regard to subparagraph (2) of Paragraph 5 and that various provisions relating to conditions of work were to be discussed in connection with Section IV of the proposed Recommendation. On the strength of these explanations, the amendment was withdrawn.

13. Clause (a) of Paragraph 6 asked that measures should be taken which aimed at making available to young persons such additional food and such feeding facilities as would enable them to ensure a diet suitable for their stage of development. The Government member of Austria pointed out that it was difficult to impose either on the competent authority or on the employer the obligation to make such additional food and feeding facilities available in all cases, as it was primarily the responsibility of the parent or guardian to provide the necessary food. The Government member of Belgium also pointed out that in many countries the standards of nutrition and the customs of the miners were such that no additional food or feeding facilities were necessary. It was recognised, however, that in some other countries the employer or the competent authority had assumed certain obligations in providing foodstuffs available, more especially where the mines were situated in areas remote from towns. In reply to a question by the Government member of the United Kingdom, the representative of the Secretary-General explained that the text which had been adopted by the Committee last year after considerable discussion deliberately refrained from specifying who should be responsible for taking the measures proposed. In some cases this would devolve on the competent authority and in others on the employer, and in some cases responsibility for providing foodstuffs might be shared between them together with, in appropriate cases, other institutions, including private associations.

14. In order to meet the point raised by the Government member of Austria and by others in the course of discussion, the Committee accepted a revised draft which would make it clear that measures should be taken which aimed at ensuring that young persons would
have such additional food and feeding facilities made available to them as would enable them to secure a diet suitable to their stage of development. On this basis the Government member of Austria withdrew his amendment. An amendment submitted by the Government member of Belgium, indicating that these facilities need only be provided if circumstances so required, was accepted in principle and referred to the Drafting Committee.

IV. Weekly Rest and Annual Holidays with Pay

Paragraph 7.

15. An amendment was submitted by the Workers' members proposing that the minimum period of the uninterrupted weekly rest for persons under 18 years of age employed underground should be raised from 36 to 48 hours. Their spokesman pointed out that the five-day week was increasingly current and that young persons, particularly those employed underground, needed a longer weekly rest. The Employers' members, on the other hand, pointed out that the five-day week was by no means general and that in many countries it was not yet the practice. The young workers were part of the labour force and should not be prevented from working with their teams and under their normal training supervisor during the Saturday shifts. In a number of countries young workers between 16 and 18 years were not allowed to do shift work, and if their weekly hours were further restricted, it would render the application of the Recommendation difficult.

16. The Government member of Canada proposed a subamendment suggesting that the weekly rest be extended to 48 hours unless other arrangements were made between workers' representatives and the employer. He pointed out that in his country, where the five-day week was widely applied, some collective agreements existed which provided for an exception of this nature. The amendment, as subamended, was rejected by 739 votes in favour, 845 against, with 140 abstentions.

17. An amendment moved by the Government member of Austria providing for a weekly rest period of 43 hours had been previously withdrawn.

18. The original text of Paragraph 7 was adopted without change.

19. The Japanese and Norwegian Employers' members wished their reservation on this decision to be recorded.

Paragraph 8.

20. The Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section had moved an amendment to delete Paragraph 8, which aimed at progressively extending the weekly rest period with a view to attaining at least 48 hours. In view of the lack of support, and with a view to facilitating the work of the Committee, this amendment was, however, withdrawn by its sponsors. The Employers' members of Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, Iran, Japan and Norway expressed their reservations with regard to this Paragraph, which was then adopted without change.

Paragraph 9.

21. The Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section had moved an amendment to suggest that the weekly rest period should only include the day of the week established as a day of rest by the traditions or customs of the country or district as far as practicable. Their spokesman pointed out in this connection that in many countries young workers were not allowed to work at night or on shifts and that, as a result, their working time was rather restricted. Owing to the increasing mechanisation of mines, many of them operated every day of the week by rotating shifts. This was particularly the case where metalliferous mines were supplying concentration mills under a system of continuous operation. The amendment did not imply that the young workers would not get a weekly rest but simply that it would not always coincide with the traditional day of rest. The Workers' members objected strongly to this approach and considered that young workers, above all, needed to have their day of rest on the customary weekly rest day in view both of family ties and the fulfilment in some countries of religious obligations. The Workers' Vice-Chairman stressed the importance of taking these factors fully into account and of not letting social conditions be governed by economic considerations. The spokesman for the Employers' members, while emphasising the difficulties which existed in this field, freed young workers on the customary weekly rest day, nevertheless agreed to withdraw the amendment presented by the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section. Paragraph 9 was then adopted without change.

Paragraph 10.

22. An amendment was submitted by the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section which would provide that the principle that persons under 18 years of age employed underground in mines should not be employed on any work during the weekly rest period might be subject to the exception that apprentices or those undergoing systematic vocational training might be so employed to allow them to gain experience on work carried out only during the weekly rest period. The Government member of the United Kingdom had submitted a similar amendment for inclusion among the possible exceptions to the weekly rest. On behalf of the Employers' members it was explained that it was necessary for young workers in training to be able to take part in maintenance and repair work, which was often undertaken only during the week-ends. This might provide them with the only opportunity of seeing the machinery parts exposed and under repair. This was a necessary part of their training and there was no intention of taking undue advantage of this exception to employ them on productive work. The Government member of the United Kingdom supported these arguments but indicated that his amendment would have the advantage of finding its proper place in the subparagraph
which relates to exceptions, while leaving the principle of no work during the week-end intact. The Workers' members recognised that this kind of training was necessary but considered that it could very well be undertaken after 18 years of age, and they feared that the exception might be used as a pretext for getting young persons to work during their weekly rest periods under conditions which might expose them to danger. The Government member of Algeria stressed the fact that under the proposed Recommendation concerning minimum age young workers between 16 and 18 years could be employed underground only for training purposes under conditions determined by the competent authority as regards the places of work and occupations permitted. It was therefore inappropriate to suggest that young persons should be authorised to work under conditions which might well be dangerous. The Government members of Belgium and Austria also considered that training of this type could appropriately take place after the age of 18 and that the exception was unnecessary. In view of the fact that they received little support, the amendments were withdrawn.

23. The Workers' members had submitted an amendment for the deletion of the two subparagraphs which permitted an exception to the weekly rest of young miners under 18 years of age in cases of accident or force majeure under prescribed conditions. The Workers' members recognised that in case of accident, young workers at the mine would, of course, always be willing to help but this would seldom be necessary as there would normally be sufficient adult workers available. It appeared superfluous to provide for an exception of this kind in an international Recommendation. The Employers' members agreed that in the case of force majeure common sense in dealing with the emergency must prevail and that therefore such an exception should not find its place in an instrument of this character. The Government member of Austria, however, thought that it would have been wiser to retain this provision and the United Kingdom Government member also thought that, as young workers might help in the circumstances prescribed, it would be better to provide for this contingency in the proposed Recommendation.

24. The amendment submitted by the Workers' members was adopted and Paragraph 10, as amended, was adopted.

Paragraph 11.

25. The Workers' members and the Government member of the U.S.S.R. submitted an amendment to extend the holiday with pay from 15 working days (corresponding to three working weeks) to 24 working days (corresponding to four working weeks) to 24 working days (corresponding to four working weeks). The Employers' members argued that it was only right for young persons who were working underground to be granted a longer holiday than those who were working above ground. It was also reasonable for young workers who were at a stage of physical development to have longer holidays than adult workers. For these reasons the Workers' members considered that four working weeks' holiday should be granted. The Employers' members could not accept this proposal. They pointed out that the three weeks' holiday contained in the text before the Committee was already longer than that enjoyed by adult workers in many countries, and that the international instrument should set minimum standards and not an unduly high objective which would make it impossible for many countries to accept the Recommendation.

26. The Government member of the United Kingdom moved a subamendment which would leave the proposal for 18 working days unchanged, and add a new subparagraph to the effect that the annual holiday with pay should be progressively extended with a view to attaining at least 24 working days. This proposal was accepted on behalf of the Employers' members and had the support of a number of Government members. On a vote by show of hands, the amendment submitted by the Workers' members for a four weeks' holiday period was rejected by 736 votes in favour, 755 against, with 235 abstentions, but this decision was reversed on a record vote in which the amendment was adopted by 839 votes in favour, 755 against, with 200 abstentions. The subamendment proposed by the Government member of the United Kingdom therefore lapsed.

27. With regard to subparagraph (2) of Paragraph 11, which states that public and customary holidays and interruptions of attendance at work due to sickness should not be included in the annual holiday with pay, the Government member of Australia and the Australian, Canadian, French and Norwegian Employers' members desired their reservation to be recorded.

28. Paragraph 11, as amended, was adopted. Paragraph 12.

29. Paragraph 12, which related to the keeping of records, was adopted with changes corresponding to those which the Committee had accepted in connection with the proposed instrument concerning minimum age. These changes imply that the records should be made available only to inspectors but that the employer should make available to the workers' representatives, at their request, the information concerning the date of birth, the period of physical development to which the information would relate, the number of Government members. On a vote by show of hands, the amendment submitted by the Workers' members reserved their position on the whole of Section IV of the proposed Recommendation which includes the Paragraphs dealing with weekly rest and annual holidays with pay.

Appendix VI: Young Persons (Underground Work in Mines)
Paragraph 13.

31. An amendment was submitted by the Workers' members to delete the word "basic" before "vocational training" because it was felt that the systematic vocational training the young worker should receive for employment underground should be more than just a short course of basic training. The Government members of Austria and Belgium and the Employers' members concurred in this proposed change. The Government member of Belgium, however, pointed out that clause (a) of Paragraph 13 referred to a first stage of training which must be given to all young workers who are taken on, whereas clauses (b) and (c) provided respectively for further technical training and further education. The amendment submitted by the Workers' members was adopted.

32. The Government members of Belgium and the Federal Republic of Germany had submitted an amendment partly designed to improve the drafting and partly to indicate that there should not be an obligation to provide this additional technical training but simply to make available suitable opportunities for such training. This amendment was accepted.

33. The Workers' members submitted an amendment calling for an addition to Paragraph 13 providing that young persons to be employed in mines should receive preparation for their future employment in special training centres under the supervision and direction of instructors having appropriate professional and teaching qualifications. The Employers' members thought that this imposed an expensive additional burden and might run counter to the arrangements for training already indicated in Paragraph 13 as it stood. After some discussion, the Workers' members agreed to withdraw their amendment, bearing in mind the provisions of the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1962.

34. Paragraph 13, as amended, was adopted.

VI. Consultation

Paragraph 14.

35. This Paragraph, which relates to the procedures of consultation, was modified on the lines already accepted by the Committee in connection with the Recommendation concerning minimum age and the Convention concerning medical examination. It provides that consultation should take place before determining general policies of implementation and adopting regulations in pursuance of the terms of the Recommendation. Paragraph 14, as amended, was adopted.

36. The Government member of Australia reserved his position in regard to this Paragraph because its provisions were in contradiction with certain practices in his country.

Consideration of Resolutions

37. The Committee had before it three resolutions. The first of them, submitted by the Government member of the United States, after pointing out that the Conventions and Recommendations concerning the employment of young persons in underground work in mines did not cover young persons employed in open-cast mines, open quarries and similar operations, invited the Governing Body to have a study made of the conditions of employment of young persons in open-cast mines, open quarries, tunnelling, clay, sand and gravel and similar operations, and to consider the inclusion of this matter on the agenda of a future session of the International Labour Conference.

38. The second resolution, also submitted by the Government member of the United States, referred to the work carried out under the auspices of the International Labour Organization regarding safety and working conditions in mines, and invited the Governing Body to have a study made of the question of safe and healthful conditions and practices relevant to all types of mines and mining operations, especially in the light of new machinery and new methods employed, and to consider the inclusion of this subject, or of specific aspects thereof, on the agenda of a future session of the Conference.

39. The third resolution, submitted by the Government member of Belgium, pointed out that the special risks of accident or occupational disease present in underground work in mines and quarries warranted the adoption of the proposed Conventions and Recommendations submitted to the Conference at the present session, and expressed the view that tunnelling was undertaken under similar conditions and involved as numerous and serious risks of accident or disease. The resolution invited the Governing Body to examine the possibility of having appropriate rules, based on the instruments before the Conference at the present session, drawn up to protect young persons employed in tunnelling.

40. The Government member of the United States considered that, because the terms of reference of the Committee extended only to underground work, it had been impossible to deal with safety and working conditions in surface work, and that it was desirable to fill this gap.

41. The Government member of Belgium drew attention to the serious risks of pneumoconioses which could arise in tunnelling work, where working conditions were often similar to those in underground mines. However, tunnelling was an activity not covered by the scope of the instruments before the present session of the Conference.

42. The Chairman first made the suggestion that, if the Committee was prepared to enter into a discussion of these matters, the three resolutions might perhaps be merged into one. This proposal was accepted by the authors of the resolutions concerned, and supported by several members of the Committee.

43. The spokesman for the Employers' members pointed out that, while he was not opposed to the Committee entering into a discussion on the substance of the three resolutions, many of the Employers' members felt
that they were not competent to express an opinion with regard to branches of activity other than those covered by the terms of reference of the Committee. Tunnelling, for instance, was a matter which concerned the civil engineering industry rather than the mining industry. Similarly, the Employers' members had come prepared to discuss the conditions of employment of young workers underground in mines, but not the safety of all workers in mines. Several of them would, therefore, have to refrain from taking an active part in the consideration of the substance of the resolutions before the Committee.

44. The Workers' members gave their wholehearted support to the three resolutions. The Government members of Algeria and Cameroon and the Employers' member for Zambia also spoke in favour of them.

45. The Chairman, basing himself on an opinion of the International Labour Office, pointed out that the Committee was competent only to submit to the Conference resolutions related to the item which it was examining, but what might be regarded as being so related was largely a matter for the judgment of the Committee itself.

46. On the strength of this opinion, the Chairman expressed the view that the resolution submitted by the Government member of Belgium regarding tunnelling was rather too remotely related to the item on the agenda of the Conference relating to the employment of young persons in underground work in mines. He suggested that, perhaps, the subject the Government member of Belgium had raised might appropriately be brought up at the Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee of the International Labour Organisation. The Chairman also expressed the view that the resolution concerning minimum standards for safe and healthful working conditions for all persons employed in mines also went rather beyond the preoccupations of the Committee with the employment of young persons in underground work in mines. In this connection he pointed out that the International Labour Office had already carried out very considerable work as regards health and safety in mining, tunnelling and quarrying, through the work of the Office itself, through the Coal Mines Committee, the Tripartite Technical Meeting for Mines Other than Coal Mines and Committees of Experts. This work was still being pursued.

47. The Chairman, therefore, suggested that it might be more appropriate for the two resolutions in question to be withdrawn, and their authors followed his suggestion in order to avoid further debate. It was, however, understood that attention would be drawn to these problems in the present report and the Government member of Belgium expressed the hope that the withdrawal of his resolution would not be prejudicial to the interests of the young persons employed in tunnelling.

48. The resolution concerning the employment of young persons on surface work in mines and quarries, submitted by the Government member of the United States was recognised to be more closely related to the work of the Committee in that there was necessarily some relationship between the conditions of employment of young persons on surface work and in underground work in the same type of undertaking.

49. The Employers' members, however, objected to a statement in the preamble of this resolution implying that the surface operations often involved work which was as hazardous to the safety and health of young persons as work underground in mines.

50. The Committee referred the resolution to a small working party consisting of members of each of the three groups which was entrusted with the preparation of a text which it was hoped would be acceptable to the Committee.

ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION

51. The Committee remitted to its Drafting Committee the drafts of the proposed Recommendation concerning the conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines. At its 15th sitting, on 18 June 1965, the Committee considered the text submitted to it by the Drafting Committee.

52. The Preamble and Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4 were adopted without discussion.

53. In Paragraph 5, subparagraph (2), the Government member of Belgium proposed that the prevention of hazardous environmental conditions be dealt with in clause (a) rather than have the prevention of accidents included in clause (b). He also proposed a change in the drafting of the French text. The Committee accepted the addition in clause (a) but considered it appropriate to retain a reference to accident prevention in clause (b). The French text was also modified.

54. Paragraph 6 was adopted without change.

55. In regard to the section dealing with weekly rest and annual holidays with pay, the Chairman informed the Committee that he had sought to reach agreement between the parties regarding two important subjects on which the voting had been very close and with the result of which a substantial part of the Committee were not in agreement. These related on the one hand to the minimum period of uninterrupted weekly rest of 36 hours, whereas the Employers' members would have preferred to keep the original proposal of 24 working days, whereas the Employers' members would have preferred to keep the original proposal of 18 working days. Unfortunately, though both the Employers' and Workers' spokesmen had been ready to re-examine the conclusions reached by the Committee, it had not been possible, in spite of the goodwill shown on both sides, to reach an agreement acceptable to all. In the circumstances the Committee would therefore be considering the text as put before it by the Drafting Committee.
56. Paragraphs 7, 8, 9 and 10 were adopted without change.

57. The Australian Employers' member raised a point to which the Reporter had drawn attention in regard to the significance of the provisions of Paragraph 11, subparagraph (2), to the effect that interruptions in attendance at work due to sickness should not be included in the annual holidays with pay. The representative of the Secretary-General explained that this subparagraph had been taken from the Holidays with Pay Convention, 1936, Article 2, paragraph 3 (article 352 of the International Labour Code). The purport of the text was that any period of absence from work due to sickness should not be deducted from the annual holiday with pay. This particular subparagraph did not deal in any way with two related issues which the Australian Employers' and Government members had raised, namely whether or not interruptions from attendance at work due to sickness affected the period of service on which entitlement to annual holidays with pay was based and the question of whether or not a period of sickness arising in the course of a holiday could lead to a corresponding extension of the holiday. These issues had in part been covered by the Holidays with Pay Recommendation, 1954. The Australian Employer's member suggested introducing a text to the effect that interruptions of attendance at work due to sickness occurring outside the period of the annual holiday should not be taken into account in respect of annual holiday with pay. The Committee further did not wish to enter into these considerations and preferred to leave the text as it originally stood.

58. Paragraphs 11, 12, 13 and 14 were adopted without amendment.

59. The proposed Recommendation as a whole was adopted by 1,150 votes in favour, 70 against, with 560 abstentions.

60. The spokesman for the Employers' members made a general reservation in respect of that part of the proposed Recommendation which dealt with weekly rest and annual holidays with pay. They considered that this text was too strict in its terms and too far-reaching and that it was of a nature likely to prejudice the scope of collective bargaining in the various countries. The Employers' members of Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Norway and the United Kingdom added their individual reservations in respect of this part of the proposed Recommendation.

61. The Employers' members for Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany particularly stressed their objection to Paragraph 8 which provided for the progressive extension of the weekly rest period with a view to attaining at least 48 hours. The Government and Employers' members of the United Kingdom and the Swedish Employers' member, referring to Paragraph 10, subparagraph (1), expressed their regret at the fact that no provision had been made to the principle that persons under 18 years of age employed underground in mines should not be employed on any work during the weekly rest period when such work would enable them to secure the benefit of training which could not be arranged outside the weekend. The Government member of the United Kingdom made a reservation to the effect that he thought it had been a mistake not to provide in Paragraph 10 for an exception to the weekly rest period in case of accident or force majeure.

62. With regard to Paragraph 11, subparagraph (1), which related to the length of holidays with pay, specific reservations were formulated by the United Kingdom Government and Employers' members and the Japanese Employers' member. The Australian Government and Employers' members wished their reservations to be recorded regarding the relationship arising out of Paragraph 11, subparagraph (2), between interruptions due to sickness and annual holidays with pay. The French Employers' member made a similar reservation in respect of the relationship between public holidays and annual holidays with pay.

63. The Government member of Algeria expressed his regret that, while the proposed Recommendation was of great help in ensuring the physical welfare of young workers and their protection against accidents, no provision had been included regarding their moral welfare. This was particularly important if it were borne in mind that many of these young persons came straight from their family background into the mining industry.

64. The Workers' Vice-Chairman expressed his satisfaction at the general results achieved by the Committee but regretted that the period of minimum weekly rest provided showed no progress over that which was customary 50 years ago. He also very much regretted that so many Government and Employers' members should have seen fit to make reservations with regard to specific parts of the proposed Recommendation.

ADPTION OF A RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS ON SURFACE WORK IN MINES AND QUARRIES

65. The Committee considered the resolution submitted by the Working Party concerning the employment of young persons on surface work in mines and quarries. The text retained the terms of the resolution submitted by the Government member of the United States, with some slight changes. However, the references to work in tunnelling, clay and sand and gravel pits had been deleted.

66. The Government member of the United States, in submitting the resolution on behalf of the Working Party, said that it had taken into account the observations made during the earlier discussion of the Committee. Personally, he regretted that the substance of the resolution had been weakened.

67. The spokesman for the Workers' members pointed out that the proposed study would be of great benefit to workers in Africa, where their conditions of work had never been the
subject of a thorough study. He suggested an amendment in the substantive part of the resolution, deleting the word "young" so that the study should cover all categories of workers in the different types of work mentioned in the resolution. The spokesman for the Employers' members opposed this suggestion. He said that the terms of reference of the Committee did not go beyond young workers. The Nigerian Workers' member considered that the study could be of special benefit to workers in Africa, but that it should cover workers of all ages; it should in particular examine the conditions of work in countries which were in the course of development. The Committee did not, however, wish to alter the text.

68. Before the vote was taken, the spokesman for the Employers' members stated that most of the Employers' members would, by abstaining, express their view that the Committee was not competent to express an opinion on the matters referred to in the resolution.

69. The Government member of the United Kingdom intimated that he would abstain because he did not consider himself to be in a position to give an opinion on a matter which was outside the terms of reference of the Committee.

70. The amendment proposed by the Workers' members received 622 votes in favour, 35 against, with 1,028 abstentions. In the absence of a quorum, the amendment failed of adoption.

71. The text of the resolution was then adopted without change by 1,085 votes in favour, none against, with 600 abstentions.

ADAPTATION OF THE REPORT

72. Some members requested that certain changes be made in the text of the present report. These changes have been incorporated in the text reproduced above.

73. The Government member of the United States pointed out that the proposed Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines and the proposed Convention concerning medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines which had been approved by the Committee dealt with matters which came partly under the jurisdiction of several states of the United States and partly under that of the federal government. For that reason the United States Government would not consider it appropriate to ratify the Conventions but would deal with them in accordance with the provisions of article 18, paragraph 7 (b), of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

74. At the sixteenth sitting, on 18 June 1965, the Committee unanimously adopted its report for submission to the Conference.


(Signed) M. A. TOKUNBOH, Chairman.

L. PELZL, Reporter.

(14) Text of the Proposed Recommendation concerning Conditions of Employment of Young Persons Underground in Mines.¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth Session on 2 June 1965, and

Noting the terms of existing international labour Conventions and Recommendations, applicable to mines, which contain provisions on the conditions of employment of young persons, and

Considering that additional standards are called for in certain respects, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals regarding the conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines, 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 June of the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Conditions of Employment of Young Persons (Underground Work) Recommendation, 1965.

I. DEFINITION

1. (1) For the purpose of this Recommendation, the term "mine" means any undertaking, whether public or private, for the extraction of any substance from under the surface of the earth by means involving the employment of persons underground.

(2) The provisions of this Recommendation concerning employment or work underground in mines apply also to employment or work underground in quarries.

II. METHODS OF IMPLEMENTATION

2. Effect may be given to this Recommendation through national laws or regulations, collective agreements, arbitration awards, or court decisions or in such other manner consistent with national practice as may be appropriate under national conditions.

III. HEALTH, SAFETY AND WELFARE

3. Training programmes for young persons employed or to be employed underground in mines should include practical and theoretical instruction in the health and safety hazards to which workers in mines are exposed, in hygiene and first aid, and in the precautions to be taken to safeguard health and safety. Such instruction should be provided by persons who are qualified in these fields.

¹ See Second Part, p. 398.
4. The employer should be required to inform a young person, both when engaging him and when giving him a specific job underground, of the risks of accident and hazards to health involved in the work, of protective measures and equipment, of regulations regarding safety, and of first-aid methods. The directions should be repeated at appropriate intervals.

5. (1) Officials in charge of safety, safety delegates, safety and health committees and all other internal bodies concerned with safety and health, as well as the national inspection service, should give particular attention to measures designed to safeguard the life and health of young persons employed or working underground in mines.

   (2) Such measures should include provision for the development of a practical safety programme for each mine including—

      (a) action to ensure prevention and correction of hazardous environmental and physical conditions;

      (b) appropriate means and facilities for training, inspection and accident investigation and prevention;

      (c) the initial supply and replacement after normal wear and tear, at the employers’ expense, of such protective clothing and equipment as are necessary in view of the nature of the work and the conditions in which it is performed, the young persons being required to use the clothing and equipment supplied; and

      (d) any other measures for the safety and health of young persons.

6. With a view to keeping young persons employed or working underground in mines in good health and to promoting their normal physical development, measures should be taken which aim, in particular, at—

      (a) encouraging recreational activities, including sports;

      (b) ensuring that changing-rooms and showers meeting approved hygiene standards are made available, changing-rooms and showers separate from those for adults being, where possible, reserved for persons under 18 years of age; and

      (c) ensuring that, if circumstances so require, young persons have at their disposal such additional food and such feeding facilities as would enable them to secure a diet suitable to their stage of development.

IV. WEEKLY REST AND ANNUAL HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

7. Persons under 18 years of age employed or working underground in mines should be entitled to an uninterrupted weekly rest which should not be less than 36 hours in the course of each period of seven days.

8. The weekly rest period should be progressively extended, with a view to attaining at least 48 hours.

9. The weekly rest period should include the day of the week established as a day of rest by the traditions or customs of the country or district.

10. Persons under 18 years of age employed or working underground in mines should not be employed on any work during the weekly rest period.

11. (1) Persons under 18 years of age employed or working underground in mines should receive an annual holiday with pay of not less than 24 working days (corresponding to four working weeks) for 12 months of service.

   (2) Public and customary holidays and interruptions of attendance at work due to sickness should not be included in the annual holiday with pay.

12. (1) The employer should be required to keep, and make available to inspectors, records indicating in respect of persons under 18 years of age employed or working underground—

      (a) the date of birth, duly certified wherever possible;

      (b) the periods of weekly rest; and

      (c) the periods of holidays with pay.

   (2) The employer should make available to the workers’ representatives, at their request, the information mentioned in subparagraph (1).

V. TRAINING

13. In line with the principles set forth in the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1962, the competent authorities should take the necessary measures to ensure that young persons employed or to be employed underground in mines—

      (a) receive systematic vocational training, through apprenticeship or other forms of training appropriate in the national circumstances, in order to ensure adequate preparation for the particular type of work in which they are to be engaged;

      (b) enjoy suitable opportunities for further technical training, enabling them to develop their occupational capacities without detriment to their health and welfare, account being taken of national circumstances; and

      (c) are provided with suitable opportunities for further education and training above ground with a view to ensuring their future adaptation to technological change in the mining industry and to their develop human capacities.

VI. CONSULTATION

14. The competent authority in each country should consult the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned before determining general policies of implementation and before adopting regulations in pursuance of the terms of this Recommendation.
(15) Text of the Resolution concerning the Employment of Young Persons on Surface Work in Mines and Quarries, Submitted by the Committee on Employment of Young Miners.¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Noting that the Conventions and Recommendations concerning the employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds specifically exclude coverage of young people employed in open-cast mines, open quarries and similar operations,

Considering that such operations may involve risks to the safety and health of young persons which are similar to those encountered in work underground in mines;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—

¹ See Second Part, p. 398, and Appendix XII, p. 697.


(The text submitted by the Drafting Committee was adopted by the Conference without modification.¹ For the authentic text, see Appendix XIII, p. 736.)

¹ See Second Part, p. 435.
(1) Text of the Proposed Recommendation concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(This text is given in Report V (2) prepared by the International Labour Office for the 49th Session of the Conference.)

(2) Report of the Committee on Women Workers.

1. The Committee on Women Workers, set up by the Conference at its third sitting, consisted of 125 members (60 Government members, 25 Employers' members and 40 Workers' members). At the opening of the fourth sitting of the Committee two new Employers' voting members were added to the Committee in accordance with the decision of the Appeals Board, thus raising the membership of the Committee to 127. To achieve equality of voting strength amongst the three groups, each Government member had 18 votes, each Employers' member 40 votes and each Workers' member 27 votes. The modification of the composition of the Committee led to a statement by a spokesman of the Employers' group to the effect that any subsequent statement made to the Committee on behalf of that group would be in the name of those Employers' members only who had been listed as voting members prior to the decision of the Appeals Board. The Employers' member of Bulgaria said in reply that the two new members were full members of the Committee with full rights.

2. The Committee elected the following officers:

   Chairman : Mrs. Gatti Caporaso, Government member, Italy.

   Vice-Chairmen : Mr. Anderson, Employers' member, Australia, Mrs. R. Weber, Workers' member, Austria.

   Reporter : Miss Jedidi, Government member, Tunisia.

3. The Government members of the U.S.S.R., Hungary and Poland abstained from participating in the election of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Committee. Though they had no objections to the officers elected as individuals, they considered that in the nomination of officers for the Committees of the Conference in general there had not been adequate regard to the principle of equitable geographical distribution.

4. The Committee established a Drafting Committee composed of Miss Royce, Government member, Canada (substitute : Mrs. Konradi, Government member, Hungary); Mrs. Asuni, Employers' member, Nigeria (substitute : Mr. Schmidt, Employers' member, Canada); and Mrs. Zangy-Alt, Workers' member, Switzerland (substitute : Mrs. Troisgros, Workers' member, France).

5. The Committee held ten sittings. It had before it Reports V (1) and V (2) prepared by the Office on the fifth item on the agenda, the employment of women with family responsibilities, and in particular the text of the proposed Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities included at the end of Report V (2).

General Discussion

6. Many speakers stated that, in their view, the proposed Recommendation provided a good basis of discussion. Some, however, said that, in their opinion, the proposed text prepared after consultation of governments was somewhat weaker and less satisfactory than the text adopted by the Conference after the first discussion. The Government members of Ghana, Poland and the U.S.S.R., as well as the Employers' member of Bulgaria and some Workers' members, indicated that they would have preferred a Convention on the subject, and the Government member of Hungary said that she thought that a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation would have been desirable. While recognising that a Recommendation would carry considerable moral weight, they believed that a Convention would have been a more authoritative instrument for the defence of the rights of women workers and would have shown at the same time how far the I.L.O. was prepared to go ahead in safeguarding these rights.

7. A good many speakers, including a number of Government members and members of the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section, emphasised the need to draft an instrument in terms sufficiently flexible to take account of the great diversity of national conditions, arising particularly out of...
differences in culture and in the level of economic development. However, a number of speakers also pointed out that the search for flexibility should not lead to any weakening of the instrument. Other members indicated difficulties that might be raised, especially in developing countries, by too detailed a text: for one thing, it would be unrealistic to ask these countries to develop for women services that did not yet exist for men, and for another, where unemployment and underemployment were widespread, protective measures on behalf of the unemployed would have to be offset by the cost of employing women to a level at which employers would prefer to employ men and thereby to restrict employment opportunities for women.

8. The Government member of Sweden made certain reservations as to the desirability of adopting an instrument specially devoted to the employment of women, because she feared that special measures on behalf of women might prejudice their chances of equality of opportunity on the employment market. In the view of the Government members of Denmark, Norway and Sweden a good many of the problems dealt with in the proposed Recommendation were of concern to men as well as to women and it was necessary to make an effort to come to a fairer distribution of family and home responsibilities between the mother and the father. In their opinion it would be desirable, in a few years' time, to review the provisions of the instrument which the Conference was going to adopt, which might by then no longer correspond to realities. This last suggestion was supported by the spokesman of the Workers' members.

9. On the other hand, several other members considered that it was natural to take special measures to facilitate the tasks of women workers with family responsibilities whom society expected to play a triple role as workers, mothers and home-makers. Some emphasised that the employment of women outside the home met national economic needs and made it possible to raise living standards and productivity. It was only right, therefore, that measures to facilitate the tasks of women work­ers with family responsibilities represented an important step forward, the I.L.O. should also consider that it was natural to take special privilege, but as a right stemming from their social function of motherhood. The financial burden of the employment of women with family responsibilities should be borne by the community as a whole and not by individual employers, in order not to jeopardise women's employment opportunities. Though it might be true that certain of the measures listed in the proposed Recommendation were of concern to men as well as to women, it was no less true that they were of special concern to women and it was therefore natural that they should be mentioned in an instrument on the employment of women. The proposed instrument should, it was emphasised, seek to achieve a balance between the need for equality of opportunity for women in the world of work and the need to help them to fulfil more easily their specific task in social and family life.

10. As regards the content of the instru­ment, some members expressed the hope that certain basic principles could be made more precise, in particular, the right of women to work, to equal remuneration, to equal access to education and vocational training, and to maternity protection. The importance of the vocational guidance and training of girls and women was underlined by several speakers. Emphasis was also placed on the need to develop child-care services. At the same time some speakers recalled, on the one hand, the necessity to take account not only of the needs of women workers but also of those of the whole community as a whole and on the other the important role of individual and voluntary initiative in this sphere.

11. Divergent views were expressed as to the desirability of mentioning the question of the progressive reduction of daily and weekly hours of work in the proposed instrument. The Workers' members emphasised the importance they attached to this question, which they would have preferred to see dealt with in the operative part of the proposed Recommendation rather than in the Preamble. The Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section, on the other hand, took the view that it might be advisable not to mention this subject in the proposed Recommendation at all, since the Conference had already adopted, in 1962, a Recommendation on this subject.

12. Several Government members deplored the absence in the proposed instrument of provisions relating to part-time employment. Even if it were true that this question was of concern to women other than women workers with family responsibilities, this was not an adequate reason not to mention the subject. Part-time employment was a fact in a great many countries. It made it possible for those concerned to maintain contact with their occupation during the period during which their family responsibilities made it difficult for them to work full time.

13. A Government member expressed the hope that the rights and privileges of women with family responsibilities could be defined more precisely, especially in Section IV, taking due account of their interests as well as of the needs to raise productivity.

14. Finally, certain Government members considered that, while the adoption of a Recommendation on the employment of women with family responsibilities represented an important step forward, the I.L.O. should also continue and intensify its activity in this field, particularly within the framework of its regional conferences, by appointing regional advisers concerned with problems of women's employment and by placing national assis­tance experts at the disposal of governments.

Discussion of the Proposed Recommendation

PREAMBLE

15. As a result of the unanimous adoption of an amendment submitted by the Workers' members, the text of the second preambular clause was modified to make it clear that women were working outside their homes in "increasing numbers". In the third pre-
inserting the words "in particular employers'
in favour, 58 against, with 40 abstentions. The Algerian Government member, and the latter
related to their legal status. The French
member of Cyprus, this amendment was
adopted unanimously. A second amendment
to this part of the text, submitted by the
Government member of Austria, no longer
required examination as it went less far than
that of the Workers' members. A further
amendment, submitted by a number of Govern-
ment members was withdrawn, since its
sponsors considered that the new text of the
Paragraph, modified in the light of the amend-
ment of the Workers' members, made it
unnecessary.

21. A third amendment submitted by the
Workers' members aimed at replacing the
words "who need or choose to work outside
their homes" by the words "who work outside
their homes". The spokesman of the Workers'
members said that the word "need" was not
at all clear and that it seemed preferable to
deal only with the women who are already at
work. The Government member of Poland,
expressing the view that it was important not
to neglect the position of women who were not
yet in employment, might wish to work if
conditions made it possible, submitted a sub-
amendment proposing to replace the words
"who work" by the words "who work or
intend to work". While several members of
the Committee supported this proposal and
emphasised that several parts of the text
concerned women who were not yet working as
well as those already at work, others thought it
preferable to refer only to women who worked
and pointed out that what was done on their
behalf automatically benefited those who
intended to work later on. After a fairly
lengthy exchange of views the subamendment
was rejected by 692 votes in favour, 2,116
against, with 126 abstentions. The amendment
of the Workers' members was then adopted by
2,362 votes in favour, 72 against, with 54
abstentions.

22. An amendment was submitted by the
Government member of Iraq to make it clear
that the policy to be pursued should permit
women who work outside their homes to
"exercise their right to" do so without
discrimination. The sponsor of the amendment
stated that she thought it necessary to mention
explicitly women's right to work. The amend-
ment was not opposed by the Employers' members
and was supported by several Government
members, while the Workers' members
and one Government member, though agreeing
with the spirit of the amendment, regarded
specific reference to it as unnecessary, since
reference to the Discrimination (Employment
and Occupation) Convention, 1958, was already
included in the text. After an exchange of views,
the Workers' members agreed to support
the amendment, and it was adopted by 2,617
votes in favour, 40 against, with 81 abstentions.

23. The Government member of Libya
proposed adding at the end of the Paragraph
mention not only of the Discrimination (Em-
ployment and Occupation) Convention, 1958,
but also of other standards relating to women's
employment adopted by the International
Labour Conference. While a number of Gov-
ernment members considered this addition
to be useful and the Employers' members stated
that they had no objection to it, certain other
Government members and the Workers' members feared that the fundamental principle of non-discrimination might be obscured by this general reference to the other standards. At the request of a Government member the representative of the Secretary-General stated that agreement to this amendment did not imply assent by governments to all the other standards to which general reference was made. In the end the Workers' members accepted the amendment, and it was adopted by 1,455 votes in favour, 171 against, with 1,128 abstentions.

24. An amendment submitted by the Government member of Ireland aimed at making it clear that it should be a goal of social and economic policy to ensure, so far as possible, that women with family responsibilities were not obliged by economic circumstances to engage in employment outside the home to the detriment of their duties and responsibilities in the home. The Government member of Belgium submitted a subamendment, accepted by the sponsor of the amendment, which specified that it should be an aim of economic, social and family policy to ensure, so far as possible, freedom of choice so that women with family responsibilities should not be obliged by economic circumstances to work outside their homes. The amendment as subamended was rejected, after discussion, by 90 votes in favour, 2,386 against, with 382 abstentions.

25. Paragraph 1, as amended, was adopted by 2,993 votes in favour, none against, with 55 abstentions.

PROPOSAL TO INSERT A NEW SECTION BEFORE EXISTING SECTION II

26. The Austrian Government member proposed inserting, before Section II of the existing text, a new Section II entitled "Employment Policy" which would recommend the competent authorities to take all measures in accordance with the Employment Policy Convention, 1964, and the Employment Policy Recommendation, 1964, to enable women with family responsibilities to become or to remain integrated in the labour force as well as to enter the labour force. The mover of the amendment explained that these two instruments were of direct relevance to the subject of the proposed Recommendation as they dealt with the creation of employment opportunities. As they did not make any direct reference to women with family responsibilities, they would be usefully supplemented by the instrument under discussion. Moreover, they covered a wide range of measures of interest to countries in all stages of development.

27. The Government member of Cyprus thought this amendment introduced a totally new idea which could hardly be accepted without careful study and he announced that he would abstain from voting on it. An Employers' member considered that reference to the two instruments on employment policy was superfluous. Other members supported the amendment, which was adopted in the end by 1,592 votes in favour, 1,018 against, with 333 abstentions. It was left for the Drafting Committee to insert the new Paragraph in the most appropriate place in the text.

II. PUBLIC INFORMATION AND EDUCATION

Paragraph 2

28. The Committee adopted unanimously an amendment submitted by the Workers' members to the introductory part of this Paragraph, which proposed inserting the words "in particular employers' and workers' organisations" after the words "public and private organisations".

29. The Bulgarian Employers' member proposed that in clause (a) it should be made quite clear that practical measures were necessary to help women with family responsibilities not only to become effectively integrated in the labour force but to become effectively integrated in the labour force on the basis of equal rights. While one Employers' member opposed this amendment, on the ground that it introduced unnecessary repetition which was detrimental to the clarity of the text, several Government members and the Workers' members supported it. The amendment was adopted by 1,754 votes in favour, 880 against, with 126 abstentions.

30. Paragraph 2, as amended, was adopted unanimously, with the reservation that the Drafting Committee should examine one point affecting the French text only.

III. CHILD-CARE SERVICES AND FACILITIES

Paragraph 3

31. The Committee adopted unanimously an amendment submitted by the Workers' members proposing the insertion in the introductory part of the text, after the words "the public and private organisations concerned" of the words "in particular employers' and workers' organisations".

32. In the same part of the text, the Government member of Cyprus proposed adding the words "and subject to national priorities" after the word "information". He pointed out that all governments, when preparing their budgets, had to take account of national priorities and that, even if the General Principle made it clear that the competent authorities should take into consideration national and local needs and possibilities, this concept should not be confused with that of "national priorities". The Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section indicated its support of the amendment, but a number of Government members and the Workers' members opposed it on the ground that the proposed Recommendation already made adequate provision for the reservations mentioned concerning the application of its provisions, while the additional phrase suggested would make the text less clear and would unduly limit its scope. The Government member of Cyprus pointed out that the idea underlying his amendment was not his own but emanated from a tripartite committee in his country which had examined the proposed Recommendation; the trade unions had approved the change suggested by the amendment. However, while insisting on the essential difference between "national possibilities" and "national priori-
33. The Government member of the United Kingdom submitted an amendment whose object was to insert in clause (b) the word "needs and", before "preferences for child-care services". She pointed out that the statistical information referred to in clause (a) would give only an approximate idea of demands and that the surveys referred to in clause (b) would be necessary also to determine more exactly what the needs were. The amendment was adopted unanimously.

34. Paragraph 3, as amended, was adopted unanimously.

Paragraph 4

35. The Government member of Poland withdrew, in favour of an amendment submitted by the Workers' members, an amendment aimed at deleting the words "where necessary" in clause (b), relating to the responsibility of the competent authorities, in co-operation with those concerned, to, inter alia, "encourage and facilitate and, where necessary, themselves organise" the provision of child-care services and facilities. The amendment of the Workers' members proposed replacing the words "and, where necessary", by the word "or". The spokesman of the Workers' members explained that the intention of the amendment was to follow the same pattern of language as had been agreed to in the General Principle. A number of Government members pointed out that the use of the word "or" left it to the competent authorities to decide whether to encourage and facilitate or themselves to organise child-care services. Others, in particular the Government members of Canada and the Netherlands, preferred that this freedom of choice should be maintained, while still others, including the Government members of Algeria, Iraq and Poland, preferred that an option should not be posed and that the word "and" should be replaced by "or". The Committee finally decided, by 1,664 votes in favour, 1,198 against, with 500 abstentions, to adopt a proposal of the Government member of the U.S.S.R., submitted formally as a subamendment by the Government member of Poland, to replace the beginning of Paragraph 4 (b) by a text similar to that unanimously adopted by the Committee on Women Workers at the 48th Session of the Conference, namely "themselves organise as well as encourage and facilitate the provision of child-care services". The Government member of the United Kingdom asked that it should be noted that in her country day nurseries were provided by local authorities for young children who have special needs, including those whose mothers worked, while there were also nurseries run by undertakings and by other bodies, all supervised by the public authorities. Paragraph 4 of the proposed Recommendation, inviting governments to see to it that child-care services corresponded to individual preferences as well as needs, raised practical difficulties. There were many demands on qualified staff, building and equipment and it would be impossible to satisfy all of these at the same time. Plans for some years ahead committed the Government of the United Kingdom to expansion of mental health services, care for the elderly and maternity services. The Government, therefore, could not at present hold out the prospect of any widespread extension of existing public facilities for mothers of young children who wished to work outside the home. This did not mean that the Government in any way lacked sympathy with the objectives of the Paragraph.

36. Paragraph 4, as amended, was adopted by 1,754 votes in favour, 680 against, with 500 abstentions.

Paragraphs 5 and 6

37. Paragraphs 5 and 6 were adopted unanimously without change.

IV. ENTRY AND RE-ENTRY INTO EMPLOYMENT

Paragraph 7

38. The Government member of Cyprus stated that, having regard to the discussion which had taken place on Section III of the text, he would withdraw the amendment he had submitted, which was designed to insert in the introductory part of the Paragraph the words "and appropriate" after the word "necessary".

39. The Workers' members proposed to add at the end of the Paragraph a new clause (c), stipulating that the competent authorities, in co-operation with the organisations concerned, should take all measures that might be necessary and appropriate "to convince parents and educators of the need to give girls a sound vocational preparation". This amendment, which was supported by a good many Government members as well as by the Employers' members, was adopted unanimously, it being left to the Drafting Committee to determine the most appropriate place for its insertion in the text.

40. Paragraph 7, as amended, was adopted unanimously.

Paragraph 8

41. The Government member of Kuwait submitted an amendment to subparagraph (1) aimed at making it clear that the text would apply to women who had not yet worked, as well as to those who had been in employment. There was no objection to the substance of the amendment, and the matter of any rewording of the text that might be necessary to clarify the point was referred to the Drafting Committee.

42. The Government member of Cyprus submitted an amendment proposing deletion from subparagraph (2) of the words "they should include adequate counselling, information and placement services and provide adequate vocational training and retraining facilities appropriate to the needs of the women concerned and available without distinction as regards age". In his view, there was a con-
43. Paragraph 8 was adopted unanimously.

**Paragraph 9**

44. An amendment submitted by the Government member of Cyprus, proposing to delete the whole of Paragraph 9, was withdrawn by its mover in favour of an amendment submitted by the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section, which aimed at replacing subparagraph (1) by a new text and deleting subparagraph (2). The substitute text for subparagraph (1) provided that, in the case of women who could not return to their employment immediately following exhaustion of the normal period of maternity leave established by law or practice or account of their responsibilities vis-à-vis their babies, appropriate measures should be taken to the extent possible to allow them a reasonable further period of leave of absence without relinquishing their employment, all rights with regard to retaining their employment being fully safeguarded. The spokesman of the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section emphasised that the movers of the amendment submitted it in the spirit of understanding and cooperation, which testified both to their admiration for the magnificent work done by women in times of peace as well as in troubled times and to their gratitude for the increasingly essential role in economic life played by women with family responsibilities. They wished to see an instrument which would be applied by governments as fully and as rapidly as national conditions allowed. In any event, the employment of women who threatened to jeopardise the imperative need of skilled labour, and it was really not justifiable for skilled women to be absent from work for long periods employers who were sceptical of its practicality to accept it more easily.

45. The spokesman of the Workers' members praised the objectivity and spirit of cooperation which had characterised the work of the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section of the Committee. She emphasised that the matter dealt with by Paragraph 9 did not affect only employers and employees; it was a matter of key importance to the future generation, which would be growing up in the inhuman conditions imposed by today's mechanised societies. The strain of modern life, which also fell heavily on mothers, sometimes prevented them from taking advantage of the rights granted to them, such as breaks for nursing their children. Subparagraph (1) was especially aimed at helping them to overcome their difficulties by allowing them additional leave to continue caring personally for their babies a little longer. The proposed amendment would withdraw from women the freedom of choice as to whether they should prolong their maternity leave or not. Use of the words "who cannot" implied that someone other than the woman herself would decide whether or not she would return to work; whether this was to be done by the employer, a government authority or a doctor, it was equally unacceptable to the workers.

46. A good many Government members, including a number from African countries, as well as several Employers' members, spoke in favour of the amendment. It was pointed out that the existing text of the subparagraph left too much freedom of choice to the women and that if the latter had the right to stay away from their work for long periods employers would hesitate to engage them, and this, in turn, would restrict their opportunities for access to employment on a footing of equality with men. There were other ways of helping women who wished to come back to work after a prolonged absence—for example, by improving facilities for their vocational guidance and training. Particularly in the developing countries, where the primary objective was to ensure a stable and well-ordered economy, it was necessary to take careful note of too much time which employers. In these countries large families were common, and the absences provided for by subparagraph (1) were likely to be frequent and to make for interruptions of employment which would be very difficult for undertakings to endure, obliging the employers to have recourse to temporary replacements or to work with lower productivity. Overprotection of women threatened to jeopardise the imperative needs of development. Moreover, some developing countries were suffering from serious shortage of skilled labour and a really not justifiable for skilled women to be absent from work for long periods. In any event, the employers, who assumed by far the greatest burden of the task of providing vocational training in many countries, would be reluctant to provide training for girls in the belief that later the women would ask for prolonged maternity leave as well as for priority of re-employment. Working women did not always share the same concerns in countries where full employment existed, a priority in respect of re-engagement might not raise any special problem, but in those suffering from unemployment it might be difficult to give this priority to women who did not need to work while others were seeking employment. The amendment which had been submitted was directed precisely towards meeting the special needs of women workers arising out of their maternity function without giving ground for discrimination in employment against them. In reply to objections raised by the spokesman of the Workers' members the sponsors of the amendment made it clear that there was no question of leaving it the employers to decide whether a woman could or could not return to work after the normal period of maternity leave, but that the matter might be dealt with by doctors or psychologists.

47. Some Government members said that, though they could support the new text of subparagraph (1), they could not agree to the
deletion of subparagraph (2). The sponsors of the amendment, while underlining that in their view the new text covered both subparagaphs (1) and (2) and therefore made subparagraph (2) unnecessary, stated that they would not object to voting separately on the two parts of the amendment.

48. A number of Government and Workers' members opposed the amendment. It was a matter of ensuring women not only equality in law, but equality in practice, and recognition of women's right to work implied the need to guarantee them conditions which would allow them to hold a job at the same time as assuming their family obligations and bringing up their children as well as possible. In any event, it was for the women themselves, and not for some third party, to decide whether or not they should return to employment at the end of their maternity leave. From a legal standpoint it was necessary to distinguish three aspects: paid maternity leave, generally covered by legislation and not dealt with in the proposed Recommendation; an extended period of unpaid leave, which was dealt with in subparagraph (1); and interruption of employment, which was dealt with in subparagraph (2).

The consequences for women workers, employers and governments of accepting these provisions had to be examined separately. As regards women workers, it might be thought that, pressed by economic need, they would most often opt to take up their employment again and that, even if they were forced to stay away from work for a certain period, they would not prolong this period unreasonably. Moreover, there was no reason to doubt their conscientiousness both as workers and as citizens, which would prompt them to return to work as soon as possible. As for employers, the possibility of re-engaging, after a reasonable period, women who had already worked in the undertaking had advantages rather than risks. Finally, the creation of child-care services constituted a heavy liability for governments, which would be very different in developing countries and in industrialised countries, but it was necessary at the same time to take account of the problems of women workers in the latter countries where, though they might have fewer children, they had to look after them alone, often in very difficult conditions.

49. It was also emphasised that the provisions of subparagraph (1) would not entail any heavy financial burden for the employers, who were not called upon to pay wages to the women workers concerned during their period of absence. There was no reason to believe that they would be more difficult to apply in the developing countries than in industrialised countries; indeed, the former had the advantage of being able to start off on the right foot from the beginning without having to change long-established practice. It was noted that in Austria, where women were entitled to take unpaid maternity leave for a period of up to one year, and where about 80 per cent. of the women with this right took advantage of it, the number of women in the labour force had increased steadily and the labour-force participation rate of women was one of the highest in Europe.

50. In reply to a question put by a Government member the sponsors of the amendment made it clear that the words "who cannot return to their employment" did not mean that only medical grounds were to be taken into account and that the expression "all rights with regard to retaining their employment" covered such things as pension rights and annual leave, that is the accrued rights mentioned in subparagraph (2) of the proposed text. The object of the amendment was to protect those women workers who really needed to stay with their children. While appreciating this explanation, a number of members of the Committee, including the Workers' members, expressed the view that the original text of subparagraph (1) fully ensured this protection and was clearer than the text proposed by the amendment. As regards subparagraph (2), which several Government members found drafted in too loose terms, the Workers' members noted that they had themselves submitted an amendment proposing a substitute text. In their view this new text overcame the difficulties to which it gave rise in its present form and removed any ambiguity in the matter by referring to an international instrument already adopted by the Conference. A number of Government members stated that the Workers' amendment was in fact a distinct improvement on the original text.

51. Several speakers emphasised that the text under discussion was a proposed Recommendation, not a proposed Convention, and that it was drafted in sufficiently flexible terms to permit all countries to apply its various provisions in accordance with national possibilities. It was clear that the position of working women with family responsibilities would be very different in developing countries and in industrialised countries, but it was necessary at the same time to take account of the problems of women workers in the latter countries where, though they might have fewer children, they had to look after them alone, often in very difficult conditions.

52. After a long discussion it became apparent that the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section and the Workers' members could reach agreement on the wording of the end of the subparagraph but that they had divergent views on the use of the words "who cannot" or "who do not wish to". The Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section considered that the expression "who do not wish to" left too much latitude to the women workers concerned to decide whether or not they would go back to work at the end of their normal period of maternity leave and they feared that, particularly in the developing countries, the inclusion of a provision so drafted would give rise to practical difficulties of application of the Recommendation. On the other hand, the Workers' members took the view that the decision to return to work should be left to the women workers themselves and that due account should be taken of the need and right of babies to be cared for personally by their mothers; they pointed out that the inclusion of a provision in the proposed Recommendation was already subject to national and local resources and possibilities, so that it was possible for govern-
53. The Government member of Cyprus, while appreciating the validity of the objections raised to the amendment of the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section, recognised that cases could arise where the wish of women to return to work might be based on caprice rather than on reasons really linked with maternity. In his view this difficulty could be overcome if it were made clear in the text that the provisions would apply to women who did not wish to return to work "on account of family responsibilities arising out of maternity". However, since all those concerned were not able to support this proposal, he suggested that the Committee set up a tri-partite working party with the mandate of seeking a compromise solution which might be acceptable to all members of the Committee. This proposal was agreed, and the Working Party, made up of Mr. Sparsis and Mrs. Jakubowicz (Government members), Mrs. Asuni and Mr. Anderson (Employers' members) and Miss Tegelaar and Mrs. M. Weber (Workers' members), met forthwith.

54. The text proposed by the Working Party was as follows: "In the case of women who, on account of their family responsibilities arising out of maternity, do not find themselves in a position to return to their employment immediately following exhaustion of the normal period of maternity leave established by law or practice, appropriate measures should be taken to the extent possible to allow them a reasonable further period of leave of absence without relinquishing their employment, all rights resulting from their employment being fully safeguarded." The spokesman for the Workers' members indicated that, although his group was not altogether satisfied with this text, it was ready to accept it in a spirit of compromise and in the interests of social progress. The Committee adopted unanimously the text submitted by the Working Party, which replaced subparagraph 9 (1) of the Office text.

55. The Government member of Austria stated that his Government interpreted the term "normal period of maternity leave established by law or practice" as meaning the period during which employment was legally prohibited, and the term "without relinquishing their employment" as meaning "without relinquishing their employment relationship". The Government member of the Netherlands declared that she had voted in favour of the text of the Working Party because she considered it more flexible than the text proposed by the Office but that, since the Netherlands Government had not yet been able to assess its legal implications, her delegation reserved its position on this point in the plenary session of the Conference.

56. As regards subparagraph (2) the Government member of the United Kingdom explained that her Government had feared that the text as it stood would give priority of re-employment to one category of workers, which could operate unfairly against others, and had therefore proposed its deletion. However, her fears had been set at rest by the amendment submitted by the Workers' members which provided that, in case of interruption of employment following maternity, the women concerned should be considered for re-employment, in accordance with the general principles laid down in the Termination of Employment Recommendation, 1963. She therefore withdrew her amendment in favour of that submitted by the Workers' members. The spokesman of the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section stated that it could also support the amendment of the Workers' members. This amendment was adopted by 2,415 votes in favour, with 192 abstentions.

57. Paragraph 9 as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 2,496 votes in favour, none against, with 236 abstentions.

Paragraph 10

58. The Government members of Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands submitted an amendment proposing the addition, in subparagraph (2), of the harmonisation of working hours and hours of schools and childcare services or facilities to the matters of particular relevance to women workers with family responsibilities to which appropriate attention should be given. The French Government member explained that these were related problems which should not be considered separately. The amendment was adopted by 1,669 votes in favour, 1,000 against, with 36 abstentions.

59. Another amendment, submitted by the French Government member, aimed at making it clear that the facilities required to simplify and lighten household tasks should be provided "at low cost". This amendment was adopted by 1,300 votes in favour, 1,072 against, with 324 abstentions.

Paragraph 11

60. The Workers' members submitted an amendment aimed at making it clear that the assistance provided by home-aid services should be furnished "to women workers with family responsibilities", because these workers were the concern of the proposed Recommendation. This amendment was adopted by 2,440 votes in favour, none against, with 238 abstentions.

Proposals for a New Paragraph on Part-Time Employment in Section V

61. The Committee had two amendments before it, submitted respectively by the Government member of the Netherlands and the Government member of Canada and concerning part-time employment. In presenting the first amendment its mover recalled that at the previous year's discussion a whole Section dealing with part-time employment had been deleted from the Office text at the wish of the Workers' members and the Bureau of the Employers' Technical Section. It was nevertheless a fact that women worked part-time and that they should be safeguarded. This type of work had a number of advantages: it permitted...
employers to have a reserve of manpower and it allowed women to fulfil their dual tasks more easily, as well as to keep in touch with their occupations during the period during which their family responsibilities prevented them from working full time. In developing countries it could be useful to meet shortages of skilled personnel. It was also a means of educating public opinion gradually to acceptance of the idea of women with family responsibilities working outside their homes in cases where there was resistance to part-time work. It was thus desirable that the proposed Recommendation should at least mention part-time employment and that it should include a Paragraph which, taking account of the fact that part-time employment might be of interest to various categories of workers, including in particular women with family responsibilities, would provide that steps should be taken to ensure that the terms and conditions of part-time employment were consistent with those applicable to full-time employment.

62. The amendment submitted by the Government member of Canada provided that, taking account of the fact that women workers with family responsibilities might seek part-time employment as a means of reconciling their responsibilities at home and at work, steps should be taken to ensure that terms and conditions of part-time employment were such as to safeguard the position of both full-time and part-time workers. While recognising that the question was controversial, since employers thought that part-time employment might encourage reduction of hours of work while workers thought it might check this movement, the sponsor of the amendment nevertheless considered that with industrialisation certain kinds of work would lend themselves increasingly to this type of employment. She would have no objection to wording changes or to withdrawing her amendment in favour of that submitted by the Netherlands Government member, if the latter seemed more widely acceptable: what mattered was to include mention of the question of part-time employment in the proposed instrument.

63. Several Government members spoke in favour of including in the proposed Recommendation a Paragraph mentioning part-time employment. In addition to the reasons already put forward, they pointed out that it was above all women with family responsibilities who made use of this type of employment and the fact that they were deprived of protection as regards working conditions endangered the position of all other workers. Even though the solution of the problems of women with family responsibilities were to be found rather in the improvement of the services aimed at facilitating their dual tasks, part-time employment could be of use both in industrialised countries and in developing countries, where it was very important to utilise human resources to the full and to avoid the wastage represented by vocational training not subsequently put to use. The protection of certain categories of part-time workers, such as domestic workers, was of special importance.

64. Many Government, Employers’ and Workers’ members expressed their opposition to mention of part-time employment in the proposed Recommendation. They noted that the question concerned categories of workers other than women with family responsibilities and that it was not a question of truly international scope because it was of concern primarily to industrialised countries. In the developing countries part-time employment scarcely existed and where it did it threatened to affect adversely women’s employment opportunities. What was important was to place the emphasis on full-time employment, which was the only means to promote economic development. The existing tendency was towards a reduction of hours of work without lowering wages and it would seem illogical for the I.L.O. to recommend a type of employment arrangement which was already outmoded in a number of countries. In any event, seeking to deal with the question of part-time employment by a single brief Paragraph in a Recommendation on the employment of women with family responsibilities might create more problems than it solved. The spokesman of the Workers’ members, in particular, stated that, while her group had no major objection to the substance of the amendments which had been submitted, it considered that the question should be dealt with in a more general context and feared that examination of the question in this wider context would be prejudiced if the Committee were to adopt a provision applying only to women with family responsibilities.

65. In reply to a statement made by the spokesman of the Workers’ members, which recalled the Conference had adopted at its 48th Session a resolution inviting the International Labour Office to make a comprehensive study of the question of part-time employment, the representative of the Secretary-General pointed out that the Office had not lost sight of the question but that owing to other heavy commitments in the field of women’s employment it had not yet been possible to embark on the study. The Office was, however, systematically studying current information and developments in the field of part-time employment in the various countries.

66. The amendment of the Government member of Canada was withdrawn and the Committee voted on the amendment of the Netherlands Government member, which was rejected by 283 votes in favour, 1,815 against, with 404 abstentions.

Resolution Submitted by the Government Members of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden

67. The Government members of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden submitted a resolution inviting the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General to review, at regular intervals to be determined by the Governing Body, the first review to be made not later than 1975, the effects of the Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities, in accordance with article 19, paragraph 6 (d), of the Constitution of the I.L.O., with a view to deciding on further action within the I.L.O. to redefine the role and status of
women in the world of work in realistic relation to the changing pattern of employment opportunities for all workers.

68. The Committee adopted this resolution unanimously.

Adoption of the Report, the Proposed Recommendation and the Resolution

69. At its last sitting the Committee adopted its report unanimously.

70. The Government member of the U.S.S.R. suggested that in the proposed Recommendation the text of Paragraph 7 included in Section IV—Entry and Re-entry into Employment—which, in her opinion, expressed a fundamental idea, should be placed either in Section I—General Principle—or as a separate Paragraph in a new Section II entitled "Employment Policy". The Government member of Austria took the view that, as a result of the changes made during the Committee's work, all of Section IV had been substantially strengthened and in consequence it would have been more logical to place it immediately after Section I.

71. As the two members did not press their proposals, which had met with some opposition, the Committee adopted unanimously the proposed Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities. The Government member of the U.S.S.R. reserved the right to intervene on the question of the order of the Paragraphs in the plenary session of the Conference.

72. The resolution was adopted unanimously.


(Signed) Elena GATTI CAPOEASO,
Chairman.

Souad JEDIDI,
Reporter.

(3) Text of the Proposed Recommendation concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities, Submitted by the Committee on Women Workers.\(^1\)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth Session on 2 June 1965, and
Noting the fact that in many countries women are working outside their homes in increasing numbers as an integral and essential part of the labour force, and
Noting further that many such women have special problems arising out of the need to reconcile their dual family and work responsibilities, and
Noting that many of these problems, though they have particular relevance to the opportunities for employment of women workers with family responsibilities, also confront other workers and can be substantially alleviated by measures affecting all workers, such as the progressive reduction of daily and weekly hours of work, and
Noting further that many of the special problems faced by women with family responsibilities are not problems peculiar to women workers but are problems of the family and of society as a whole, and
Recognising that continuous social adaptation is required to meet these problems in a manner consistent with the best interests of all concerned, and
Aware of the need for governments and for all public and private organisations concerned to give consideration to these problems in a broad social, economic and legal context, and
Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the employment of women with family responsibilities, 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 June of the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965.

The Conference recommends that each Member should apply the following provisions as fully and as rapidly as national conditions allow.

I. General Principle

1. The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, and in accordance with national and local needs and possibilities—

(a) pursue an appropriate policy with a view to enabling women with family responsibilities who work outside their homes to exercise their right to do so, without being subject to discrimination and in accordance with the principles laid down in the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958, as well as in other standards relating to women adopted by the International Labour Conference, and

(b) encourage, facilitate or themselves undertake the development of services to enable women to fulfil their various responsibilities at home and at work harmoniously.

II. Public Information and Education

2. The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, take appropriate steps—

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\(^1\) See Second Part, p. 387.
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(a) to encourage such consideration of the problems of women workers with family responsibilities as may be necessary to help these workers to become effectively integrated in the labour force on the basis of equal rights;

(b) to undertake or promote such research as may be necessary and feasible into the various aspects of the employment of women workers with family responsibilities with a view to presenting objective information on which sound policies and measures may be based; and

(c) to engender broader public understanding of the problems of these workers with a view to developing community policies and a climate of opinion conducive to helping them to meet their family and employment responsibilities.

III. CHILD-CARE SERVICES AND FACILITIES

3. With a view to determining the scope and character of the child-care services and facilities needed to assist women workers to meet their employment and family responsibilities, the competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, and within the scope of their resources for collecting information, take such measures as may be necessary and appropriate—

(a) to collect and publish adequate statistics on the number of mothers engaged in or seeking employment and on the number and age of their children; and

(b) to ascertain, through systematic surveys conducted more particularly in local communities, the needs and preferences for child-care arrangements organised out-side the family.

4. The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, take appropriate steps to ensure that child-care services and facilities meet the needs and preferences so revealed; to this end they should, taking account of national and local circumstances and possibilities, in particular—

(a) encourage and facilitate the establishment, particularly in local communities, of plans for the systematic development of child-care services and facilities; and

(b) themselves organise as well as encourage and facilitate the provision of adequate and appropriate child-care services and facilities, at reasonable charge or free in case of need, developed along flexible lines and meeting the needs of children of different ages and of their working parents.

5. With a view to safeguarding the health and welfare of the child—

(a) child-care services and facilities of all types should comply with standards laid down and supervised by the competent authorities;

(b) such standards should prescribe in particular the equipment and hygienic requirements of the services and facilities provided and the number and qualifications of the staff; and

(c) the competent authorities should provide or help to ensure the provision of adequate training at various levels for the personnel needed to staff child-care services and facilities.

6. The competent authorities should, with the co-operation and participation of the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, help to ensure public understanding and support for efforts made to meet the special needs of working parents in respect of child-care services and facilities.

IV. ENTRY AND RE-ENTRY INTO EMPLOYMENT

7. The competent authorities should take all measures in accordance with the Employment Policy Convention, 1964, and the Employment Policy Recommendation, 1964, to enable women with family responsibilities to become or to remain integrated in the labour force as well as to re-enter the labour force.

8. With a view to enabling women with family responsibilities to become integrated in the labour force on a footing of equality, and with a view to facilitating their entry into employment or their re-entry after a comparatively long period of absence, the competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, take all measures that may be necessary in the national circumstances—

(a) to ensure the provision for girls of general education, vocational guidance and vocational training free from any form of discrimination on the ground of sex;

(b) to encourage girls to obtain a sound vocational preparation as a basis for their future work lives; and

(c) to convince parents and educators of the need to give girls a sound vocational preparation.

9. (1) The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned and taking account of national needs and possibilities, provide or help to ensure the provision of the services that may be necessary to facilitate the entry into employment of women who have not yet worked, or the re-entry into employment of women who have been out of the employment market for a comparatively long time, owing, in particular, to family responsibilities.

(2) Such services should be organised within the framework of existing services for all workers or, in default thereof, along lines appropriate to national conditions; they should include adequate counselling, information and placement services and provide adequate vocational training and retraining facilities appropriate to the needs of the women concerned and available without distinction as regards age.
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(3) The services and facilities should be kept under review in order to ensure that they are properly adapted to the special needs of these women workers and to the changing needs and tendencies of economic and technological development.

10. (1) In the case of women who, on account of their family responsibilities arising out of maternity, do not find themselves in a position to return to their employment immediately following exhaustion of the normal period of maternity leave established by law or practice, appropriate measures should be taken to the extent possible to allow them a reasonable further period of leave of absence without relinquishing their employment, all rights resulting from their employment being fully safeguarded.

(2) In case of interruption of employment following maternity, the women concerned should be considered for re-employment in accordance with the provisions applicable under the Termination of Employment Recommendation, 1963, to workers whose employment has been terminated owing to a reduction of the work force.

V. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

11. (1) To the extent necessary the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, should co-operate with the competent authorities and collaborate with each other to take other measures and promote other action to assist women workers to meet their employment and family responsibilities without detriment to their opportunities for employment and promotion.

(2) In this connection attention should be given, as local needs require and possibilities permit, to matters which have particular relevance for women workers with family responsibilities, such as the organisation of public transport, the harmonisation of working hours and hours of schools and child-care services or facilities, and the provision at low cost of the facilities required to simplify and lighten household tasks.

12. Particular efforts should be made to develop home-aid services operating under public authority or supervision and providing women workers with family responsibilities, in the event of family need, with qualified assistance at reasonable charge.

(4) Text of the Resolution concerning Periodic Review of the Effects of the Recommendation concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities, Submitted by the Committee on Women Workers.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General to review at regular intervals to be determined by the Governing Body, the first review to be made not later than 1975, the effects of the Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities, in accordance with article 19, paragraph 6 (d), of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation with a view to deciding on further action within the International Labour Organisation to redefine the role and status of women in the world of work in realistic relation to the changing pattern of employment opportunities for all workers.

(5) Text of the Recommendation concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities, Submitted by the Drafting Committee.

(The text submitted by the Drafting Committee was adopted by the Conference without modification. For the authentic text see Appendix XIII, page 712.)

1 See Second Part, p. 388 and Appendix XII, p. 697.
Sixth Item on the Agenda: Agrarian Reform, with Particular Reference to Employment and Social Aspects

(1) Report of the Committee on Agrarian Reform.¹

1. The Committee on Agrarian Reform, appointed by the Conference at its third sitting on 3 June 1965, was composed of 127 members, later increased to 128 (66 Government members, 26 Employers' members and 36 Workers' members) by the inclusion of one new titular Employers' member and in accordance with the decision of the Appeals Board.² In order to ensure equal representation for the three groups, each Government member had 78 votes, each Employers' member had 198 votes and each Workers' member had 143 votes. The modification of the composition of the Committee led to a statement by a spokesman of the Employers' group to the effect that any subsequent statement made to the Committee on behalf of that group would be in the name of those Employers' members only who had been listed as voting members prior to the decision of the Appeals Board.

2. The Committee elected its officers as follows:

   Chairman: Mr. Armendares, Government member, Argentina.

   Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Sepúlveda Latapiat, Employers' member, Chile; Mr. González Navarro, Workers' member, Venezuela.

   Reporter: Mr. Pedersen, Government member, Denmark.

3. The Committee held ten sittings.

4. The Committee had before it the report prepared by the Office on the sixth item on the agenda of the Conference: Agrarian Reform, with Particular Reference to Employment and Social Aspects (Report VI).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

5. The representative of the Secretary-General, in introducing the report prepared by the Office, indicated the complexity of the issue at hand, the broad definition of agrarian reform utilised in the report, and previous I.L.O. activity in this field. He stressed the fact that the report focused primarily upon the employment and social aspects of agrarian reform, which were primarily of concern to the I.L.O. within the co-ordinated international action programme being undertaken by the F.A.O., the United Nations and various specialised agencies. He drew the attention of the Committee to the conclusions of the Technical Advisory Group on Agrarian Reform, which was convened by the Governing Body and met in February-March 1964. Its terms of reference were to make proposals for consideration by the Governing Body regarding the manner in which the subject of agrarian reform should be examined by the International Labour Conference in 1965 and to indicate those specific aspects of the question within the competence of the I.L.O. which should be discussed. The conclusions of the Technical Advisory Group were attached as an Appendix I to the report before the Conference, and the Committee might wish to use them as a basis for its discussions.

6. The Committee agreed to take as a basis for its discussions the conclusions of the Technical Advisory Group.

7. The Workers' Vice-Chairman, speaking on behalf of the Workers' members, indicated that, in view of the vital importance of the subject and the need for the I.L.O. to play its proper role, the aim of the Committee should be the adoption of an effective international instrument, in the form of a Recommendation, accompanied by a resolution to place on the agenda of the 51st Session of the Conference the subject of agrarian reform.

8. Various Government members concurred that it would be desirable to formulate an international instrument on agrarian reform. Others, while fully recognising the importance of the problem, did not consider that the subject lent itself to the adoption of a formal instrument.

9. The Employers' Vice-Chairman, speaking on behalf of the majority of the Employers' members, stressed the major responsibilities faced by land owners in the implementation of agrarian reform and in fulfilling the economic and social objectives thereof. They had to assume the responsibilities inherent in land ownership, ensuring that it performed its social function in such a way that it would contribute to the economic and social progress of the farm population and of the nation as a whole. On the other hand, those land owners who were granting adequate social protection

¹ See Second Part, p. 420.
² See Appendix X, p. 690.
to their workers and who were farming efficiently and thus contributing to the national economy should not be adversely affected by reform.

10. A number of Government, Employers' and Workers' members described briefly the agrarian reform programmes within their respective countries. Most speakers indicated that the results of agrarian reform had been positive but some noted that the lack of finance, of technical assistance, or of similar prerequisites prevented the full success of such programmes.

11. Various members stressed those objectives which they considered as basic to agrarian reform. Several referred to the inter-relationship between the social and economic goals in accordance with the needs and levels of development of each country and the importance of the role of the government in providing the legal basis for reform, its implementation, and the economic requisites by which the beneficiaries of such reforms might increase their incomes and productivity. The elimination of large estates, the abolition of personal services and relief of indebtedness of agricultural workers were considered by certain members among the other primary objectives of agrarian reform.

12. Several members considered that linked to the success of agrarian reform measures to increase farm income and national income, particularly in developing nations, were those problems posed by the instability of agricultural prices and marketing possibilities, especially on the world market. The removal of the disparity between prices received from agricultural exports and those paid for industrial imports was considered by many members to be crucial if incomes in agriculture were to increase substantially.

13. Other, although fully agreeing with the importance of the problems of international trade and agricultural prices, stressed the necessity of limiting the discussion to the social and employment aspects of agrarian reform, those being of particular concern to the I.L.O.; several related problems should more properly be dealt with by the other specialised agencies.

14. The representatives of the United Nations and of the F.A.O. indicated their interest in agrarian reform. The former referred to the fact that the fourth report on progress in land reform would be presented at the coming session of the Economic and Social Council. The F.A.O. representative stressed the importance of I.L.O. action, particularly in relation to the employment aspects, within the international action programme, while pointing out that the F.A.O. had primary responsibility for the question as a whole. He drew the attention of the members of the Committee to the coming World Conference on Agrarian Reform sponsored by the United Nations and the F.A.O. in association with the I.L.O., to be held July 1966 in Rome, as well as to other F.A.O. activities, especially in the fields of evaluation and administration.

15. Several members stressed the important role which the I.L.O. had to play. They referred to the very significant social and employment aspects of agrarian reform, essential if those reforms were to achieve their desired results, as well as to such specific matters as the promotion of agricultural organisations, co-operatives and similar organisations, vocational training, social security programmes, the establishment of labour standards, and other measures that could directly improve living standards of agricultural workers.

16. Specific reference was made by one member to the activities of the I.L.O. under its Rural Development Programme, being implemented as the result of a unanimous resolution of the 1960 Conference. He also felt that greater emphasis in the conclusions should be given to legislative action and supported early Conference action on the problems of tenants, share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers.

17. A Working Party was constituted with the task of preparing a text for submission to the Committee based upon Appendix I of Report VI and on major points which emerged from the general discussion. It comprised, in addition to the Reporter, 14 Government members, namely the Chairman, Mr. Benamara (Algeria), Mr. Kirev (Bulgaria), Mr. Jaramillo Pérez (Ecuador), Mr. Serrain (France), Mr. Brobbey (Ghana), Mr. Parkhondepey (Iran), Mr. Obimbo (Kenya), Mr. Kuhne (Mexico), Mr. Tabigon (Philippines), Mr. Schiappacasse (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Cheremushkin (U.S.S.R.), Mr. Foggon (United Kingdom) and Mr. Hill (United States); seven Employers' members, namely the Employers' Vice-Chairman, Mr. Chinai (India), Mr. Konian Kodjo (Ivory Coast), Mr. Letaief (Tunisia), Mr. Misserville (Italy), Mr. Recalde (Argentina) and Mr. Vaandragers (Netherlands); seven Workers' members, namely the Workers' Vice-Chairman, Lord Collison (United Kingdom), Mr. Goodluck (Nigeria), Mr. Krugly (U.S.S.R.), Mr. McPherson (Jamaica), Mr. Mukherjee (India) and Mr. Principe (Brazil); and Mr. Jacoby, representative of the F.A.O.

DISCUSSION IN THE WORKING PARTY

18. The Working Party had a broad discussion of the underlying principles of agrarian reform. There was general agreement that problems of agrarian reform and of rural development in general were closely interrelated and that many general measures for rural development were also essential in areas where agrarian reforms were being implemented and envisaged. But it was also emphasised that agrarian reform had more specific purposes, namely the improvement of the agrarian structure, such as the land tenure system and other basic institutional elements. The Working Party considered, therefore, that the implementation of measures for agrarian reform was a prerequisite for any thorough-going action in the field of rural development. But such reforms had to take full account of the conditions prevailing in each country: no one approach..
was of universal application. In this respect the ultimate objective was to make it possible to give land to those who work it. Certain forms of land tenure, such as share-cropping, appeared to several delegates to be out of date and incapable of meeting the needs and of bringing about the development of a modern rural and agricultural structure. Recognising, however, that these systems still exist in many countries, the Working Party suggested that an item on the improvement of conditions of tenants and share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers should be placed on the agenda of the 1967 Session of the Conference.

19. The objectives of agrarian reform as set out in paragraph 5 of the conclusions of the Advisory Group appeared to the Working Party to be sufficiently clear and not to need any substantial changes. These objectives had a double concern: on the one hand, the need to elaborate satisfactory rural structures such as to favour improved levels of production and productivity; and, on the other, to provide the agricultural worker with a satisfactory social status, security of livelihood and an acceptable standard of living comparable, as far as possible, with that of industrial workers.

20. The measures to be taken to attain the objectives of agrarian reform were, however, the subject of a wide exchange of views in the Working Party. There was general agreement that land has a social function and that consequently land not utilised or insufficiently utilised must be brought into productive use within the framework of agrarian reform measures. The question of whether or not payment should be made for land to be made available under land redistribution and land settlement programmes was widely discussed by the Working Party which finally agreed to put on an equal footing the question of whether land should be distributed to agricultural workers free of charge or at a reasonable price with due consideration given to their ability to pay.

21. Although the Working Party considered that the diversification of agriculture at the level of the farm itself was desirable in order to provide the agricultural worker with an improved diet and to enable him to be less dependent on price fluctuations, the increasing tendency to transform subsistence agriculture into market agriculture posed in an acute fashion the problem of the levels of the prices of agricultural products and particularly that of their stabilisation. The importance of this question was stressed by several members. It was also taken up indirectly by the representative of the F.A.O. who underlined the progressive deterioration in the terms of trade in agricultural countries as a result of the increasing gap between the levels of agricultural prices and of industrial prices. Although several members considered that, important though the problem was, it was not directly relevant to the problem of agrarian reform, the Working Party decided to make reference to it in the preamble and to propose to the Committee that it should devote particular attention to it in its conclusions. A separate paragraph was therefore devoted to the importance of establishing efficient marketing systems and price mechanisms.

22. The question of social security for the agricultural populations was felt to be particularly serious in those countries where national and budgetary resources were often very limited. On this specific point the Working Party had the assistance of the Chief of the Social Security Branch of the International Labour Office. The Working Party prepared a new version of the paragraph on this point in the conclusions of the Technical Advisory Group which took into account, on the one hand, the need to provide agricultural workers with benefits not inferior to those of industrial workers, and, on the other, the low incomes of agricultural workers, especially at the outset of the implementation of agrarian reform programmes.

23. The participation of occupational organisations in agriculture in the planning and implementation of agrarian reform measures was considered essential by the Working Party. The role of such organisations should be to defend the interests of their members while participating at the same time in the general objectives of development. A new text was drafted accordingly.

24. The Working Party also introduced a new paragraph relating to the observance of the relevant international labour Conventions and Recommendations in the carrying out of agrarian reform programmes.

25. The Working Party's attention was drawn to two important problems, each of which had been dealt with in the conclusions of the Technical Advisory Group: the training of beneficiaries and the role of co-operatives. These two subjects were dealt with in the general conclusions of the Technical Advisory Group and subsequently set out at greater length in two special sections in its conclusions.

26. The first point, that of the training of the beneficiaries of agrarian reforms and of the necessary personnel for the implementation of such reforms, was the subject of a discussion concerning firstly the manner in which the conclusions on this question might be incorporated in the text to be proposed by the Working Party to the Committee, and secondly the substance of the matter. The Working Party decided to incorporate the text of the Advisory Group in that to be submitted to the Committee as Part B of its conclusions. With regard to the question of substance, the Working Party, taking account of the fact that this question had already been discussed at the Technical Meeting convened to deal specifically with this subject which was held in Caracas in 1963, endorsed the proposals of the Advisory Group. At the same time, accepting a proposal by the Workers' members, it agreed that training activities should in the first place be concentrated on the immediate beneficiaries of reform measures, namely those who receive land.

27. With respect to the role to be played by co-operatives in agrarian reform, it was
recalled that the Committee on Co-operatives was examining, at the same session of the Conference, a draft Recommendation concerning the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. The Working Party insisted on the voluntary character of the participation of the members in a co-operative, whatever its nature, but otherwise made no changes in the text under examination, which was incorporated as Part C of the Working Party's conclusions.

28. The Working Party discussed at some length the paragraph concerning employment measures in relation to agrarian reform. Several members considered that it was essential to promote by all possible means the expansion of employment in rural areas and not to encourage urban migration. A revised text was agreed upon taking account of a number of observations made.

29. The Working Party also reviewed the section relating to I.L.O. action. The suggestions contained therein were considered to represent a well-balanced programme such as to make a significant contribution to the concerted international action and to assist member countries in the difficult task of preparing and implementing agrarian reforms. With respect to future Conference action, the Working Party agreed on a text submitted by the Workers' members urging the Conference to request the Governing Body to place on the agenda of early future sessions of the International Labour Conference, as a follow-up to the present discussion, items related to agrarian reform within the competence of the I.L.O., including an item on the subject of the improvement of living and working conditions of tenants and share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers. With only minor modifications the Working Party agreed to the rest of this section, which appeared as Part D of its conclusions.

30. The Working Party decided to leave to the full Committee the question of the form in which the Committee's conclusions should be submitted to the Conference.

31. The conclusions of the Working Party, incorporating also a number of minor modifications to the original text not mentioned in the above paragraphs, were agreed to unanimously.

**Discussion of the Text Proposed by the Working Party**

32. The Committee proceeded to the consideration of the conclusions prepared by the Working Party, starting with those parts referring to the role of co-operatives in agrarian reform so as to enable the conclusions of the Committee to be passed to the Committee on Co-operatives to permit the latter to take account of them in preparing its texts. The relevant paragraphs 23 and 46-62, with minor amendments, were adopted.

33. The Committee then discussed the form in which its conclusions should be presented to the Conference. The Workers' members and several Government members felt that, owing to the great importance of the matter of agrarian reform to developing countries particularly, and the need for the Conference to take strong action, the aim should be the adoption of a Recommendation. Others felt that since the item had been placed on the agenda for general discussion, the conclusions could only be presented in the form of a resolution. After an explanation by the Legal Adviser of the Office, who pointed out that, since the form in which the item had been placed on the agenda was, under the Constitution, binding on the Conference, and since the provisions of the Standing Orders relating to the consideration of proposed Conventions or Recommendations, notably full consultation of the member States, had not been complied with, it was not possible for the Conference at its present session to examine the draft of a Convention or a Recommendation, the Committee decided to present its conclusions in the form of a resolution. The Workers' members, however, reserved the right to submit an appropriate text calling on the Conference to examine the question of agrarian reform at a very early session with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation.

34. The Committee then proceeded to an examination of the rest of the text, paragraph by paragraph. In general, the Committee accepted the conclusions prepared by the Working Party; however, a number of amendments were submitted by members of the Committee, the most important of which concerned the following paragraphs:

35. On paragraph 4 the Committee accepted the amendment submitted by the majority of the Employers' group to the effect that agrarian reform should take account of the extent to which existing systems of tenure provide adequate social protection to the workers concerned and permit efficient farming.

36. An amendment submitted by the Government member of Cyprus on the necessity for a national policy of water control and conservation was accepted as an additional paragraph to be inserted following paragraph 7.

37. On paragraph 14 an amendment submitted by the Workers' member of Jamaica, giving preference to the consolidation of fragmented holdings and enlargement or grouping of very small holdings through co-operatives and in accordance with national policy, was accepted.

38. Among the amendments which were not accepted by the Committee were the following:

(a) several amendments making specific reference to the abolition of "latifundia" (large estates);

(b) an amendment to paragraph 10 which would have removed the reference to the possibility of land being distributed free of charge under agrarian reform or land settlement programmes;

(c) an amendment to replace, in paragraph 24 on indigenous and tribal populations, the words "after full consultation with their
democratically elected representatives", which were introduced by the Working Party, by the words "after full consultation and agreement with the people". The Government member who had proposed the amendment stated that the view of the people themselves must always be sought and agrarian reform introduced only with their agreement;

(d) an amendment to paragraph 26 to remove the reference to insurance against marketing hazards which had been introduced by the Working Party;

(e) an amendment to delete paragraph 58.

39. A wide exchange of views took place on future Conference action with respect to the subject of agrarian reform. While there was general satisfaction that the Governing Body was giving active consideration to placing on the agenda of the Conference in 1967 an item concerning the improvement of conditions of tenants and share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers, the Workers' members and several Government members favoured early examination by the Conference of the question of agrarian reform as regards those aspects within the competence of the I.L.O. with a view to the adoption of an instrument. After a long exchange of views, and consultations between the different groups, there was unanimity on a revised text based on an amendment submitted by the Workers' members except with respect to a phrase concerning the placing on the agenda of future Conferences of "the question of agrarian reform as regards those aspects within the competence of the I.L.O. . . . . . " or of "questions of agrarian reform as regards those aspects within the competence of the I.L.O. . . . . . ". The matter was put to a vote, and the Committee finally adopted by 6,776 votes in favour, 5,334 against, with no abstentions, the following revised version of the amendment submitted by the Workers' group and containing the expression "the question of agrarian reform . . . . . :

The Conference recommends to the Governing Body to place on the agenda of the 51st and following sessions of the International Labour Conference, as a follow-up to the item already included in the agenda of the 49th Session in 1965, the question of agrarian reform as regards those aspects within the competence of the International Labour Organisation, after consultation with the United Nations and the specialised agencies concerned, especially the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, with a view to the preparation of appropriate instruments, including an item on the subject of the improvement of the living and working conditions of tenants and share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers.

40. The Committee unanimously adopted the report and the resolution, which is reproduced below.


(Signed) M. A. ARMENDARES,
Chairman.

C. PEDERSEN,
Reporter.

(2) Text of the Resolution on Agrarian Reform, with Particular Reference to Employment and Social Aspects, Submitted by the Committee on Agrarian Reform.1

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Recalling the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation under its Constitution to concern itself with the problems of all workers in countries at all stages of development,

Recognising that, as regards the rural sector, the International Labour Organisation is called upon to deal with all categories of workers whether wage-paid, semi-independent or self-employed,

Bearing in mind the resolution concerning the contribution of the International Labour Organisation to the raising of incomes and living conditions in rural communities, with particular reference to countries in the process of development, adopted at the 44th (1960) Session of the Conference, which led to the establishment of the International Labour Organisation Rural Development Programme,

Recalling the various resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, and in particular resolution No. 370 (XIII) of the Economic and Social Council of 7 September 1951 which, among other things, recommended "that governments institute appropriate land reforms in the interests of landless, small and medium farmers and that governments take measures to provide opportunity for the cultivator to acquire ownership of land" and "take legislative or administrative measures to assist in the reduction of agricultural indebtedness",

Bearing in mind that agrarian reform is an essential factor in rural development and that many aspects of the latter affect agrarian reform, such as the stabilisation of the prices of primary agricultural products and an improvement in the terms of trade of agriculture and the provision of adequate resources for the development of the rural sector,

Bearing in mind, on the one hand, that the complexity of the problems is far beyond the field of action of any one single international agency and on the other hand the nature and scope of the concerted international action programme in the field of agrarian reform and the need for International Labour Organisation activities to be undertaken within full co-ordination and collaboration with the other international agencies concerned, particularly the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations,

Having examined the report on Agrarian Reform, with Particular Reference to Employment and Social Aspects;

Adopts the following resolution setting forth, with particular reference to employment and social aspects, the nature, scope and objectives of agrarian reform, and the measures to achieve these objectives, as well as suggestions for intensifying and strengthening International Labour Organisation action.

1 See Second Part, p. 427 and Appendix XII, p. 698.
A. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

General Considerations

1. Agrarian reform should be considered as denoting comprehensive measures for the improvement of the agrarian structure, including changes in land tenure, that is, reforms that, within the framework of broad programmes, tend to give land to those who work it, improve the position of tenants, hired workers and other categories of agricultural workers, or enlarge the units of cultivation or operation and consolidate fragmented holdings. It also includes the establishment or strengthening of essential governmental or other agencies or services relating to agricultural credit, supply, marketing, training and extension and research. So conceived, the ideal agrarian reform is an integrated programme of measures designed to eliminate obstacles to economic and social development arising out of defects in the agrarian structure, and in particular may be considered as a positive means of providing for a dignified existence, ensuring security of employment, increasing productivity and real incomes, reducing cost of production and raising levels of living in the countryside.

2. Agrarian reforms are thus designed to improve agricultural production and levels of living of the rural population by correcting major defects in the agrarian structure which have been described as being "the uneconomic size of farms; the maldistribution of land ownership with concentration of large estates insufficiently utilised and the landlessness of a large part of the rural population; fragmentation of holdings; the high rents and insecurity of tenure characteristic of many tenancy systems; indebtedness and lack of adequate credit facilities for the small farmer; absence of settled title to land and water; plantation economies which offer low wages and no share in management to the cultivators;... and in general an unsatisfactory set of incentives for a rising and sustained agricultural production" (See United Nations: Land Reform: Defects in Agrarian Structure and the Limits of Economic Development (New York, 1951)).

3. Agrarian reforms are therefore essential for the evolution of an agrarian structure favouring the production of more food and fibre to feed and clothe the rapidly growing population, to provide other raw materials for industry and to permit agriculture to make its proper contribution to economic and social development while raising levels of living in the countryside. To achieve these goals agrarian reforms must lead to the removal of social injustice and economic inefficiency, the abolition of the remnants of feudalism and the exploitation of man by man and the misuse of land.

4. No one approach to agrarian reform is of universal application. The objectives of agrarian reform and the measures to be taken to achieve these objectives and the priorities to be established in this respect must take full account of the physical, economic, social, cultural and political conditions prevailing in each country and of the extent to which existing systems of tenure provide adequate social protection to the workers concerned and permit efficient farming.

Objectives of Agrarian Reform (with Particular Reference to Social and Employment Objectives)

5. It should be the object of policy in each country to effect basic adjustments in land tenure and related institutions and structures having, in so far as their social and employment aspects in particular are concerned, the objectives listed below, the priority to be attached to the various objectives depending on conditions in each country:

(a) promoting the widest possible access to land through appropriate and progressive systems of land tenure which provide security of employment and of livelihood as well as opportunities and incentives for economic and social progress to the agricultural population;

(b) correcting large inequalities in the distribution of income, in land ownership and in socio-political status;

(c) ensuring that agricultural holdings are of sufficient size to permit efficient farming, the earning of adequate incomes and the full use of labour and of managerial ability;

(d) encouraging increased agricultural production and improvement in agricultural methods and ensuring that a fair share of the benefits resulting therefrom accrues to the agricultural population;

(e) encouraging the full development of the capacities of the agricultural population and leading to the recognition that farming is a skilled profession and that there is dignity in agricultural work;

(f) ensuring adequate employment, levels of income and living conditions for all elements of the agricultural population;

(g) promoting the fuller and more effective utilisation of rural human resources, whether in agricultural or non-agricultural employment;

(h) providing an adequate institutional structure to favour agricultural and rural development in general;

(i) enabling the rural sector to make a maximum contribution to general economic and social development, while at the same time participating fully in this development, and promoting the bringing of the subsistence sector into the exchange economy.

Measures to Achieve These Objectives.

6. In adopting measures to achieve these objectives particular consideration should be given, in accordance with priorities to be established in each country in the light of its particular conditions, to those referred to in the following paragraphs and which concern primarily social and employment aspects of agrarian reform.
An equitable distribution of land ownership—and, where necessary, of rights to water—should be promoted. With respect to land, this might be achieved by such means as the setting of ceilings of individual ownership of land, the acquisition—under such financial arrangements as may be provided by the national legislation—of land in excess of such ceilings and of holdings not fulfilling a social purpose, and the introduction of fiscal policies discouraging private ownership of excessively large holdings.

Where water resources are very limited, their control and conservation should be recognised as a primary duty of the government. The basic principle for an integrated national water policy should be that governments should determine the development and use of water as fully as may be required. Water resources should not be the private property of any individual interest for free and unrestricted exploitation, but should be regarded as a national resource to be used in the national interest.

The fuller and more intensive use of land should be encouraged through such means as the development and settlement of unused public land and of new lands and the introduction of measures favouring efficient land use. The settlement of new lands should not be considered a substitute for basic agrarian reforms in areas already settled.

Land made available through such means as those listed in paragraphs 7 and 9 should be distributed to agricultural workers free of charge or at a reasonable price with due consideration given to their ability to pay. Criteria for the determination of beneficiaries should be established. The holdings to be allocated should be of sufficient size to ensure adequate levels of income and the full utilisation of the labour of the beneficiary and of his family.

To facilitate measures relating to the distribution and settlement of land, provision should be made for adequately planned land surveys and the registration of titles.

The settlement of agricultural populations on new land should be carried out in an orderly and legal manner and the necessary communications facilities and social, educational and technical services should be provided. Measures should be taken to avoid unplanned and unorganised land settlement and to improve such forms of settlement where they prevail.

In areas where shifting cultivation is common, or other resource-depleting practices prevail, agrarian reforms should include the progressive introduction of productive and soil-conserving systems of farming.

Appropriate safeguards should be introduced to ensure against undue sale or subdivision of holdings made available to individuals under agrarian reform and land settlement programmes. In any case, measures should be envisaged to safeguard against the division of holdings into uneconomic-sized units. Arrangements might be made for granting firm titles in land only after a specific period and on condition that the beneficiary fulfils certain specified obligations, including particularly the practice of good husbandry.

Where appropriate, the consolidation of fragmented holdings as well as the enlargement or grouping of very small holdings should be encouraged through the promotion of cooperatives or in accordance with national policy. The public authority should make available grants or other financial assistance to meet major capital costs involved in the process. Especially in areas where rural underemployment and unemployment prevail, local labour resources should be used to the greatest extent practicable, for adequate duration of leases, for permissible causes for tenant eviction, for the determination of equitable rents and for compensation for improvements. Machinery should be provided for the settlement of disputes and for the enforcement of the regulations. Special provisions should be made for categories of agricultural workers not covered by either tenancy or labour legislation.

Personal services and other practices restricting the liberty of the individual should be abolished.

Regulations should be introduced and effectively enforced for improving conditions of employment of wage earners in agriculture. Particular attention should be given to the establishment of systems for collective bargaining and of appropriate machinery for the fixing of minimum wages in agriculture.

Particular attention should be paid to the education and training of beneficiaries of agrarian reforms. Training should include the use of agricultural extension and, where appropriate, community development methods and be provided both before and during the implementation of reform measures in appropriate programmes. Training should cover general orientation for living in a new environment as well as improved agricultural methods and management related to production, marketing, the use of credit, etc., to prepare the beneficiaries for their role as independent farmers. Special credits should be set aside for training activities and the assignment of personnel for this purpose in the budgets of agrarian reform programmes.

Priority should also be given to the training of personnel responsible for the implementation of agrarian reform measures, especially at the local level. Particular attention should be given to the training of lower level personnel, nongovernmental organisations and practical instructors for the training of beneficiaries. Conditions of employment of
agricultural instructors and other personnel in rural areas should be improved so that more and better-qualified staff may be available for assignment to agrarian reform and land settlement programmes. Handbooks and other teaching materials should be adapted to the needs of the countries concerned, and arrangements made for the exchange of such materials among countries having a common language and similar social and economic conditions.

21. High priority should be given to the establishment of efficient marketing systems and other means to ensure that the farmer may find a ready outlet for his produce and to guarantee him stable and remunerative prices on the domestic and international markets. Similarly efficient distribution systems should be established to bring agricultural products to the consumer at reasonable prices.

22. The organisation and improvement of systems of short- and long-term credit at reasonable rates for productive purposes should be encouraged. Particular attention should be given to systems of supervised credit which combine the extension of credit with technical guidance on its sound use and training and improved agricultural methods, but which should not hamper the farmer in exercising his initiative and taking his responsibilities. Appropriate measures should be taken to relieve agricultural indebtedness and to prevent abuse connected therewith.

23. The special contribution which various forms of co-operatives can make to the successful implementation of agrarian reforms and to the improvement in the levels of living of the beneficiaries should be recognised. These include, among others, suitable voluntary systems of joint land use, savings and credit co-operatives, co-operatives for production, supply, distribution, marketing, for the utilisation and maintenance of machinery, and other services. For the sound growth of co-operative activities institutional arrangements should be made for supervision, for extension services to co-operatives, for systematic training programmes for co-operative office bearers and personnel, as well as for education of members of co-operatives and diffusion of co-operative principles and working methods among the rural population.

24. Special measures should be adopted to protect the interests in land of indigenous and tribal populations in accordance with the provisions of the Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957 (No. 107), and Recommendation, 1957 (No. 104), adopted by the International Labour Conference. These populations should benefit on an equal footing with other sectors of the agricultural population from agrarian reform measures, including land settlement projects. Special measures should be adopted where appropriate, after full consultation with their democratically elected representatives, to assure to indigenous and tribal groups adequate land, taking account of the future growth in their numbers as well as the requirements of soil conservation. Particular attention should be devoted to problems arising out of adjustments in communal tenures as well as to those arising out of transition from tribal to other forms of tenure in line with requirements of economic and social development. Appropriate safeguards to protect the interests of the groups concerned should be taken. Arrangements in areas inhabited by indigenous and tribal groups involving unpaid personal services should be established. In countries with significant nomadic groups consideration should be given to measures aimed at facilitating the establishment of nomads as settled cultivators or stock-keepers or in non-agricultural employment, under conditions which will provide them with opportunities for security of employment and adequate levels of income.

25. Social security measures should make no distinction between wage earners in agriculture and in industry, and it should be the aim of policy to extend adequate and appropriate social security benefits to cover all categories of agricultural workers, including independent and semi-independent workers, as a part of and co-ordinated with general programmes for increasing economic security and improving conditions of life in rural areas. Provisions with respect to benefits should take full account of the particular needs of the agricultural population. In planning the financing of such measures, due account should be taken of the special difficulties arising out of low levels of income in agriculture, and appropriate measures should be taken to prevent the benefits provided for agricultural workers from being inferior to those provided for the rest of the population. While the ultimate objective should be the introduction of a comprehensive programme of social security covering a wide variety of risks, this should not prevent the initiation of more limited measures designed to meet the most pressing needs.

26. As an additional measure of providing income security to the agricultural population, systems of crop and livestock insurance should be promoted to protect against natural and marketing hazards which may result in substantial or total loss to the cultivator of his income and his investment in capital and labour. The introduction of co-operative crop and livestock insurance should be encouraged to the fullest extent.

27. Appropriate administrative machinery should be established for the implementation and enforcement of agrarian reforms. Representatives of the various groups of the population concerned with such machinery, especially at the local level, including bona fide representatives of employers’ and workers’ organisations where they exist, should be actively associated therewith. Adequate publicity should be given to agrarian reform measures, and care should be taken to ensure that all pertinent legislative enactments, regulations and information material are issued in languages fully understood by the populations concerned.

28. Agrarian reform measures should make provision for the setting up of procedures for objective and, if appropriate, independent evaluation of progress achieved. To the extent that this is possible, the evaluation should be current and continuous so that weaknesses or defects may be identified immediately and
arrangements made for the earliest possible adjustment of the measures relating to the reform.

29. As a means of providing additional opportunities for employment, particularly in developing countries where unemployment and underemployment in the rural sector are serious problems, agrarian reform should be carried out with due regard to the employment objectives of national economic policy. The diversification of agriculture should be encouraged where conditions permit, so as to make fuller use of the farmer's labour and to increase his income. Similarly, strenuous efforts should be made to expand all feasible non-farm employment opportunities in rural areas, including primary processing, viable handicrafts and small-scale industries. To the greatest extent possible, local workers should be employed, making the most effective use of scarce capital, in construction and other activities associated with agrarian reform and land settlement programmes, and designed to benefit the rural population as a whole. Similarly, local labour should also be employed on public works programmes in rural areas to build up the infrastructure. In devising such measures for expanding employment opportunities in rural areas, use should be made of community development techniques whenever appropriate. Workers should be assisted in taking advantage of any employment opportunities that might develop in other economic activities. Appropriate training programmes should be organised to give the workers concerned the necessary skills required for the different occupations mentioned above.

30. For the effective formulation and implementation of agrarian reform measures, special importance should be attached to promoting the development of agricultural associations, especially peasants' and tenants' organisations and trade unions, so as to enable them to participate in the elaboration of agrarian reform programmes as well as to give expression to and defend the interests of these various categories of agricultural workers, and to contribute to the general objectives of development.

31. The competent authority should undertake programmes for general improvement in living conditions in rural areas and the provision of various facilities and amenities, making full use of the community development approach.

32. It should be the objective of national policy to promote a proper balance between agriculture and industry in such a way that each may contribute to and benefit from development in the other. Employment policy in particular should be formulated with these considerations in mind.

33. Appropriate safeguards should be applied to ensure that the relevant international labour Conventions and Recommendations are observed in the process of agrarian reform programmes, in particular those concerned with conditions of employment, minimum wage-fixing machinery and vocational training in agriculture, the rights of association of agricultural workers, and freedom from forced labour.

### B. ADDITIONAL CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE TRAINING OF BENEFICIARIES OF AGRARIAN REFORM AND OF PERSONNEL REQUIRED FOR THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH REFORMS

#### General Principles

34. The implementation of any programme of agrarian reform, including land settlement projects, depends on the availability of qualified personnel during the planning, initiation and implementation stages, and adequate provision for training of such personnel should be made.

35. The competent authority should include in the budgets for agrarian reform programmes adequate provision for the payment of the staff, including extension agents, necessary for the implementation of the programme as well as for the training of future personnel, the number of whom will necessarily increase as the projects develop.

36. Budgetary provision should also be made for the training of beneficiaries of agrarian reform measures in order to enable them better to face the various problems which will confront them.

37. The training programme for beneficiaries and for technical personnel alike should take account of—

(a) the physical environment in which the agrarian reform is to be undertaken;

(b) the general policy of the government with respect to food and agriculture as it affects the type of agrarian structure and method of cultivation to be introduced, the crops and livestock to be produced and the relations between cultivators and between the latter and the State.

#### Persons to Be Trained

Beneficiaries of Agrarian Reform.

38. The beneficiaries of agrarian reform measures, including land settlement projects, should receive adequate training, taking due account of the background of the beneficiaries on the one hand, and of the environment to which they may need to adapt themselves on the other. The important role of an agricultural extension service should be recognised.

39. The training to be given should concentrate in the first place on improving agricultural methods so as to permit those who receive land under agrarian reform to obtain as rapidly as possible adequate returns from their holding. It should also include training in farm management such as to assist those beneficiaries in adapting themselves to passing from the status of share-cropper or hired worker to that of independent farmer. Where necessary, the training should also provide general orientation with respect to the new areas in which the beneficiaries may have to live.

40. Careful consideration should be given to the place in which the training should take place. Depending on individual circumstances, training might be given either in the area in
which the beneficiaries are to be established or at appropriate centres.

41. Consideration should be given to the advantages of establishing beneficiaries in homogeneous groups so as, on the one hand, to make it easier for the group to adapt itself, and, on the other hand, to facilitate the training process.

**Personnel Required for the Implementation of Agrarian Reforms.**

42. The personnel to be trained include both those concerned with the planning of agrarian reform measures and those responsible for their implementation. The former, having generally already received higher education, should primarily receive—through short courses, seminars and the diffusion of reports on agrarian reform measures in other countries—general orientation on the problems arising in the implementation of agrarian reforms and the different approaches used in different countries.

43. The staff called upon to implement agrarian reform measures should be available on a permanent basis to ensure that the programmes are effectively carried out. These technicians, who will for the most part be specialists in certain fields, should be given special training so that they may adapt their knowledge to the specific requirements of the reform measure being introduced. Special attention needs to be devoted to the selection of such personnel, particularly as concerns their ability to adapt themselves rapidly to new conditions and to living under difficult conditions.

**Methods of Training**

44. The training of beneficiaries should be essentially practical and have reference not only to basic training in agricultural methods, but also to training them to bring their holdings rapidly under cultivation. For practical training particular consideration should be given to agricultural extension methods and to the setting-up of demonstration plots, preferably on the holding of one of the beneficiaries. The training should also cover those elements necessary for the preparation of the beneficiaries for living in newly established communities. It would be particularly desirable to give the beneficiaries general education in co-operative organisation so as to enable them to understand the use of co-operative methods and properly to run the associations they may set up.

45. In the training of technical personnel consideration should be given to the following:

(a) all available institutions for education and training in agriculture should be orientated towards training a sufficient number of personnel with the necessary qualifications at all levels. Particular attention should be given to the practical training of personnel in direct contact with the cultivators, such as extension agents. Such personnel should be available at the very early stages of implementation to assist cultivators in establishing themselves and thus help to avoid early mistakes which may jeopardise the future of the projects;

(b) as one means of obtaining rapidly the necessary training personnel, consideration should be given to providing complementary training to technicians, including extension agents, already having basic training, so that they may be assigned to agrarian reform projects;

(c) particular consideration should be given to the organisation of refresher courses for all personnel concerned with the implementation of agrarian reform measures such as to enable them to keep abreast of recent developments and new techniques or approaches.

C. **ADDITIONAL CONCLUSIONS ON THE ROLE OF CO-OPERATIVES IN AGRARIAN REFORM**

46. In view of their importance as a means of promoting general economic and social progress, of directly associating the rural population with the development process and because of their educational and cultural value, co-operatives should be considered as having a vital role to play in programmes of agrarian reform.

47. Co-operatives should be used as a means of assessing the problems and interests of the rural population for the planning and preparation of agrarian reform measures. They should also serve for channelling information among agriculturists and making the purposes, principles and methods of such reforms understood.

48. Co-operatives should be promoted to facilitate the implementation of agrarian reform measures, to contribute to the achievement of the aims and objectives of such reforms and to ensure that in the long run there is substantial improvement in the living and working conditions of the beneficiaries.

49. Particular attention should be paid to the development of appropriate forms of co-operatives adapted to given local conditions and to the various patterns and phases of agrarian reform. They should, by all means available, enable cultivators to operate holdings efficiently and productively and allow for the greatest possible initiative and participation of the membership.

50. Where appropriate, suitable voluntary forms of co-operative land use should be encouraged. Their activities may range from the organisation of certain services and farming operations in common to the complete pooling of land, labour and equipment.

51. Where appropriate, the voluntary consolidation of fragmentary holdings through co-operatives should be encouraged.

52. In cases where measures are being envisaged for the transfer of ownership or division of large estates, due consideration should be given to the organisation of co-operative systems of holding and/or cultivation. At the
same time, adequate provision should be made for the supply of services and technical guidance to those who work the land.

53. The establishment of co-operatives should also be considered in connection with land settlement schemes especially as regards land reclamation and improvement measures and the organisation of joint services and farming operations for settlers.

54. Development of thrift and credit co-operatives and co-operative banks should be encouraged among the beneficiaries of agrarian reforms as well as among other small farmers for the purpose of—

(a) providing loans to cultivators for the purchase of equipment and other farm requisites;
(b) encouraging and assisting cultivators to save and accumulate capital;
(c) advancing loans to, and promoting thrift among, especially, those agricultural families, including hired workers, who normally would not have access to established sources of credit;
(d) facilitating the implementation of special governmental credit schemes through an efficient channelling of loans to beneficiaries and appropriate supervision of the use made of such loans and timely reimbursement.

55. The development of supply, marketing or multi-purpose co-operatives should be encouraged for the purpose of—

(a) the joint purchase and supply of farm requisites of good quality on favourable terms;
(b) the supply of basic domestic requirements for all categories of agricultural workers;
(c) the joint conditioning, processing and marketing of agricultural products.

56. Wherever possible, supply, credit and marketing functions should be linked so that the members may benefit to the maximum extent both in economies in the purchase of requisites and from higher proceeds from the sale of produce. This may be achieved either through setting up multi-purpose co-operatives or through membership in several specialised co-operative societies.

57. Encouragement should be given to the development of co-operatives providing farmers with other services contributing to an improvement in methods of farming and in the economic and social status of the agricultural population. Such institutions might include those relating to the joint use of farm machinery, electrification, livestock breeding, the provision of veterinary and pest-control services, facilities for irrigation, crop and livestock insurance, etc.

58. With a view to improving employment opportunities, working conditions and income, landless agricultural workers should be assisted, where appropriate, to organise themselves voluntarily into labour-contracting co-operatives.

59. Where appropriate, agricultural co-operatives in the reform zones should be encouraged to form federations to engage in such activities which their local associations could only perform at higher cost or not at all.

60. Due consideration should also be given to the encouragement and development of other types of co-operative activities providing for full- or part-time non-agricultural employment for members of beneficiaries' families (e.g. crafts, home or cottage industries), adequate distribution of consumer goods and social services which the State may not always be in a position to provide (viz. health, education, culture, recreation, transport).

61. To permit co-operatives of the various types to play their full role in agrarian reform, the competent authority should pay special attention to—

(a) the framing and application of appropriate co-operative legislation, rules and by-laws;
(b) the establishment of competent promotional agencies;
(c) the provision of adequate technical guidance;
(d) the training of promoters, co-operative office bearers and staff, as well as the systematic education of members in co-operative principles and working methods;
(e) the provision of adequate sources of credit for co-operatives.

62. The interchange and dissemination of information on co-operative structures, their setbacks and achievements related to agrarian reform should be encouraged by all possible means so that the experience acquired may be made available to the largest possible number of countries.

D. ACTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

63. In the spirit of the concerted international action programme and in keeping with prevailing practice and existing co-coordinating machinery, the suggested International Labour Organisation activities indicated below—in the fields of study and research, technical co-operation and standard-setting and related activities—should be undertaken in full co-ordination of work and appropriate collaboration with the other agencies concerned, especially the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.

Studies and Research

64. In the various studies and research activities of the International Labour Organisation in such fields as those relating to rural employment, rural training, co-operatives, handicrafts and small-scale industries and indigenous and tribal populations, due attention should be given to problems concerning changes in agrarian structure.

65. To the greatest extent possible, research should include field investigations, including the use of case studies, where appropriate.
66. The widest use should be made of the work of research bodies in member countries. Where appropriate, arrangements for active collaboration with national, regional and international research bodies should be envisaged.

67. Priority should be given to practical research activities which can help governments in dealing with the many complicated problems related to agrarian reforms, particularly with respect to implementation. Studies should contain quantitative data wherever possible and appropriate. The International Labour Organisation, along with the other agencies concerned, should act as a clearing-house for information on relevant aspects of agrarian reform and related matters.

68. Particular attention should be given to the following subjects:

(a) the impact of agrarian reforms on employment, incomes, production, productivity and living conditions in rural areas; the social effects of structural and technological changes in rural areas and the implications of such changes in the rural sector on employment in the urban sector and vice versa;

(b) the nature, causes and effects of rural-urban and other migratory movements of rural workers;

(c) practical measures for promoting the fuller utilisation of human resources in rural areas;

(d) the influence of changes in agrarian structure on part-time farming, particularly with respect to implications in relation to employment and levels of living;

(e) living and working conditions of tenants and share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers and measures to improve them; establishment of standard terms in the official languages of the International Labour Organisation in respect to these;

(f) factors encouraging or restricting vertical social mobility among the agricultural population;

(g) social, cultural and economic factors in changes in land tenure and land settlement, with particular reference to those leading to success and failure;

(h) problems arising out of adjustment in communal or tribal tenures, including the sedentarisation of nomadic and semi-nomadic groups;

(i) selected patterns of organising production in rural areas, especially in relation to the problem of uneconomic-sized holdings;

(j) various types of co-operatives and analogous organisations for production, supply, marketing and services in agriculture and in small-scale industries, including new avenues and forms of co-operative action of a promising nature; institutional changes in the organisation of marketing, processing and credit needed to ensure maximum benefits to agricultural workers from the point of view of employment, income and incentives;

(k) the role of local councils and occupational and other voluntary organisations in rural areas and ways and means of encouraging their development and their active participation in promoting rural progress;

(l) employment impact of community development programmes;

(m) methods and organisation of training programmes designed for—

(i) beneficiaries of land redistribution and land settlement programmes and of other programmes to improve conditions of agricultural workers,

(ii) personnel responsible for implementing such programmes at the local level;

(n) factors related to the acceptance of improved techniques among farmers, obstacles to the diffusion of such knowledge and how these may be overcome;

(o) methods of evaluation of the social and employment effects of agrarian reforms and related rural development measures.

**Technical Co-operation**

69. In collaboration where appropriate with other international organisations concerned, and especially the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations and the World Food Programme, the International Labour Organisation should assist governments requesting such aid in the formulation and execution of comprehensive and integrated programmes of agrarian reform, particularly with respect to—

(a) the introduction of appropriate measures to correct defects in the agrarian structure, in order to ensure an increase and a more equitable distribution of income in agriculture, and to promote the security of employment and of livelihood and to enhance the dignity of agricultural workers of all categories;

(b) the preparation and drafting of appropriate legislation for the protection of agricultural workers of all categories and for its effective application and enforcement;

(c) the establishment of appropriate government services responsible for the improvement of conditions of life and work of agricultural workers of all categories and generally for social and economic progress in rural areas;

(d) the planning and implementation of land settlement projects which increase agricultural production and provide additional employment opportunities and means of livelihood, ensuring that spontaneous land settlement is carried out in an orderly and legal manner;

(e) the implementation of programmes for promoting the fuller and more diversified utilisation of human resources in rural areas (in agriculture, in related occupations, in handicrafts and small-scale industries, in construction work, etc.);

(f) the organisation of appropriate systems of vocational training in connection with
agrarian reforms, including land settlement projects, so as to develop and improve skills in agriculture and in rural crafts and to enable improvements to be made in agricultural equipment, in housing and in rural community construction;

(g) implementing comprehensive and multi-purpose rural development and community development projects in conjunction with agrarian reform measures, including those aimed at integrating indigenous and tribal groups into the economic and social life of the nation;

(h) promoting the development of various forms of co-operative organisation in rural areas and the training of the necessary co-operative personnel at all levels;

(i) assisting in the practical introduction of price arrangements with a view to ensuring remunerative prices to the primary producer.

Standard-Setting and Related Activities

70. The Conference recommends to the Governing Body to place on the agenda of the 51st and following sessions of the International Labour Conference, as a follow-up to the item already included in the agenda of the 49th Session in 1965, the question of agrarian reform as regards those aspects within the competence of the International Labour Organisation, after consultation with the United Nations and the specialised agencies concerned, especially the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, with a view to the preparation of appropriate instruments, including an item on the subject of the improvement of the living and working conditions of tenants and share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers.

71. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to give consideration to action by the International Labour Conference on appropriate aspects of the role of co-operatives in agrarian reform and the training of beneficiaries of agrarian reforms and of the personnel required for the effective implementation of such reforms.

72. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to continue to take every opportunity of bringing before the International Labour Conference, regional conferences, and technical and other meetings organised by the International Labour Organisation, the importance of measures being taken to improve agrarian structures and other structures which affect rural development and to introduce related institutional adjustments such as to promote social justice.

73. Consideration should also be given, whenever appropriate, to the review and possible revision of international standards concerning all categories of rural workers with a view to improving the effectiveness of such standards in promoting the economic and social well-being of these workers.
Seventh Item on the Agenda: The Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries

(1) Text of the Proposed Conclusions, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(This text is given in Report VII (2) prepared by the International Labour Office for the 49th Session of the Conference.)

(2) Report of the Committee on Co-operatives.¹

1. The Committee on Co-operatives, set up by the Conference at its third sitting on 3 June 1965, consisted of 153 members (72 Government members, 33 Employers' members and 48 Workers' members). In order to ensure equality of voting strength, it was necessary to multiply each Government member's vote by 22, each Employers' member's vote by 48 and each Workers' member's vote by 33.

2. At the fourth sitting of the Committee on 8 June, two new Employers' voting members were added to the Committee in accordance with a decision of the Appeals Board², thus raising the total membership of the Committee to 155. To achieve equality of voting it accordingly became necessary to multiply each Government member's vote by 70, each Employers' member's vote by 144 and each Workers' member's vote by 105. The modification of the composition led to a statement by a spokesman of the Employers' members to the effect that any subsequent statement made to the Committee on behalf of that group would be in the name of those Employers' members only who had been listed as voting members prior to the decision of the Appeals Board. One of the two new Employers' members said that he was a fully accredited member of the Committee and could state his own opinions.

3. The Committee appointed its Officers as follows:

Chairman: Mr. Wahid, Government member, Lebanon.

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Rifaat, Employers' member, United Arab Republic; Mr. Kane, Workers' member, Mauritania.

Reporter: Mr. Mathsson, Government member, Sweden.

4. The Committee appointed a Drafting Committee composed of the Reporter the Employers' Vice-President, Mr. Halie (Employers' member, Central African Republic), Mr. Mario (Workers' member, France) and Mr. Kelly (Workers' member, Jamaica).

5. The Committee held 13 sittings.

6. The Committee had before it Reports VII (1) and VII (2) on the seventh item of the agenda of the Conference: the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. The Committee took the conclusions proposed in Chapter II of Report VII (2) mentioned above as the basis for its discussion.

General Discussion

7. The Committee unanimously welcomed the inclusion of this item on the agenda of the Conference—the first time in the I.L.O.'s history that co-operatives were being discussed at a session of the Conference of the Organisation. The Committee recognised that the subject had a long and well-established tradition in the I.L.O. and was one deeply rooted in the social objectives for which the Organisation had originally been founded. Most members complimented the Office on the high standard of the reports and stated that discussion of this question was very timely. Co-operatives were now of particular interest to many of the new member States on account of their important economic and social significance for developing countries. Many members felt that because of its tripartite structure the I.L.O. was particularly suited for playing an important role in promoting action for co-operative development as a means of improving levels of living and stimulating economic growth in these countries.

8. A number of members from developing countries drew attention to the fact that co-operatives were neither new to them nor foreign to their traditions and concepts of society. On the contrary, co-operatives had a long tradition in many developing countries and bore marked affinities to closely-knit tribal and community structures that had prevailed since an early date. There were therefore no major sociological obstacles to the further growth of co-operatives in such countries. The new problems were those that related to techniques of production and business operations and the application of scientific methods to such practices. Their proper organisation was an essential element to the success of a co-operative.

¹ See Second Part, p. 399.
² See Appendix X, p. 690.
At the same time there were in some instances psychological barriers of an individual and collective nature that had to be surmounted when new concepts took the place of traditional values. Co-operatives were specially important since they gave their members an increased sense of independence as well as an increased awareness of their personal role in the community. In this and other ways co-operatives were to be welcomed as a means of helping the transition of traditional societies to modernised methods of work and higher levels of production and consumption without disrupting the fabric of society.

The Workers' members felt that more could have been said in the report concerning the assistance that trade unions could give to co-operatives and vice-versa.

Several members from industrialised countries recognised the important role that co-operatives had played and were still playing in their own countries in improving levels of living and raising educational and cultural standards, particularly in remaining undeveloped areas. Co-operatives in these areas had helped to achieve a better use of human resources. A number of members had therefore initiated practical programmes of technical assistance and pledged their readiness to help the growth of the co-operative movement in developing countries. Some of these programmes had already been under way for some time, while others were being expanded to meet increased demands. Members from developing countries acknowledged in turn the importance of such assistance, which was being received under bilateral or international arrangements. In certain instances there was a need for increased assistance, particularly for long-term and multi-purpose projects which could have a substantial impact on co-operative development schemes.

The Employers' members wished to dispel any misunderstanding that might exist regarding their attitude towards co-operatives. They were convinced of the important role that co-operatives could play in the economic and social development of developing countries, since they covered a range of activities and were of practical use to a large section of the world's population. They attached great importance to certain criteria which they considered were fundamental to co-operatives. These were the voluntary nature of the association, the principle of democratic control and the independence of the co-operative. The activities of co-operatives should be co-ordinated with other sectors of the economy to maintain a balance in the economic and social structure. At the same time their efficiency and methods of operation had to be modernised, and the Employers' members were ready to assist developing countries secure managerial help where this was needed.

A number of speakers gave accounts of the role of the co-operative movement in their countries and the growth and diversification of its activities in various fields. On the basis of this experience they drew attention to some of the problems that called for solution—one of the most urgent in developing countries being the lack of adequate facilities for the training and education of co-operative members, office-bearers, officials of co-operative departments, technicians, managers and leaders.

Additionally, in the particular economic and social conditions prevailing in developing countries, a number of members felt that there were special areas where co-operatives could be of invaluable help in improving conditions of living of the population as a whole. One of these areas was the implementation of plans for agrarian reform, where co-operatives had contributed significantly to increasing agricultural production by changing techniques and raising living standards in rural areas. Other fields where experience had shown that co-operatives had a vital role to play were those of credit, small industry, agricultural processing, marketing of agricultural produce, housing, fishing and distribution.

While the economic value of co-operatives was perhaps pre-eminent, many members, and particularly those from developing countries, stressed their social and educational significance. As a social institution co-operatives were concerned with developing other facets of the human personality apart from the purely economic. Co-operatives were also a school of democracy and, while encouraging participation from broad segments of the population, also inculcated a sense of responsibility among their members. They provided an important training ground for future managers of enterprises as well as leaders of society and the rural community.

Members representing all three groups in the Committee underlined the importance of maintaining the true character of the co-operative institution as a first condition of success. This character was marked by the voluntary nature of the association, the democratic and equitable manner in which its operations were managed, and respect for its independence. In the conditions prevailing in developing countries government promotion, assistance and supervision were essential for co-operatives, but these should be of a temporary nature; as soon as co-operatives were able to stand on their own feet they should be allowed to do so. The Committee felt that, while a definition of a co-operative was difficult in view of the variety of forms that the institution had taken since its early days, it was nevertheless important to incorporate these essential characteristics of a co-operative in an appropriate part of the instrument.

The Committee heard a statement from the Director of the International Co-operative Alliance on behalf of his organisation and of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers. Both organisations were in complete agreement regarding the nature of the contribution that co-operation could make and should be encouraged to make towards quickening economic growth and social betterment in developing countries. While government action was essential for economic development, positive collaboration from the people themselves was equally important and this was a gap that co-operatives helped to fill. The value of co-operatives lay in their capacity to change...
negative habits and attitudes of mind and to develop human potentialities to the full. The two organisations on behalf of whom he spoke represented most of the national co-operative organisations of economically advanced countries, and they were anxious that the experience they had gained should be made available to co-operatives in developing countries.

18. A statement was also made to the Committee on behalf of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. The F.A.O. representative referred to his Organisation's activities, particularly in the field of agricultural co-operatives. He drew attention to the need for government assistance in co-operative development in certain countries, especially as regards finance. As regards the possibilities of setting up an international co-operative bank, he felt that this was premature since there were few co-operative movements that had surplus funds to invest outside their national frontiers. He also underlined the arrangements that existed with the I.L.O. for the co-ordination of activities in regard to co-operatives and the good working relationships that existed at the secretariat level.

Examination of the Proposed Conclusion in Report VII (2)

I. FORM OF THE INSTRUMENT

Point 1

19. In view of the universal nature of the co-operative movement and the fact that everyone was agreed on the important role that co-operatives could play in the economic and social development of developing countries, the Workers' members proposed that the instrument should take the form of a Convention. This would be far more effective than a Recommendation, since governments in developing countries were agreed on the value of promoting co-operatives and there was hence no reason why this fact should not be given wide recognition and made obligatory on them through the binding nature of such an instrument. In order to make the adoption of such a Convention easy the Workers' members proposed that it should enunciate the general principles and objectives concerning co-operatives which were outlined in the Proposed Conclusions (Report VII (2)) and on which wide agreement had been expressed. To this end they submitted an amendment to Point 1 in the form of a draft Convention concerning co-operatives. Other Government members, however, felt that such a description was superfluous since there was no need to stress what was well known to be a basic feature of co-operatives. Other Government members agreed with this view and suggested that academic discussion of this kind was best avoided. It was more important to elaborate on the general directives to be embodied in the Recommendation.

Point 2

20. A few Government members from developing countries tended to share this view, but the majority were opposed to it on the grounds that a Convention would, by its very nature, be rigid and defeat the primary purpose of giving assistance to co-operatives. Co-operatives were a voluntary form of association and their independence had to be recognised. This feature of co-operatives would tend to disappear if they became solely the creatures of government promotion. Moreover, co-operatives had attained such a diversity of form and reached such different levels of development in different countries, while economic and social conditions tended to vary so widely, that a Convention could not legislate for all of them. The readiness of governments to help co-operatives was evidenced by their actions and this rendered a Convention superfluous. It was much more important to have a flexible instrument to suit changing conditions and which could be of real help to co-operatives. This could only take the form of a Recommendation.

21. This view was wholly endorsed by the Employers' members, who could not agree that it should become an obligation on governments to promote one particular form of enterprise. To do so would be to subject co-operatives to government control and make them completely dependent on governments for aid and assistance. At the same time, a convention which contained only general principles was ineffective and of little value.

22. The Government members insisted on putting the amendment to a vote. It was rejected by 5,530 votes in favour, 7,630 against, with 140 abstentions. Point 1 of the Proposed Conclusions was accordingly adopted.

23. The Workers' members proposed that the proposed Recommendation be supplemented by a resolution which they would put forward later, requesting the Governing Body to include on the agenda of a future Conference the question of adopting a Convention on co-operatives.

II. SCOPE

Point 2

24. Arguing that it was essential to stress the voluntary nature of co-operative organisations the Employers' members proposed that the term "voluntarily formed" be inserted in this Point. This view was supported by certain Government members. The Workers' members, however, felt that such a description was superfluous since there was no need to stress what was well known to be a basic feature of co-operatives. Other Government members agreed with this view and suggested that academic discussion of this kind was best avoided. It was more important to elaborate on the general directives to be embodied in the Recommendation.

25. There was general agreement on the intrinsically voluntary and independent nature of co-operatives and, subject to introducing this concept in a more appropriate part of the Proposed Conclusions, the amendment was withdrawn.

26. The Government member of Japan proposed the addition of another specific form of co-operative organisation to those listed in this Point, since it was important in his country. The Government member of Australia, while questioning the need to list specific forms of co-operatives, thought that, if they were so listed, recreational co-operatives should also be included. Views were, however, expressed against this since it was made clear
in the text that the list was by no means meant to be exhaustive, but was rather illustrative of the main kinds of co-operatives of particular interest to developing countries.

27. Subject to a final decision to be taken by the Drafting Committee on whether the words "such as" might be substituted in particular " in the English text (the French text was unaffected), Point 2 was adopted.

III. OBJECTIVES OF POLICY CONCERNING CO-OPERATIVES

Point 3

28. Certain amendments proposed to this Point arose, it appeared, out of a difference of meaning in the English and French texts. Since the original text of the Proposed Conclusions was in French, the Committee agreed to refer such points for settlement by the Drafting Committee.

29. An amendment proposed by the Employers' members wished to make it explicit that co-operatives should be considered only as one of the important instruments of economic and social development. The view was expressed that this was the meaning of the text as it stood. This matter was referred to the Drafting Committee.

30. The Government member of Lebanon suggested that the objectives concerning co-operatives should cover a wider field than economic and social development and also extend to include human advancement. Membership of a co-operative implied consciousness of rights and obligations beyond immediate personal interests. Co-operatives helped to develop the whole man, and it was necessary to make this clear so that leaders in developing countries might appreciate the social and educational value of the co-operative movement. Other Government, Employers' and Workers' members supported this view.

31. The addition of the concept of human progress and advancement to the objectives mentioned in Point 3 won general approval. It was noted that this would also include cultural development, which was suggested as an additional objective of co-operative policy and might be given specific mention under Point 4. Point 3 was adopted with the addition mentioned.

Point 4

32. A number of amendments to this Point were mainly concerned with changes of emphasis and drafting. With the consent of their authors, who withdrew their amendments, these were referred to the Drafting Committee for settlement.

33. A proposal to change the order of the various clauses in this Point concerning specific objectives of the policy concerning co-operatives was put forward by the Government member of Austria. It was intended to draw attention to the importance of co-operatives as a means of improving the economic and social position of persons of limited resources and opportunities. Some members supported the proposal on the grounds that the first responsibility of a co-operative was to its members.

34. The Employers' members favoured the change, while the Workers' members were indifferent to it, since it was evident that there was no order of priority as between the different objectives, which had been arranged primarily in terms of their national importance. Most members favouring a change, it was agreed that the position of clauses (c) and (a) should be inverted.

35. The Government member of Cuba proposed the deletion of certain words in clause (b) so as to make it clear that the aim of a co-operative was to increase national, and not personal capital which was a natural consequence of setting up co-operatives. The amendment was withdrawn when many members pointed out that it was a good thing for co-operatives to know that when they formed a co-operative their individual material interests would also be protected.

36. The Government members of the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia wished to amend clause (a) of this Point to indicate that co-operatives should be established and developed as a means of implementing systems of "progressive" agrarian reform. Considerable debate ensued, centred round the meaning of the word "progressive", which was evidently capable of many interpretations and led to semantic confusion. The proposers of the amendment, supported by the Government members of Cuba, Byelorussia and others, felt that unless agrarian reform and land settlement were progressive they could not be of much value for developing countries.

37. Other members felt that reform was necessarily progressive in the usual sense of the term. The addition of the word therefore served no useful purpose. On the other hand the word had a specific connotation in the background of Marxist philosophy, and in this sense was objectionable.

38. The proposers of the amendment made it clear that by "progressive" they did not mean "in stages". Their meaning would be clearer if for "progressive" the words "democratic" or "radical" were substituted. A compromise suggestion that the words "tending to promote a more equitable social order" be adopted instead was not acceptable. The issue was put to the vote and the amendment rejected by 1,163 votes in favour, 8,037 against, with 595 abstentions.

39. A similar but less serious difference of opinion centred round the word "exploitation" in the English text. On an amendment proposed by the Employers' members the Committee agreed to substitute "utilisation" as being less tendentious. A further proposal by the Employers' members that in clause (b) the word "proper" be added to qualify the use of credit was withdrawn as liable to being misunderstood. The matter was referred to the Drafting Committee.

40. Two proposals, one by the Workers' members and the other by the Government member of Switzerland, were made to add a further clause (a) which would make it clear
that co-operatives should be developed as a means of helping to raise the general level of education and technical knowledge among members, and particularly of those whose opportunities for education were limited. The broader of the two proposals was accepted as meeting the aims of both and was adopted unanimously.

41. The Government member of Yugoslavia, supported by some other Government members, proposed that further clauses be added to this Point to include other specific co-operative objectives, such as the elimination of exploitation and the bringing together of workers and peasants. Other members felt that co-operatives were for all, regardless of social class, and that these additional objectives were too vague to be included here. As most members seemed to share this view, the amendment was withdrawn.

42. Subject to these changes Point 4 was adopted.

Point 5

43. An amendment having been withdrawn without discussion, Point 5 was adopted unchanged.

Point 6

44. The Workers' members proposed that paragraph (1) of this Point, which suggested that the economic and social conditions of a country should be taken into account in formulating a policy on co-operatives, be deleted since the instrument was to be a Recommendation and not a Convention. Moreover, retention of this paragraph seemed dangerous, since it could give an excuse to governments to act or refrain from acting in the interests of co-operatives.

45. Most Government members, in particular those of the Netherlands, Senegal, Venezuela, Australia, Cyprus and Kenya, did not share this view. Economic and social conditions varied so widely that it was both imperative and realistic to take them into account in formulating policy. If what was stated was obvious, there was no harm in leaving it in. This was a matter, for example, which technical assistance experts had to bear in mind in view of the differences between developing and more developed countries. This provision had also to be retained if the instrument was to be flexible. If governments wished to shirk their responsibilities they could do so in any case. This paragraph served as a guide to governments in developing countries on the need to adapt new techniques to old problems.

46. After this exchange of views the amendment was withdrawn and Point 6 adopted unchanged.

Point 7

47. This Point was adopted unanimously without change.

Point 8

48. Certain Government members proposed the deletion of the words "when appropriate" in this Point, since their meaning seemed to run counter to the provisions of the following Point, which invited governments to associate co-operatives with the formulation of national economic plans. Workers' members, too, saw no reason why a distinction should be made between association in the formulation of policy and association in its application.

49. Other Government members felt that the distinction was important. All co-operatives had not reached the same level of development and governments should be free to decide at which stage of development co-operatives should be associated in the application of policy. Co-operatives could not be both judges and parties to the suit. Application of policy was a matter for the executive. Yet other Government members felt that it made no difference whether the words were removed or retained.

50. The Employers' members felt that governments should be free to decide on the application of policy if their good will was to be retained. After an exchange of views a compromise was found whereby the rest of Point 8 was maintained with the substitution of the words "where possible" for "where appropriate".

Point 9

51. The Workers' members, as well as a few Employers' members, felt that the invitation extended to governments to associate any co-operatives "which have achieved a sufficient measure of maturity and expansion" with the formulation of national economic plans was gratuitous and unnecessary. The question arose as to who was to judge the degree of maturity, and this opened the door to discrimination between co-operatives. The fact that co-operative members had associated together for an economic purpose seemed sufficient proof of their maturity.

52. Most Government members felt that it would be absurd to associate all co-operatives, however inefficient and mismanaged they were —and there were many such in developing countries—with the formulation of economic and other plans, which were highly technical operations.

53. A compromise solution which sought to limit such association to central co-operative bodies or bodies capable of furnishing the requisite collaboration was not accepted since the question as to which body should be chosen still remained open. A refinement of this idea, which proposed that co-operative organisations as such should be associated on the same footing as other enterprises, found general favour, and on the basis of this amendment Point 9 was adopted.

IV. Methods of Implementation of Policy concerning Co-operatives

A. Legislation

Point 10

54. The Employers' members proposed that the provisions of this Point should be qualified to relate to provisions in national laws and regulations which might have the effect of
“unfairly” restricting the development of co-operatives. Most members were not opposed to this amendment. The Workers’ members introduced an amendment to include specific reference to certain areas such as the allocation of licences and quotas, as well as taxation, in which co-operatives allegedly suffered from discrimination.

55. A number of Government members felt that a Recommendation could not provide for all types of eventualities that might exist in most countries. There were perhaps other fields which would also have to be mentioned, and this would make the instrument too cumbersome. On the other hand, co-operatives in most countries received preferential treatment on a number of points, and it would be invidious to make references to certain areas where they apparently suffered from disabilities.

56. After an exchange of views it was agreed to refer to licences, quotas and taxation as examples of areas in which co-operatives should not be penalised or suffer unfair treatment. With this amendment Point 10 was adopted.

Point 11

57. The Government member of Byelorussia proposed that the instrument should, in addition to providing for national laws or regulations specifically concerned with the establishment and functioning of co-operatives, also provide for their protection. He stressed that there was no question of giving them a privileged position. Their protection by means of laws and regulations, the granting to them of favourable treatment and certain incentives would only give them the chance to compete with other undertakings which were often extremely powerful. Other Government members felt that the “protection” of co-operatives as such was unnecessary since this concept was either covered in other basic laws relating to rights of association or was ipso facto covered by laws whose purpose was to encourage and promote co-operatives. The Government members of Nigeria and Australia felt that co-operatives should not expect a more privileged position than other sectors of the economy; this view was shared by the Government members of Ceylon and the Malagasy Republic.

58. The Employers’ members objected to the concept of protection for one type of economic organisation since this might lead to discrimination against other forms. A number of Workers’ members felt that protection, if it meant the defence of weak co-operatives, was a good proposition, but it should not become a substitute for control.

59. Resulting from the discussion, a compromise formula proposed by the Government member of Sweden was accepted by the Committee, subject to review by the Drafting Committee. This provided for a guarantee to co-operatives to operate on equal terms with other forms of enterprise. Subject to this change Point 11 was adopted.

Point 12

60. In view of the difficulty of arriving at a commonly acceptable definition of the word “co-operative”, the Government members of the United Kingdom and Nigeria proposed that “description” be substituted for “definition” in clause (a). The suggestion won wide approval, but at the instance of the Government member of France the Committee agreed to include both terms. A proposal by an Employers’ member to replace the word “particular” by “essential” was likewise adopted.

61. A joint amendment to clause (a) of Point 12 was submitted by the Employers’ and Workers’ members with the intention of including in the instrument certain essential features that should characterise a co-operative. They mentioned that the description was based on elements taken from Report VII (1) and seemed to them to include the basic principles of a co-operative without making it too exclusive. This happy initiative made in a truly co-operative spirit was generally acclaimed. Subject to a few minor drafting changes the amendment was endorsed by the Committee.

Point 13

62. The Committee adopted Point 13 without discussion.

B. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Point 14

63. The Committee adopted Point 14 without discussion.

Point 15

64. The Government member of Australia proposed that Point 15, which listed certain types of educational institutions in which it was desirable that instruction on co-operatives be given, be replaced by a more broadly worded paragraph. This was, after all, a matter in which governments should be left some discretion and he found the present text too detailed. His views were backed by the Government member of India.

65. The Workers’ members disagreed with this view since they felt that Point 14 was the operative part of the text and that the list contained in Point 15 was illustrative only and served as a useful guide to countries where the co-operative movement was inadequately developed. A compromise solution was reached on the basis of adding the words “such as” to make it clear that some discretion was left to governments in the matter.

66. The Government member of Czechoslovakia proposed that co-operative colleges and similar institutions be added to the list in Point 15. In this he was supported by the Government members of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, Sweden, Kenya, Cyprus and others. A number of other Government members, particularly those of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Malagasy Republic, pointed out that Point 15 dealt with general instruction in the field of co-operation, whereas specialised instruction was covered in Point 18. The addition of this clause therefore seemed unnecessary here.

67. After an exchange of views it was agreed to amend this Point so as to make it
clear that in addition to the instruction available on co-operation in specialised institutions, such instruction should be given in those institutions already listed.

68. Subject to the above changes Point 15 was adopted.

**Point 16**

69. Point 16 was adopted by the Committee without discussion.

**Point 17**

70. Subject to adding a phrase to the text to make it clear that action in this field should begin in the first place at the local level, as proposed by the Government member of Australia, paragraph (1) was accepted by the Committee.

71. On the proposal of the Employers' members the Committee also agreed that paragraph (2) of this Point, subject to a few drafting changes, should be made a separate Point distinct from Point 17.

**Point 18**

72. The Government member of Australia, for the reasons mentioned under Point 15, proposed that paragraph (2) of this Point should be less explicit and expressed in general terms. He felt that, in view of the capital expenditure involved, governments should not feel obliged to set up co-operative colleges unless existing facilities were inadequate. After views were exchanged on this matter it was agreed to refer this to the Drafting Committee.

73. The Employers' members proposed the addition of a new paragraph (3) to provide for demonstration and pilot projects where practical training in co-operative organisation and management might be made available for co-operatives in developing countries.

74. A number of Government members, in particular those of Nigeria, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Cyprus, were opposed to the idea of "small experimental co-operatives", since they maintained that co-operatives should come into existence on a voluntary basis to meet needs felt and an "experimental co-operative" was a contradiction in terms. The Workers' members, too, expressed doubts as to the proposal.

75. After it was made clear that what was intended was practical training and not experimentation unrelated to economic needs, an additional paragraph (3) suitably amended was accepted by the Committee. A further amendment proposed by the Employers' members suggesting that agricultural production co-operatives should in the early stages be of limited size owing to the inconvenience of rural co-operatives was withdrawn when Workers' members objected to it on the ground that this ran counter to the very concept of freedom of initiative and voluntary association.

76. Subject to the changes mentioned earlier Point 18 was adopted.

**C. AID TO CO-OPERATIVES**

**Point 19**

77. The Employers' members proposed an amendment to this Point which was intended to make it clear that financial aid given to co-operatives should not adversely affect the principle of equality of treatment as between different economic sectors. Most Government members, particularly those of the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Senegal and the Malagasy Republic, were unable to accept the proposal. They felt that a government should be free to give help to underprivileged sections of the community and this would inevitably result in unequal treatment as between different economic sectors. It was the definite policy of the government in a number of developing countries to give preferential treatment to co-operatives as representing a sector that was economically weak, and this policy could not be revised.

78. The Employers' members were concerned that preferential treatment should not be such as to wipe out private enterprises that were functioning efficiently and rendering services to the community. The Workers' members were completely opposed to the proposal, even in an amended form, as running contrary to the whole aim of the proposed instrument. After further discussion the Employers' members withdrew their proposal.

79. Subject to minor drafting changes Point 19 was accordingly adopted.

**Point 20**

80. A number of amendments to this Point were put forward by Government, Employers' and Workers' members, most of which dealt with its form. A more substantial amendment proposed by the Employers' members was intended to delete reference to exemptions from taxes being given as a form of assistance to co-operatives.

81. Most of the amendments were finally withdrawn and Point 20 was adopted subject to a rearrangement proposed by the Government member of Australia.

**Point 21**

82. A minor amendment proposed to this Point having been withdrawn, it was adopted without change.

**Point 22**

83. An amendment put forward by Employers' members with similar intent as in Point 20 met with opposition from the Government members of Peru, Senegal and Cameroon. It was accordingly withdrawn and Point 22 was adopted without change.

**Point 23**

84. In the interests of sound banking and financial practices the Employers' members Proposed an amendment to this Point so as to enable public and semi-public funds for co-operatives to be channelled through banking institutions rather than co-operative banks. The amendment was eventually withdrawn.

85. There was an amendment by the Employers' members suggesting the deletion of paragraph (2) of this Point. The Government member of Byelorussia pointed out that a majority of governments would prefer financial
aid to co-operatives being channelled through central co-operative, public or semi-public institutions. Private capital, as a rule, was not interested in promoting the co-operative movement. He therefore suggested a subamendment to another amendment to the paragraph proposed by the Government member of Lebanon. This amendment was, however, withdrawn and the Chairman ruled that the subamendment, which had not been submitted in writing, was invalid.

86. Point 23 was adopted without change.

Point 24

87. This Point was adopted with a minor change proposed by the Government member of Australia.

Point 25

88. Subject to eventual modifications of the text by the Drafting Committee this Point was adopted without change.

D. SUPERVISION AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Point 26

89. The Workers' members proposed an amendment to this Point asking that the instrument should provide for the collaboration of trade union organisations in the elaboration and, if necessary, application of policy concerning the setting up and development of co-operatives.

90. A number of speakers pointed out that the amendment should relate to Section III of the Proposed Conclusions and was inappropriate here. The Government members of Uganda, Senegal, Venezuela, Kenya, Nigeria and India were also opposed to the idea on the grounds that this violated the voluntary nature of co-operatives and failed to maintain their separate identity and interests. Co-operatives were for all sections of the population and their membership did not correspond to that of trade unions. Besides, co-operatives were non-political bodies and without any specific religious affiliation, whereas this could occur in the case of trade unions. For workers, trade unions were not and should not be political bodies; trade unions which engaged in political activities were exceptions. Other speakers pointed out that if trade unions were to be given this role there was no reason why it should not also be extended to other groups such as employers' organisations, farmers' associations, organisations of fishermen, etc.

91. The Workers' members explained that what they sought was collaboration and not control. Such collaboration in developing countries could help both parties. The Government member of the United States of America sympathised with the Workers' members' viewpoint.

92. Following consultation between the different groups a compromise amendment was adopted whereby it was agreed that the instrument should encourage the co-operative movement to secure the support of interested organisations in the elaboration and application of a policy on co-operatives. This proposal should become a separate Point and be placed in Section III between existing Points 8 and 9.

93. A number of Government members, in particular those of Italy and Japan, were concerned with the provisions of paragraph (2), which indicated that responsibility for supervision should be the responsibility of a federal co-operative body. After it was made clear that this did not free co-operatives from their liability for supervision under the provisions of national law, Point 26 was adopted subject to a minor change.

Point 27

94. The Government member of Czechoslovakia proposed that provision should be made for the accounts of a co-operative to be audited by internal "auditing commissions" in addition to a qualified external body. In the view of the Government member of the U.S.S.R. this was necessary to comply with democratic principles of management. It became clear after some discussion that practices varied from country to country and that rules for internal and external audit were already covered by Points 24 and 25. The proposal was hence withdrawn and Point 27 adopted.

Point 28

95. Point 28 was adopted without change.

Point 29

96. A number of Government members, particularly those of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Senegal and Nigeria, as well as the Workers' members criticised the suggestion that "qualified private or semi-private bodies" might in addition to the competent authority be given the functions of promoting co-operatives when appropriate, and pending the establishment of federal co-operative bodies. They thought this would open the door to undesirable propaganda and misuse of co-operatives. It was, however, mentioned that private bodies had contributed to the growth of the co-operative movement, especially in Finland and Jamaica.

97. Subject to a drafting change which referred to other appropriate qualified bodies and deleted the reference to "private and semi-private", the objection was withdrawn.

98. On the proposal of the Government member of Canada, the Committee also agreed to add a new paragraph (3) so that the instrument should call on the competent authority to collect and publish at least annual statistics relating to the growth and operation of co-operatives in each country. This it was felt would be of great value in developing countries and received the support of the Government members of Kenya and Senegal. With these changes and additions Point 29 was adopted.

Point 30

99. After some doubts were raised by the Government members of Czechoslovakia and India regarding the advisability of insisting
that the functions referred to in Point 29 should be discharged as full-time work, the Committee agreed to adopt this Point without change, since the instrument was to be a Recommendation.

Point 31

100. This Point was adopted without change.

V. INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Point 32

101. A number of amendments were put forward to this Point. A proposal by the Government member of Ceylon, which was supported by Government members of the Federal Republic of Germany, Lebanon and other countries as well as by the Employers’ and Workers’ members proposed the addition of “other interested international organisations” to those bodies already being called upon to give aid to co-operatives in developing countries.

102. Similar proposals by the Government members of the Scandinavian countries suggesting the expansion of technical assistance to the co-operative movements of developing countries and the drawing up of co-ordinated projects therefor, as well as for action in the field of research and problems of co-operatives in developing countries, were approved by the Committee.

103. The Committee requested its Drafting Committee to co-ordinate these amendments and incorporate them into Point 32.

104. Subject to these changes and a few minor additions, Point 32 was approved.

Communication concerning Conclusions on Co-operatives from the Committee on Agrarian Reform

105. The Committee at its thirteenth sitting received a communication from the Conference transmitting Points 23 and 46 to 62 of the Proposed Conclusions of the Committee on Agrarian Reform concerning the role of co-operatives in this field. The Committee noted that it was not expected to have any substantive discussion on the subject at this stage.

106. The Reporter recalled that many of the Points included in these Proposed Conclusions had already been discussed in the wider context of the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries. After an exchange of views the Committee decided to attach as an annex to its report to the Conference the Conclusions on the Role of Co-operatives in Agrarian Reform that it had received from the Committee on Agrarian Reform. These could then be taken into consideration when the Office prepared its report for transmission to governments following the Conference.

Adoption of the Report, the Proposed Conclusions and the Resolution concerning the Placing on the Agenda of the Question of the Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries

108. The Committee considered its report and the Proposed Conclusions at its thirteenth sitting and agreed to certain changes suggested by members during the course of the discussion. The report of the Committee, the Proposed Conclusions, and the text of a resolution to place on the agenda of the next Ordinary Session of the Conference an item entitled “The Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries” were adopted unanimously. The Proposed Conclusions concerning the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries prepared by the Drafting Committee and adopted by the Committee are appended and are submitted to the Conference for consideration.


(Signed) R. WAHID, Chairman.
B. MATHSSON, Reporter.
Conclusions of the Committee on Agrarian Reform on the Role of Co-operatives in Agrarian Reform

23. The special contribution which various forms of co-operatives can make to the successful implementation of agrarian reforms and to the improvement in the levels of living of the beneficiaries should be recognised. These include, among others, suitable voluntary systems of joint land use, savings and credit co-operatives, co-operatives for production, supply, distribution, marketing, for the utilisation and maintenance of machinery, and other services. For the sound growth of co-operative activities institutional arrangements should be made for supervision, for extension services to co-operatives, for systematic training programmes for co-operative office bearers and personnel, as well as for education of members of co-operatives and diffusion of co-operative principles and working methods among the rural population.

Additional Conclusions on the Role of Co-operatives in Agrarian Reform

46. In view of their importance as a means of promoting general economic and social progress, of directly associating the rural population with the development process and because of their educational and cultural value, co-operatives should be considered as having a vital role to play in programmes of agrarian reform.

47. Co-operatives should be used as a means of assessing the problems and interests of the rural population for the planning and preparation of agrarian reform measures. They should also serve for channelling information among agriculturists and making the purposes, principles and methods of such reforms understood.

48. Co-operatives should be promoted to facilitate the implementation of agrarian reform measures, to contribute to the achievement of the aims and objectives of such reforms and to ensure that in the long run there is substantial improvement in the living and working conditions of the beneficiaries.

49. Particular attention should be paid to the development of appropriate forms of co-operatives adapted to given local conditions and to the various patterns and phases of agrarian reform. They should by all means enable cultivators to operate holdings efficiently and productively and allow for the greatest possible initiative and participation of the membership.

50. Where appropriate, suitable voluntary forms of co-operative land use should be encouraged. Their activities may range from the organisation of certain services and farming operations in common to the complete pooling of land, labour and equipment.

51. Wherever appropriate the voluntary consolidation of fragmentary holdings through co-operatives should be encouraged.

52. In cases where measures are being envisaged for the transfer of ownership or division of large estates due consideration should be given to the organisation of co-operative systems of holding and/or cultivation. At the same time adequate provision should be made for the supply of services and technical guidance to those who work the land.

53. The establishment of co-operatives should also be considered in connection with land settlement schemes especially as regards land reclamation and improvement measures and the organisation of joint services and farming operations for settlers.

54. Development of thrift and credit co-operatives and co-operative banks should be encouraged among the beneficiaries of agrarian reforms as well as among other small farmers for the purpose of:

(a) providing loans to cultivators for the purchase of equipment and other farm requisites;

(b) encouraging and assisting cultivators to save and accumulate capital;

(c) advancing loans to, and promoting thrift among, especially, those agricultural families, including hired workers, who normally would not have access to established sources of credit;

(d) facilitating the implementation of special government credit schemes through an efficient channeling of loans to beneficiaries and appropriate supervision of the use made of such loans and timely reimbursement.

55. The development of supply, marketing or multi-purpose co-operatives should be encouraged for the purpose of—

(a) the joint purchase and supply of farm requisites of good quality on favourable terms;

(b) the joint conditioning, processing and marketing of agricultural products.

56. Wherever possible, supply, credit and marketing functions should be linked so that the members may benefit to the maximum extent both in economies in the purchase of requisites and from higher proceeds from the sale of produce. This may be achieved either through setting up multi-purpose co-operatives or through membership in several specialised co-operative societies.

57. Encouragement should be given to the development of co-operatives providing farmers with other services contributing to an improvement in methods of farming and in the economic and social status of the agricultural population. Such institutions might include those relating to the joint use of farm machinery, electrification, livestock breeding, the provision of veterinary and pest control services, facilities for irrigation, crop and livestock insurance, etc.

58. With a view to improving employment opportunities, working conditions and income, landless agricultural workers should be assisted where appropriate, to organise themselves voluntarily into labour contracting co-operatives.

59. Where appropriate, agricultural co-operatives in the reform zones should be encouraged to form federations to engage in such activities which their local associations could only perform at higher cost or not at all.

60. Due consideration should also be given to the encouragement and development of other types of co-operative activities providing for full or part-time non-agricultural employment for members of beneficiaries' families (e.g. crafts, home or cottage industries), adequate distribution of consumer goods and for social services which the State may not always be in a position to provide (viz. health, education, culture, recreation, transport),

61. To permit co-operatives of the various types to play their full role in agrarian reform, the competent authority should pay special attention to—

(a) the framing and application of appropriate co-operative legislation, rules and by-laws;

(b) the establishment of competent promotional agencies;

(c) the provision of adequate technical guidance;

(d) the training of promoters, co-operative office bearers and staff, as well as the systematic education of members in co-operative principles and working methods;

(e) the provision of adequate sources of credit for co-operatives.

62. The interchange and dissemination of information on co-operative structures, their set-backs and achieve-
ments related to agrarian reform should be encouraged by all possible means so that the experience acquired may be made available to the largest possible number of countries.

(3) Text of the Proposed Conclusions with a View to the Adoption of a Recommendation concerning the Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries, Submitted by the Committee on Co-operatives.¹

I. Form of the Instrument
1. The instrument should be a Recommendation.

II. Scope
2. The instrument should apply to all categories of co-operatives, such as the following: consumer co-operatives; land improvement co-operatives; agricultural productive and processing co-operatives; rural supply co-operatives; agricultural marketing co-operatives; fishery co-operatives; service co-operatives; handicrafts co-operatives; workers' productive co-operatives; labour contracting co-operatives; co-operative thrift and credit societies and banks; housing co-operatives; transport co-operatives; mutual insurance co-operatives; and health co-operatives.

III. Objectives of Policy Concerning Co-operatives
3. It should be emphasised that the establishment and growth of co-operatives should be regarded as one of the important instruments for economic, social and cultural development as well as human advancement in developing countries.

4. In particular, co-operatives should be established and developed as a means of—
   (a) improving the economic, social and cultural situation of persons of limited resources and opportunities;
   (b) increasing personal and national capital resources by the encouragement of thrift and the sound use of credit;
   (c) increasing national income, export revenues and employment by a fuller utilisation of resources, for instance in the implementation of systems of agrarian reform and of land settlement aimed at bringing fresh areas into productive use and in the establishment of scattered but fully modernised industries processing local raw materials;
   (d) improving social conditions, and supplementing social services, in such fields as housing and, where appropriate, health and communications;
   (e) helping to raise the level of general and technical knowledge of their members.

5. The instrument should invite the governments of developing countries to formulate and carry out a policy under which co-operatives receive aid and encouragement without losing their independence.

6. (1) In elaborating such a policy, regard should be had to economic and social conditions, the available resources and the role which co-operatives can play in the development of the country.

   (2) The policy should be integrated in general development plans in so far as this is consistent with the essential features of co-operatives.

7. The policy should be kept under review and adapted to changes in social and economic needs and to technological advances.

8. Existing co-operatives should be associated with the formulation and, where possible, application of the policy.

9. The instrument should suggest that the co-operative movement should be encouraged to seek the co-operation of organisations with common objectives in the elaboration and, if necessary, application of the policy concerning the establishment and development of co-operatives.

10. (1) The instrument should invite the governments concerned to associate co-operative organisations as such, on the same basis as other undertakings, with the formulation of national economic plans and other general economic measures, at least whenever such plans and measures are liable to affect their activities. Such co-operatives should also be associated with the application of such plans and measures in so far as this is consistent with their essential features.

   (2) Federations of co-operatives should be empowered to represent their member societies at the local, regional and national levels, in the elaboration of economic plans.

IV. Methods of Implementation of Policy Concerning Co-operatives
A. Legislation

11. The instrument should provide that all appropriate measures, including the consultation of existing co-operatives, should be taken—
   (a) to detect and eliminate provisions contained in national laws and regulations which may have the effect of unfairly restricting the development of co-operatives, such as the allocation of licences and quotas and taxation;
   (b) to avoid the inclusion of such provisions in future laws and regulations.

12. The instrument should provide that there should be national laws or regulations specifically concerned with the establishment and functioning of co-operatives, and with the protection of their right to operate on equal terms with other forms of enterprise. These laws or regulations should preferably be applicable to all categories of co-operatives.

13. The matters dealt with in such laws and regulations should include at least—
   (a) a definition or description of a co-operative bringing out its essential characteristics, namely that it is an association of persons who have voluntarily joined together to

¹ See Second Part, p. 419.
achieve a common end through the formation of a democratically controlled business organisation, making equitable contributions to the capital required and accepting a fair share of the risks and benefits of the undertaking in which the members actively participate;

(b) the description of the objects of a co-operative, and procedures for its establishment and registration, the amendment of its statutes, and its dissolution;

(c) the conditions of membership and rights and duties of members;

(d) methods of administration, management and internal audit, and procedures for the establishment and functioning of competent organs;

(e) the protection of the name "co-operative";

(f) machinery for the external audit and guidance of co-operatives and for the enforcement of the laws and regulations.

14. The instrument should provide that laws and regulations concerning co-operatives should authorise co-operatives to federate.

B. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

15. The instrument should provide that measures should be taken to disseminate a knowledge of the principles, methods, possibilities and limitations of co-operatives as widely as possible among the peoples of developing countries.

16. Instruction on the subject should be given not only in co-operative schools, colleges and training centres but also in other suitable educational institutions such as—

(a) universities and centres of higher education;

(b) teachers' training colleges;

(c) agricultural schools and other vocational educational establishments, and workers' education centres;

(d) secondary schools;

(e) primary schools.

17. With a view to promoting practical experience in co-operative principles and methods, the formation and operation of student co-operatives in schools and colleges should be encouraged.

18. Steps should be taken, in the first place at the local level, to familiarise the adult population with the principles, methods and possibilities of co-operatives.

19. The instrument should provide that, for the purpose of disseminating knowledge of the principles, methods and possibilities of co-operatives among the peoples of developing countries, full use should be made of such media of instruction as text books, lectures, seminars, study and discussion groups, mobile instructors, guided tours of co-operative undertakings, the press, films, radio and television and other media of mass communication. These should be adapted to the particular conditions of each country.

20. (1) Provision should be made both for appropriate technical training and for training in co-operative principles and methods of persons who will be—and, where necessary, of persons who are—members of the board of directors and members of the staffs of co-operatives, as well as of their advisers and publicists.

(2) Where existing facilities are inadequate, special colleges or schools should be established to provide such training by specialised teachers or leaders of the co-operative movement with teaching materials adapted to the requirements of the country; if such specialised institutions cannot be established, special courses on co-operation should be given either by correspondence or in such establishments as schools of accountancy, schools of administration and schools of commerce.

(3) The use of special programmes of practical training should be one of the means of contributing to the education and further training of members of co-operatives.

C. AID TO CO-OPERATIVES

Financial Aid

21. (1) The instrument should provide that, where necessary, financial aid from outside should be given to co-operatives when they initiate their activities or encounter financial obstacles to growth or transformation.

(2) Such aid should not entail any obligations contrary to the independence of co-operatives, and should be designed to encourage rather than replace the initiative and effort of the members of co-operatives.

22. (1) Such aid should preferably take the form of loans, reductions in or exemptions from certain taxes, credit guarantees or grants.

(2) Grants and tax exemptions may be provided, in particular, to help to finance—

(a) publicity, promotional and educational campaigns;

(b) certain clearly defined tasks benefiting the public.

23. Where such aid cannot be provided by the co-operative movement, it should preferably be given by the State or other public bodies, although it may, if necessary, come from private institutions.

24. (1) Grants and tax exemptions or reductions should be subject to conditions prescribed by national laws or regulations and relating in particular to the use to be made of the aid and the amount thereof; the conditions of loans and credit guarantees may be determined in each case.

(2) The competent authority should ensure that the use of financial aid and, in the case of a loan, its repayment, are adequately supervised.

25. (1) Financial aid from public or semi-public sources should be channelled through a national co-operative bank or, failing that, another central co-operative institution capable of assuming responsibility for its use and, where appropriate, repayment; pending the establishment of such institutions the aid may be given directly to individual co-operatives.
(2) Financial aid from private institutions may be given directly to individual co-operatives.

**Administrative Aid**

26. The instrument should provide that, while the management and administration of a co-operative must, from the outset, be the responsibility of the members and persons elected by them, the competent authority should, in appropriate cases and for an initial period and as required—

(a) assist the co-operative in obtaining and remunerating competent staff;

(b) place at the disposal of the co-operative persons competent to give guidance and advice.

27. (1) Generally, co-operatives should be able to obtain guidance and advice on matters relating to management and administration, as well as on technical matters, preferably from a federation of co-operatives or from the competent authority.

(2) Such guidance and advice must respect the autonomy of the co-operative and the responsibility of its staff.

**D. SUPERVISION AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPLEMENTATION**

28. (1) The instrument should provide that co-operatives should be subject to a form of supervision designed to ensure that they carry on their activities in conformity with the objects for which they were established and in accordance with the law.

(2) Supervision should be the responsibility of a federation of co-operatives; pending the establishment of such a body the competent authority should assume the task.

29. The accounts of co-operatives should be audited by a qualified external body.

30. The measures referred to in Points 28 and 29 should be so planned and carried out as to—

(a) ensure good management and administration of co-operatives;

(b) protect third parties;

(c) provide an opportunity of completing the education and training of the members of the board of directors and members of the staff of co-operatives through practice and through critical examination of mistakes.

31. (1) The instrument should provide that the functions of promoting co-operatives, providing for education concerning co-operatives and for the training of office-bearers and staffs of co-operatives, and giving aid in their organisation and functioning, should preferably be performed by one central body so as to ensure coherent action.

(2) The performance of these functions should preferably be the responsibility of a federation of co-operatives; pending the establishment of such a body the competent author-

ity or, where appropriate, other qualified bodies, should assume the task.

(3) The competent authority should collect and publish at least once a year statistics relating to the operations and growth of co-operatives in the national economy.

32. (1) The functions referred to in Point 31 should, wherever possible, be discharged as full-time work.

(2) They should be performed by persons who have received training specifically directed towards the exercise of such functions; such training should be provided by specialised institutions or, wherever suitable, through specialised courses in the schools and colleges referred to in Point 20.

33. Where the services of federations of co-operatives cannot adequately meet the need for research, exchanges of experience and publications, special institutions, serving the entire country or several regions, should, if possible, be established.

**V. INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION**

34. (1) Members should, to the greatest extent possible, collaborate in providing aid and encouragement to co-operatives in developing countries.

(2) Such collaboration should be envisaged—

(a) between two or more developing countries; and

(b) between countries with an old-established co-operative movement and developing countries.

(3) As appropriate, the help of national co-operative organisations should be enlisted for such collaboration, and use should be made, particularly with a view to the co-ordination of international effort, of international co-operative organisations and other interested international bodies.

(4) The collaboration should extend to such measures as—

(a) the increased provision of technical assistance to the co-operative movement of developing countries, wherever possible in the form of co-ordinated programmes involving different agencies, both inter-governmental and non-governmental;

(b) the preparation and supply of information, textbooks, audio-visual aids and analogous material to assist in the drafting of legislation, in instruction on co-operation and in the training of office bearers and qualified staffs of co-operatives;

(c) the exchange of qualified personnel;

(d) the grant of fellowships;

(e) the organisation of international seminars and discussion groups;

(f) the inter-co-operative exchange of goods and services;

(g) the initiation of systematic research into the structure, working methods and problems of co-operative movements in developing countries.
(4) Text of the Resolution concerning the Placing on the Agenda of the Next Ordinary Session of the Conference of the Question of the Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries, Submitted by the Committee on Co-operatives.¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having adopted the report of the Committee appointed to consider the seventh item on the agenda, and

Having in particular approved as general conclusions, with a view to the consultation of governments, proposals for a Recommendation relating to the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries;

Decides that an item entitled "The Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries" shall be included in the agenda of its next ordinary session for a second discussion, with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation.

¹ See Second Part, p. 420 and Appendix XII, p. 707.
APPENDIX X

Communications to the Conference


When the Governing Body of the International Labour Office considered at its 160th (November 1964) Session the action to be taken on the resolution adopted by the Conference in 1964 concerning the programme and structure of the I.L.O. it decided to set up a Working Party composed of the Chairman and eight Government members, six Employers’ members and six Workers’ members to assist the Director-General in the study of the proposals made at the 47th and 48th Sessions of the Conference and in the implementation of the resolution concerning the programme and structure of the I.L.O.

At its 161st Session in March 1965 the Governing Body considered the initial report of the Working Party concerning the organisation of its work and adopted the proposals of the Working Party.

The Working Party met from 4 to 7 May 1965 to examine proposals relating to the major programme areas of I.L.O. action and reached conclusions concerning the major programme of human resources. These conclusions are included in the report of the Working Party which the Governing Body considered at its 162nd (May 1965) Session and decided to transmit as the first report of the Working Party to the Conference, so that it may be discussed in connection with the Report of the Director-General (Part I).

FIRST REPORT OF THE WORKING PARTY ON THE PROGRAMME AND STRUCTURE OF THE I.L.O. TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

1. The Working Party on the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O. was appointed by the Governing Body at its 160th Session to assist the Director-General of the I.L.O. in the study of proposals made at the 47th and 48th Sessions of the Conference concerning the programme and structure of the Organisation and in the implementation of the resolution concerning the programme and structure of the I.L.O. adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 48th Session (1964).

2. The Working Party met for the first time on 20 February 1965 for the purpose of deciding upon the sequence and organisation of its work. In its initial report, submitted to the 161st Session of the Governing Body (document G.B.161/14/37), the Working Party indicated that it had decided to consider in the first instance the proposals concerning the major programme areas of I.L.O. activity and thereafter to proceed by stages to the discussion of the proposals concerned with the various means for the determination of such programmes and the implementation thereof.

3. In accordance with this decision the Working Party held its first working session from 4 to 7 May 1965 under the chairmanship of Mr. G. V. Haythorne (Canada), Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

4. The Working Party was composed at this session as follows:

Government Members:
- Algeria: Mr. Bouhara
- Argentina: Mr. Cámpera
- France: Mr. Parodi
- India: Mr. Parushottam
- Poland: Mr. Chajn
- U.S.S.R.: Mr. Pozharasky
- United Kingdom: Mr. Heron
- United States: Mr. Weaver

Employers’ Members:
- Mr. Bergenström
- Mr. Fennema
- Mr. Rifaat
- Mr. Robinson
- Mr. Tata
- Mr. Yllanes Eamos

Workers’ Members:
- Mr. De Bock
- Lord Collison
- Mr. ben Ezzedine
- Mr. Kaplansky
- Mr. Weaver

5. The Working Party had before it the following documentation—
(a) the Report of the Director-General (Part I) to the 47th and 48th Sessions of the International Labour Conference;
(b) the report and analysis by major categories of all the proposals put forward at the 47th and 48th Sessions of the Conference (document G.B.160/5/15) submitted to the Governing Body at its 160th Session in

pursuance of the 1964 Conference resolution on the programme and structure of the I.L.O. and transmitted to member States for their comments by decision of the Governing Body;

(c) the list by major categories of the proposals concerning the programme and structure of the I.L.O. requested by the Governing Body at its 160th Session (document ORG 32-1, Annex), and transmitted to member States for their comments by decision of the Governing Body;

(d) a summary of the communications received from governments and employers' and workers' organisations concerning the proposals included in the documents mentioned under (b) and (c) which relate to the major programme areas of human resources, social institutions and conditions of life and work;

(e) the Report of the Director-General (Part I) to the 49th Session of the Conference;

(f) a working paper indicating the objectives, scope and content, methods of implementation, and procedures for review and evaluation of the major programme area relating to human resources.

6. The Director-General of the International Labour Office made an introductory statement in which he explained to the Working Party the steps he had taken within the Office to initiate the framing of specific proposals for programme development in each programme area.

7. The Working Party took note of the statement by the Director-General. In the course of the Working Party's deliberations the Director-General and the Principal Deputy Director-General took an active part in the consideration and clarification of the various points that came up for discussion.

8. The Working Party noted that by 26 April 1963 comments on the documents mentioned under (b) and (c) in paragraph 5 above had been received from 40 governments, 22 employers' organisations and 16 workers' organisations.

9. The Working Party noted the information given by the Director-General in his Report (Part I) to the 49th Session of the Conference and in the statement which he made to the Working Party concerning the steps he has taken to adapt the organisation of the Office to present and foreseeable needs. The technical work of the Office is now organised on a departmental basis and the division of responsibility among the various departments corresponds roughly to the scope of the proposed major programme areas which are described in Chapter II of the Report. The aim of this departmentalisation is to facilitate the formulation and implementation of comprehensive and integrated activities in each sector of I.L.O. action.

10. The "major programmes" of the Organisation have been defined, for purposes of programme planning, as broad areas of continuing and closely co-ordinated activities designed to accomplish important objectives. Such "major programmes" are composed of "programmes", which are described as related activities of a continuing nature designed to contribute to the attainment of one or more of these objectives. These programmes, in turn, are subdivided into specific activities of a recurring or continuing nature identified as "sub-programmes" and "projects". The latter being specific activities called for under the arrangements for the attainment of the objectives of a major programme, but which have a clearly defined aim and a fixed completion date. Certain tasks of the Organisation, for example those in the rural field, concern several "major programmes".

11. The new system of programme planning control and evaluation set up within the Office should enable the Governing Body and the Conference to examine programmes in fuller awareness of the inter-relationships between different types of action, and of their financial implications.

12. At the outset of the deliberations in the Working Party certain members recalled the views of their governments concerning the relation between the proposed major programmes under consideration and the long-term objectives of the Organisation and the respective roles of the Conference and the Governing Body in the determination and control of programmes. The Working Party took note of these observations and decided that it would review the proposals and comments relating to these points at the appropriate stage in its proceedings on the occasion of a future session.

13. After reviewing the documentation before it, and having due regard to the scope and significance for the Organisation of the questions raised in this documentation, the Working Party decided to focus attention on the proposed major programme relating to human resources. There was general agreement that it was preferable to hold initially a full discussion and endeavour to reach an agreed body of unanimous conclusions in this complex area rather than to attempt to cover with less thoroughness all three of the major programme areas described by the Director-General in his Report to the 49th Session of the Conference, namely human resources, social institutions, and conditions of life and work.

14. The choice of the major programme area of human resources as the subject for initial thorough consideration by the Working Party at this session does not in any way suggest that the two other major programme areas proposed by the Director-General are of any less importance. The Working Party noted that all three major programme areas will be discussed by the Conference at its 49th Session within the framework of the discussion on the Report of the Director-General.

15. The Working Party wished to record its appreciation of the manner in which its task
had been facilitated by the governments and the workers’ and employers’ organisations who had put forward proposals and comments relating to the major programme area of human resources.

Need for a Major Programme in the Field of Human Resources

16. The Organisation has been concerned since its inception with questions relating to the development and utilisation of human resources. The Preamble to the Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia, in particular Part III of the Declaration, set out clearly the responsibilities of the I.L.O. in this field. Since the Second World War the I.L.O. has increased its efforts and experience in this connection, particularly through action for the benefit of the developing countries. More recently, the importance of human resources in economic development has been further recognised and this has stimulated greater efforts by the I.L.O. in this field, the reasons for which have been stressed at recent sessions of the General Conference and other meetings of the various organs of the I.L.O. The Working Party is convinced that a reorganisation of I.L.O. activities in this field into a rationally ordered major programme with clearly defined objectives and methods of action would enable the Organisation greatly to increase the contribution it is making to the solution of the complex problems of developing human resources throughout the world.

17. It is appropriate to restate very briefly at this stage the main reasons for the further strengthening of I.L.O. action in the human resources field.

18. National development does not depend only on the existence of natural resources and on an ample supply of capital and equipment. If people do not have the skills needed to exploit these resources fully, if they are not productively employed, if they do not participate actively, freely and in a responsible manner in the various tasks of development, it will be very difficult to achieve significant economic and social progress. This is particularly true of developing countries in which human resources are abundant but where the skill potential of such resources is inadequately developed and the opportunities for productive employment are insufficient. In short, it is increasingly recognised in the theory and practice of development that the development and utilisation of “human resources” are decisive factors in economic expansion and, in consequence, in social progress.

19. The role which human beings can play in the process of development will be enhanced if living and working conditions are improved, if standards of living are made more satisfactory and if a greater degree of social justice is attained. This makes it necessary to stress the other fundamental aspect of human resources policy, namely that the ultimate objective of development is human fulfilment. A policy for the development and utilisation of human resources therefore implies recognition of the right of each person to obtain employment, to enjoy the fruits of the production to which he has contributed, and to develop his faculties to the fullest extent.

20. As a world-wide agency with special responsibilities in the field of social and labour policy, it is not surprising that the International Labour Organisation should have engaged in a whole series of activities relating to the development and utilisation of human resources. The effectiveness of its action in this field is strengthened by three factors. Firstly, its tripartite structure, which enables those representing the essential sectors of economic and social life to participate in the drawing up and implementation of policies and programmes in this field; secondly, the technical competence which it has acquired; and, thirdly, its universality, owing to which it benefits from the very diverse experience of its member States and from the comparison of the different solutions which have been found for the many complex problems which arise in the field of human resources.

Objectives in the Human Resources Field

21. The Working Party noted that, in his Report to the 47th (1963) Session of the Conference, the Director-General expressed the view that problems relating to the development and utilisation of human resources should be given priority in I.L.O. activities. He suggested that the development of an effective strategy in this field should concentrate on the following objectives, which have been proposed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the United Nations Development Decade:

(1) better utilisation of the labour force by creating higher levels of productive employment;
(2) improving the quality of the labour force by vocational education and training;
(3) enlisting popular support for the tasks of national development and the participation of broad social groups in them.\(^1\)

22. In his reply to the discussion on his Report, the Director-General noted that the Conference fully agreed that these three objectives should be given priority in the development of a strategy in the field of human resources. Moreover, in resolution 984 (XXXVI) the Economic and Social Council requested the specialised agencies to consider the development of human resources as one of the priority areas which should be borne in mind in the planning and implementation of their programmes of action.

23. The Working Party wished to stress the special role which the I.L.O. can play in this field. In pursuance of specific I.L.O. objectives, it should continue to define principles of universal application and develop policies which are suited to the situation in countries at various stages of development. It must then develop programmes and techniques which enable effect to be given to the principles and

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policies thus defined, paying particular attention to the speed at which technological, economic, social and institutional change is taking place in each country and throughout the world. It is called upon to encourage the adoption of the principles and policies which it recommends in this field and the implementation of appropriate programmes; in so doing, it must stress the need for making the adjustments called for by changing needs and by the lessons of experience.

24. In order to be able to carry out these tasks, the I.L.O. must continue to accumulate technical knowledge which will serve as a basis for the assistance and the advice which it will be called upon to give to governments, employers' and workers' organisations and other bodies competent in the field of human resources.

25. The I.L.O. must also seek the co-operation of the international organisations active in some particular field of human resources development. National planning of education does much to further the success of training schemes, and this calls for co-operation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations has an obvious interest in matters relating to employment and training in agriculture. Improvements in nutrition and hygiene have a considerable bearing on the development of human resources, and these questions are within the province of the F.A.O. and the World Health Organisation. As for the policies and programmes for the creation of productive employment, these have major economic aspects which must be looked into with the competent organisations, in the first place with the United Nations and more particularly its regional economic commissions, and also with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other similar institutions. The International Labour Organisation will also wish to co-operate with regional organisations and non-governmental institutions operating in this sphere, including employers' and workers' organisations. Finally, the I.L.O. should encourage the co-ordination of all efforts undertaken in a particular country, including those taking the form of bilateral assistance, so that such efforts may have maximum effectiveness.

26. The participation of the three constituent groups of the I.L.O. in the human resources programmes undertaken by the Organisation at the national and international levels is an essential factor in the success of these programmes.

27. In view of the overriding social importance of the various aspects of human resources policy and having due regard to the scope of the technical action of the I.L.O. in this field, the Working Party considered that the Organisation should act as the focal point in worldwide efforts for the development and utilisation of human resources. The Working Party expressed the view that member States should be invited to provide the I.L.O. with relevant information on the technical co-operation activities which they are carrying out in the field of human resources and that the I.L.O. should disseminate information on its pilot projects, research and other activities so as to make generally available the expert knowledge it acquires.

28. At this stage in its discussions the Working Party decided to consider separately the programmes and methods of action by which the I.L.O. could best help its member States to achieve the objectives set out in paragraph 21. It noted that these objectives called essentially for the implementation of programmes relating to employment, training and the participation of all concerned in the tasks of development.

Relations between a Major Human Resources Programme and Other Major Programmes

29. The Working Party observed that the third element—namely the active and free participation of the population in the tasks of development—was essential to the success of the programmes to be undertaken in the fields of employment and training. The whole population should be fully associated, through the medium of representative organisations, in the definition and implementation of these programmes; there was a need to develop systems of labour relations and social institutions which would enable the various groups making up the population to give their authentic support to collective efforts to promote economic and social development and to participate in such efforts; co-operative movements should be strengthened; finally, there should be a fair distribution of the fruits of development. If these requirements were not met, such programmes might well run counter to the interests of the individual and the community as a whole and prove ineffective.

30. The Working Party considered that, of all the international organisations, the I.L.O. was best qualified to make an important contribution in this field. It noted that a number of proposals regarding these questions had been formulated in the context of the major programme relating to social institutions and decided to discuss them at a later date.

31. The Working Party considered, furthermore, that the success of programmes relating to human resources did not depend solely on the development of the activities which would be undertaken with respect to employment, training and participation, and stressed the importance in this connection of the improvement of conditions of life and work. It noted that these aspects of the subject were embodied in the proposals concerning another major I.L.O. programme which it would also study at a later date.

Scope of a Major Programme in the Field of Human Resources

32. Before trying to specify the content of specific I.L.O. programmes in matters of
employment and training—within the frame­work of a major human resources programme— the Working Party had an exchange of views on what should be the scope of these pro­grammes. It stressed at the outset the importance which it attached to universality in I.L.O. activities. It concluded that all member States of the Organisation could derive benefit from the technical contribution which the I.L.O. could make to the solution of the various problems facing them, according to the importance and urgency of their requirements and to their degree of development. It considered, however, that the I.L.O. should continue to provide to the developing countries a broader range of services, the nature of which would differ from that of the services rendered to those member States which are economically more advanced.

Content of Specific I.L.O. Programmes relating to Employment and Training

33. On the basis of the proposals and comments before it, the Working Party was of the opinion that the I.L.O. could assist its member States to attain the first two objectives set out in paragraph 21 by undertaking specific pro­grammes which should be concerned with the following aspects: creation and development of productive employment; manpower assessment and planning; manpower services; and training services.

34. The programme concerning the creation and development of productive employment should enable the I.L.O. to give its member States practical assistance in stimulating eco­nomic growth and development, raising levels of living, meeting manpower requirements and overcoming unemployment and underemploy­ment. To this end the I.L.O. should define principles of universal application in order to promote the creation and development of productive employment. It was the I.L.O.'s task to ensure that national manpower policies had due regard to the need to formulate and pursue, as a major goal, an active policy designed to promote full, productive and freely chosen employment. It should also undertake activities that would enable it to make a practical contribution to the solution of a number of technical problems involved in defining and implementing such an employ­ment policy. Finally, the I.L.O. should con­tinue to give all possible assistance and advice in this field to those who request it.

35. The activities which the I.L.O. will undertake should relate in particular to the following: methods of establishing employ­ment targets within the framework of economic development plans and programmes; methods—particularly labour-intensive methods—of securing a rapid increase in the volume of employment in all sectors where such an increase is likely to speed up economic develop­ment and industrialisation; the role of small industries and rural development within an over-all policy of productive employment and development of skills; the employment of major population groups, such as women and young persons and other cate­gories such as those in non-manual employ­ment, workers of a certain age in need of retraining, older workers and the disabled, the special employment problems created by technological progress, including automation; the social consequences of employment pro­grammes and the means of eliminating any discrimination in the framing and implementa­tion of those programmes. The Working Party noted that employment problems in rural areas in developing countries were of particular importance because the bulk of the population of those countries lives in rural areas and because the extent of unemployment and underemployment in those areas was extremely serious. Moreover, it agreed that the I.L.O. should stress in all its work the implications of increased population pressure for employment policy and the consequent need to create new jobs.

36. The aim of the programme relating to manpower assessment and planning should be to continue to define principles and adopt methods whereby an inventory can be made of manpower needs and resources at all levels of skill and in all sectors of the economy and a forecast made of the probable trends of man­power supply and demand. These studies would be necessary if rational decisions are to be made with respect to the creation of employment, the planning of training, the development of man­power services and, in general, all activities related to the proper utilisation of human resources.

37. The aim of the programme relating to manpower services should be to assist in drawing up the principles and methods to be applied in the utilisation of employment, placement and vocational guidance services, which are essential instruments of any manpower policy, and the various measures for ensuring more effective distribution of manpower and better utilisation of occupational skills. These instru­ments play a particularly important part in an "active" manpower policy.

38. The aim of the programme relating to training should be to assist in defining the principles, policies, programmes and techniques whereby workers at all levels, including senior management personnel in undertakings, can be given the skills which will enable them to carry out their work effectively. They relate to tasks connected with the planning and organisation of vocational training—conceived as an integral part of over-all development policies. The activities undertaken under this programme include the initial training of young persons intending to take up employment, the training, specialisation and further training of workers already in employment, and the retraining and adjustment of manpower in the light of con­stantly changing economic needs. They may be directed to the training of key groups such as management, technical personnel, foremen and instructors. They relate to the develop­ment of new systems and methods whereby workers may acquire more rapidly and at less expense occupational skills of a level equal to those of skills acquired by traditional methods. They may also relate to special techniques and activities for training of the disabled.
Methods of Action

39. The Working Party then reviewed the whole range of methods of action at the disposal of the I.L.O. with particular reference to their applications relating to human resources; in its deliberations on the subject it was made clear that such a review would not prejudice the results of future consideration of proposals concerning the questions of structure and procedures of the Organisation and its various organs.

40. Furthermore the Working Party agreed that the same methods discussed below would be relevant to the implementation of other major programmes; in this report they have been dealt with in terms of their specific role in the human resources field and no attempt has been made to discuss their significance as I.L.O. tools in a wider framework.

41. It goes without saying that these methods—research, technical co-operation, meetings (from the meeting of experts up to the General Conference), standard-setting and the dissemination of information—are interdependent and need to be closely co-ordinated, each contributing to the achievement of the objectives of the major programme.

42. The recent activities of the I.L.O. in respect of the creation and expansion of employment afford an example of the way in which these methods hinge on one another. Research carried out by the Office in this field formed the basis for discussion at a Meeting of Experts on Employment Objectives in Economic Development, convened by the I.L.O. in 1960. On the basis of the report of that Meeting, the Conference in 1961 held a general discussion on employment problems and policies. That discussion had the effect of arousing enhanced interest in problems of employment promotion, facilitating exchanges of views and experience between the delegations, publicising the results throughout the world and preparing the ground for further international action. More detailed research was then carried out by the Office and the findings were widely disseminated by publishing articles and studies. All these activities led up to the comprehensive report prepared for a Preparatory Technical Conference on Employment Policy held in 1963. The work of that Conference prepared the way for the adoption of a Convention and of a Recommendation on employment policy by the General Conference in 1964. Pursuant to a resolution adopted by the Conference in the same year, the I.L.O. is now engaged in concrete action, and I.L.O. experts are at present carrying out missions to various countries in connection with the fixing of employment targets and manpower planning. It need hardly be said that this example of the interdependence of the I.L.O.'s methods of action applies to many other areas of human resources development.

43. Within this range of methods, the function of research is to provide technical support for the other activities. Such research is deliberately directed towards action and its aim is to produce new ideas that can be used in a practical way in the development of the major programme and its component parts. The study and comparison of the experience and problems of countries at various stages of development is of particular importance in this respect since it facilitates the elaboration of appropriate policies and methods. The evaluation, through research, of the results of practical action contributes to the continuing review and adjustment of the policies, programmes and methods applied. Another purpose of research is to place the objectives which the major programme on human resources sets out to achieve in appropriate relationship to the objectives of the International Labour Organisation as a whole. In so doing it must always be guided by the basic principles which underlie all I.L.O. action.

44. Among the technical subjects which at present call for further investigation, mention should be made of some which have particular importance: the determination of employment objectives; the repercussions on employment and training of industrialisation and rural development within the framework of general development policies; selection of techniques for employment creation and promotion; steps to combat unemployment and underemployment among young persons and among special categories such as non-manual workers; techniques for forecasting manpower resources and requirements; the role of manpower services in relation to an active manpower and employment policy; planning of vocational training in all sectors of the economy; development of new training systems and methods, including those relevant to management development, and, in particular, the formulation of training methods adapted to the needs of the developing countries; and comparative studies on the cost of various training systems and on the financing of measures connected with programmes of human resources development.

45. Other types of research, with a broader scope, should also be carried out; for example studies concerning the sociological aspects which influence the implementation of the various measures encompassed in the major programme, the study of the social repercussions of such measures, and the study of all the technical, economic and social problems raised by the harnessing of human resources. The study of methods aimed at producing a multiplying effect should be undertaken within this broader type of research.

46. Technical co-operation is a concrete expression of I.L.O. action, and a wide range of projects has been undertaken in recent years in connection with the different programmes which will be grouped under the major programme of human resources. The major programme in this field may have the following effects.

47. The types of projects which have proved useful will be given a new orientation; they will be better co-ordinated and integrated in a wider framework. For example, projects relating to training in industrial undertakings may be given a new impetus if they are carried out in connection with action relating to further training of management personnel and to organisation of the undertakings concerned.
The effectiveness of this sequence of activities will also be strengthened if they are carried out within the framework of an over-all training policy. Those projects which are only of marginal interest and which are not clearly linked to the objectives of the major programme could be eliminated. Moreover, new projects should be drawn up; for example projects may be undertaken to cover the needs of specific industrial sectors with respect to management development and vocational training at all technical levels; technical services may be established to meet the needs of undertakings of varying sizes, and measures may be adopted to promote co-operative arrangements between these undertakings.

48. Wider use may also be made of the possibilities of establishing systems of regional technical co-operation, for example arrangements for the utilisation of facilities existing in one country of a given region for the training of specialised personnel from other countries in the region. It was also suggested that the human resources aspects of regional economic integration efforts be studied and taken into account in technical co-operation work. Other activities may take the form of the establishment of—or increasing support for—regional research and training institutions such as the Inter-American Vocational Training Research and Documentation Centre (CINTERFOR), the organisation of seminars covering broad questions such as manpower planning methods, and increased participation in the training activities of the regional institutes for economic development.

49. The carrying out of pilot projects is of particular importance and the number of such projects should be increased. Projects of this kind, whether they cover fairly large regions—as in vast rural areas—or are only of limited geographical scope, help to broaden I.L.O. experience, and the results of such experience can be of assistance to all who, throughout the world, wish to benefit from it and to develop new methods of action.

50. Technical co-operation projects could be given a new orientation in the light of other factors. For example the broader scope of the particular programmes of which they form part and the increased importance of the objectives of the major programme will no doubt give rise to activities which are not covered by existing projects. Moreover, the more extensive material resources which it is expected will be placed at the disposal of the Organisation—for example by the United Nations Special Fund or other sources of financing—may add a new dimension to projects already under way. Furthermore, the fact that the developing countries—at least those which have reached a more advanced stage of economic development—will already have acquired appreciable experience and qualified experts may make it possible to devise new arrangements for co-operation under which developing countries, developed countries and international organisations would jointly contribute to the solution of various problems.

51. These changes will conceivably affect the nature of the services provided by the International Labour Office itself. The Office will be able to assist governments at their request, through advisory missions carried out by members of its staff or by I.L.O. experts, to define a human resources policy and draw up programmes of action to implement that policy. Such missions may subsequently lead to the establishment of technical co-operation projects relating to the human resources policy as a whole, to a programme which derives from that policy or to certain activities covering specific aspects. In certain cases, these advisory missions could be carried out in collaboration with other international organisations concerned, under the leadership of the I.L.O.

52. The implementation of a major programme in the field of human resources will require the recruitment and training of suitably qualified experts, who are at present all too rare. This is a serious problem which, if it is not solved, may compromise the success of this programme. Particular attention should therefore be devoted to this matter. Among the obstacles to the recruitment of such experts, mention should be made of the fact that the substantive questions for which the aid of these experts is needed are new problems and that they are raised at the level at which national decisions relating to economic and social development are taken.

53. In providing advice and training to persons recruited to carry out technical co-operation projects in this field, the I.L.O. should devote particular attention to the general social framework within which the complex techniques which are often needed must be placed; it must impress on the persons concerned that they should never lose sight of the fundamental principles on which I.L.O. action is based.

54. The I.L.O. will make the maximum use of the facilities available to it through such bodies as the International Institute for Labour Studies and the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training in Turin. These institutions can provide valuable assistance in the implementation of I.L.O. policies and programmes in the field of human resources.

55. The different types of meetings convened by the I.L.O. can make an important contribution to the objectives of the major programme in the field of human resources. The consideration by the General Conference of items submitted for general discussion or with a view to the adoption of new standards has major implications for international and national social policy. The adoption of such standards as the Convention and the Recommendation on employment policy has, by itself, contributed to stimulating member States in readjusting their national policies with a view to creating and developing more productive employment opportunities. Furthermore, the value of technical discussion and exchange of views and experience, as well as of the dissemination of information must be fully recognised.

56. Regional conferences have provided and will continue to provide avenues for the examination of problems and policies relating
to the development of human resources in their regional context. Furthermore, technical meetings where experts of the I.L.O. and national specialists would exchange their views and experience on questions relating to human resources in a given region or country would be extremely valuable for the promotion of the major programme. Meetings of the Industrial Committee-type may be increasingly used to discuss sectoral needs and problems. The International Institute for Labour Studies has successfully organised seminars open to experts drawn from governments and management, trade union and academic circles.

57. Other meetings complete the present range of facilities for technical discussion and specialised advice. Thus, expert meetings, such as the meeting of experts on the assessment of manpower requirements for economic development held in 1962, have served to orient the course of I.L.O. action in this field. Similar meetings might be convened on such questions as the assessment of requirements of industrialising countries or the possible direction of vocational guidance and counselling in developing countries. Care must continue to be taken to associate as active participants in such meetings, wherever appropriate, specialists drawn from management and trade union circles.

58. Joint meetings with other organisations can also have a useful function in this programme area, bringing together participants engaged in research and action programmes in countries at various stages of development who are developing new techniques which may be relevant elsewhere. This is also the value of the programme planning and evaluation meetings which the I.L.O. organises from time to time to assist in adapting operational activities to actual needs and available resources, in improving methods of operation, in evaluating progress made and appraising different methods of action.

59. The dissemination of information is another method of action through which the International Labour Office can contribute to the solution of the problems posed by the development and utilisation of human resources. The inclusion, in its various publications, of general and technical studies on these problems, the dissemination of the results achieved under different technical co-operation activities carried out by the I.L.O. and the publicity given to the proceedings of meetings convened to discuss questions relating to human resources all have the aim of reaching specialists, persons with functions at various levels of responsibility in national and international circles and the general public. Thus, all these forms of dissemination of information constitute an indispensable tool for the strengthening of the effectiveness of the Organisation's action.

Planning, Controlling and Evaluating Programmes in the Field of Human Resources

60. The Working Party concluded its review of the major programme on human resources by considering certain matters relating to the internal arrangements within the Office for programme planning, control and evaluation of programmes in this field. In so doing the Working Party reaffirmed its intention of considering the respective roles of the Governing Body and the Conference as the organs responsible for finally determining programmes, controlling their implementation and appraising their results, at the appropriate stage of its proceedings on the occasion of a future session.

61. The new internal procedures for programme development and control and for planning activities in relation to priorities established within the Office are aimed at integrating into a balanced programme proposals being made in response to a continuing assessment of needs. The Director-General informed the Working Party that procedures for quantitative and qualitative evaluation of activities will be introduced as part of the system at a later stage so as to bring about a detailed overview of the organisation of the programme planning targets and to provide elements for the planning of future activities, all as part of a continuing process. The Director-General also informed the Working Party that within the Human Resources Department a number of measures were being taken to integrate hitherto independent activities into a coherent whole; to determine tentative priorities and to plan individual programmes and projects in relation to these priorities; to initiate new programme development; and to evaluate past action.

62. The Director-General recalled that he has under consideration alternative ways of changing the presentation of the budget so as to enable the Governing Body and the Conference to see more clearly the relationships between programmes and the ways in which all I.L.O. resources and methods of action are contributing to their realisation, and also the precise financial consequences of alternative choices between possible I.L.O. activities, the areas in which expansion, revision, reorientation, reduction or elimination may appear to be needed, etc. In his view, a new budgeting procedure of this kind should facilitate the task of the Governing Body and the Conference in fulfilling their respective roles in the development and adjustment of the I.L.O. programme and in determining over-all priorities.

63. The importance of priorities was stressed by the Working Party. Several members made preliminary observations on some of the factors which might be borne in mind in attempting to determine priorities. The Working Party noted these observations and decided that when the appropriate stage was reached in the proceedings the matter should be given very careful examination.

64. Having reviewed the way in which an I.L.O. major programme on human resources might be developed, the Working Party decided to devote its next working session to the consideration of the other proposed major programme areas. It therefore decided to recommend to the Governing Body that its next session should be held in autumn 1965.
and to request the Office to prepare the necessary documentation with a view to facilitating the consideration of the other major programme areas.


(Signed) GEORGE V. HAYTHORNE, Chairman.

ANNEX

Summary of Communications Received on the Proposals concerning the Major Programme Area of Human Resources

This document analyses in summary form the comments and proposals referring to the major programme area of human resources received from governments and from employers' and workers' organisations; these communications relate to the two documents transmitted by the International Labour Office on the instructions of the Governing Body: Action Taken on the Recommendations of the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O. (document G.B.160/5/15), and the List by Major Categories of Proposals concerning the Programme and Structure of the I.L.O. (document ORG.32-1, Annex). The numbering of points in the present document follows the numbering in the list by major categories. Numbers in square brackets are used to identify suggestions not directly related to the points in the list.

The present document incorporates all the points made concerning the major programme area of human resources in the comments and observations received by 10 May 1965 from 42 governments, 22 employers' organisations and 18 workers' organisations.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO THE MAJOR PROGRAMME AREA OF HUMAN RESOURCES

In considering the choice of major programme areas for I.L.O. action, the Governments of Argentina, Austria, Denmark, Eastern Cameroon, Ethiopia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Malaysia, Peru, Sweden and the United States, the employers' organisations of Canada, Denmark, Italy, Kenya and Norway, and the workers' organisations of Austria, Byelorussia, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland and the United Kingdom express approval, inter alia, of the major programme area of human resources. The Italian Government adds that the three proposed major programme areas are interdependent. The Government of Malaysia considers that the most important area is the improvement of skills and the utilisation of national manpower for economic development, with particular emphasis on developing countries. The Government of Burma supports the view that major programme areas should be flexible enough to include necessary new threats in the fields of manpower and employment policy, training and rural development.

SPECIFIC COMMENTS AND PROPOSALS

116. The Governments of Argentina, Austria, Bulgaria, Eastern Cameroon, Ethiopia, Japan, Kenya, Italy, Syrian Arab Republic, Sweden and Tunisia, the employers' organisations of Ghana, Italy, Norway and Sweden and the workers' organisations of Austria, Denmark, Norway, Peru and the United Kingdom subscribe in general to the view that the strategy of human resources development should concentrate on: (1) better utilisation of the labour force by creating higher levels of productive employment; (2) improving the quality of the labour force by vocational training; (3) enlisted popular support for national development.

The Government of Bulgaria adds a fourth objective—limiting the profits of monopolies. The Government of Kenya stresses that account must be taken of established customs. The Government of Morocco is in general agreement with the suggestions regarding human resources development, so far as in particular that emphasis should be laid on improving the quality of manpower through vocational training and education. The Austrian workers' organisations point out that those objectives are of equal importance, while the Italian employers' organisation would put them in reverse order of priority. The Norwegian workers' organisation considers that acceptance of these objectives should not exclude other activities which from time to time may become necessary. The workers' organisation of Peru considers that full employment and vocational training must be primary objectives and that, in the latter, the Turin Centre can play an important part.

118. The Governments of Ethiopia, Kenya, Morocco and the United Arab Republic and the employers' organisation of Kenya consider that the I.L.O. should study intensively: (1) how employment targets should be fixed; (2) how to speed up the growth of employment in developing countries.

119. The Government of Ethiopia and one workers' organisation of Austria (Osterreichischer Gewerkschafts­ bund) consider that the I.L.O.'s search for employment policies appropriate to development should include the finding of realistic answers to the problem of financing labour-intensive projects.

120. The Governments of Ethiopia, Israel, Kenya, the United Kingdom and the United States, the employers' organisations of Cyprus, Kenya and Uganda and one workers' organisation of Austria (Osterreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund) agree that the I.L.O. should promote manpower planning. The United States Government considers that the I.L.O. should, in cooperation with employment objectives and the development of the vocational training programme to implement and support human development, consider man­ power planning a priority area for the I.L.O.

The United Kingdom Government lists the development of manpower planning machinery as one of four priorities, the others being training, vocational training of supervisors and managers, and the development of employment services. The other governments and employers' organisations mentioned consider that technical assistance should be given in organising courses in manpower planning. The Austrian workers' organisation adds that the I.L.O. should also study labour market statistics and the reduction of unemployment.

SUGGESTIONS ON HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE LIST OF PROPOSALS

[1] The Japanese employers' organisation suggests that the Governing Body should consider means of establishing co-operation with the United Nations agencies and policies essential to the formulation of a co-ordinated strategy for the development of human resources in co-operation with the United Nations agencies.

[2] The Governments of Switzerland, Togo, the United Arab Republic and Yemen agree that human resources development programmes should concentrate on the developing countries. The Government of Yugoslavia further considers that there is a need for a clearer view of the interdependence of employment problems and the degree of development, and also of employment and economic relations, both national and international.

[3] The Government of Austria and the Austrian employers' organisations state that full employment must be one of the chief aims of economic and social policy. The Government refers specifically to developing countries; in developing ones the aim must be a higher level of employment, taking into account national conditions.

[4] The Government of Yugoslavia suggests that the I.L.O. should help in framing general employment policies compatible with conditions in the countries concerned.

[5] The Governments of Argentina, Austria, Bulgaria, Kenya, Peru and the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia, one employers' organisation of Austria (Bundeskammer der gewerblichen Wirtschaft), the employers' organisations of Kenya and Uganda and the workers' organisation of the United Kingdom state that the I.L.O. should, in co-operation with other United Nations agencies, seek to promote higher levels of employment in particular in the African countries. The Government of the U.S.S.R. agrees, although not referring to co-operation with other agencies. The Bulgarian Government points out that the repre­ sentatives of newly independent countries at the Conference made it clear that they wished to be free to develop their economies in general and not be obliged to organise simple manufacturing. The Government of Uganda considers that the I.L.O. should help developing countries to promote industrialisation and manufacturing industries so as to diversify
the economy and create employment opportunities. The employers' organisation of Uganda states that it is unrealistic to speak of full employment in developing countries; the problem is to expand employment. The Government of the United Arab Republic adds that the general social and economic philosophy of each country must be respected, while the Yugoslav Government states that there must be a choice of employment and that the aim should be to create effective national institutions. The Austrian employers' organisation adds that all employment measures should be based on economic growth.

6. The Government of Finland believes that the I.L.O. should pay more attention to employment problems at the international level, formulating international conventions and programmes and publicising the adaptability of workers from rural areas to industrial life.

7. The workers' organisation of Belgium considers that the I.L.O. must continue its work in the field of employment policy. It can assist industrialised and developing countries alike. But its main contribution will be to bring member States to consider employment problems at the international level, and to fight unemployment on a world-wide basis.

8. The workers' organisation of Czechoslovakia refers to the development of manpower as a prime requirement for economic advancement.

9. The Government of Israel proposes the establishment of a committee to study the problem of a higher level of employment. States should substitute full employment, including relief employment, for unemployment insurance. The Government further considers that special attention should be paid to the problems of employment of elderly and handicapped persons, including:
   (a) a world-wide drive to stimulate their employment;
   (b) research into possibilities of placement;
   (c) conferences and meetings on the subject;
   (d) establishment of a permanent committee of experts.

10. The Governments of Argentina, Austria, Eastern Cameroon, Kenya and the Syrian Arab Republic, the employers' organisations of Kenya, Uganda and the United Kingdom agree that the work of employers' and workers' organisations of Austria and the United Kingdom is close for the development of employers' and workers' organisations with a policy of social security and manpower planning. The Government of the U.S.S.R. also refers to increased participation by workers in national development and in action to increase employment.

11. The employers' organisation of the U.S.S.R. also refers to the problem of employment as one into which the I.L.O. should undertake research. They believe that the I.L.O. should give more attention to helping developing States to build up their economies and raise the standard of living of the workers. Such help should be in the form of expert advice and should be given without any conditions restricting the sovereignty of the nations concerned.

12. The Government of Ghana considers that there should be some flexibility in the basic standards relating to freedom of labour in the light of the needs of developing countries. The Government of Switzerland agrees that the I.L.O. should seek ways of helping countries to overcome the problems which have induced them to resort to compulsory methods of mobilisation of labour. The employers' organisation of Austria states that the I.L.O. should undertake research. They believe that the I.L.O. must continue its work in the field of employment and that the employers' organisation of Greece fully supports the emphasis on training. The workers' organisation of Belgium supports all the proposals relating to training.

124. The Government of Morocco and Switzerland approve the suggestions for short and medium-term action in the training field:
   (1) to train trainers and key personnel;
   (2) to use accelerated methods;
   (3) to keep costs to a minimum.

129. The Government of Israel and the employers' organisation of Cyprus believe that there should be a closer relationship between the I.L.O. and the governments of developing countries. Freedom to offer and accept employment must be fully respected.

Suggestive Proposals on Training Not Directly Related to the List of Proposals

1. The Governments of Denmark, South Africa, Togo and the United Kingdom consider that training is likely to be of a concrete character and should be given with a view to co-operation between governments, employers' associations, workers' organisations and the United Nations. The workers' organisation of the U.S.S.R. also mentions training for youth and for adult workers.

2. The Governments of Ghana, Kenya and Yugoslavia suggest that special attention should be paid to youth training facilities. The Japanese employers' organisation does not share this view.

3. The Governments of Ghana, Kenya and Yugoslavia point out that first priority in training should go to the developing countries.

4. The Government of Sweden suggests that priorities in training should be drawn up in respect of more extensive regions than at present.

5. The employers' organisation of the Netherlands and the workers' organisations of Czechoslovakia and the United Kingdom suggest that training should be preceded by a survey of manpower needs and should be organised by co-operation between education authorities, governments and industry; apprenticeship schemes are also desirable.

6. The employers' organisation of the Netherlands and the employers' organisation of the U.S.S.R. also mention training for top management. The employers' organisation of the United Kingdom and the employers' organisation of the U.S.S.R. also refer to the need for training supervisors, and the Governments also mention training for top management. The employers' organisation of the United Kingdom and the employers' organisation of the U.S.S.R. also refer to the need for training supervisors, and the Governments also mention training for top management. The employers' organisation of the United Kingdom and the employers' organisation of the U.S.S.R. also refer to the need for training supervisors, and the Governments also mention training for top management.
general technical education so as to help solve the problems of industrialisation and automation.

[9] The Government of Israel suggests that, in developing countries, attention should be given to the training of women in light handicrafts so as to attract them to gainful employment.

[10] The Government of the United Arab Republic considers that the I.L.O. should establish training centres in connection with development projects in developing countries so as to improve the quality of the workers' organisation.


[12] The Governments of the Syrian Arab Republic and the United Arab Republic express the hope that workers from the developing countries will be given priority at the Turin Centre. The Government of Italy also points to the potential value of the Centre for these countries.

132. The Governments of Israel, Italy, the United Arab Republic and the United States, the Swedish employers' organisation and the workers' organisations of Norway and the United Kingdom agree on the need for a vigorous practical programme in the field of technological change and automation, but the United Kingdom workers' organisation emphasises the importance of overlapping with the work of other organisations must be avoided. The United States Government, the Swedish employers' organisation, one Austrian workers' organisation (Österreicher Gewerkschaftsbund) and the workers' organisation of Belgium express general approval for the programme in the field of automation at present being developed or proposed by the I.L.O. The Government of Israel believes that the I.L.O. should concentrate on the labour and social consequences of automation and should organise a special research programme on partial low-cost automation in small industries. The Government and the employers' and workers' organisations of Denmark agree that the I.L.O. should study automation but suggest that the subject should not have high priority, as automation is not yet an urgent question for the developing countries. The Government of Poland considers that consideration might be given to meetings of experts on the social and economic consequences of automation and measures to deal with them. However, the United Kingdom workers' organisation dissents from this suggestion. The Japanese employers' organisation rejects the suggestion that developed countries in which automation is increasing should be urged to confine themselves to the production of sophisticated manufactures. The Government of Japan suggests that the I.L.O. should draw on the work of the O.E.C.D. concerning the theory and practice of manpower policy. The Japanese employers' organisation rejects the suggestion that the I.L.O. should concentrate on the armed forces should not be used for civilian work except in emergencies.

134. The Government of Switzerland considers that the time is probably not ripe for an international instrument on automation. The Government of Italy believes that standard-setting on particular aspects may be desirable but that an over-all instrument would be premature. The Government of Poland considers that an instrument on automation and technological change and measures to deal with them. However, the United Kingdom workers' organisation adds that this is a part of its activities in this field. The Government of Japan suggests that consideration might be given to meetings of experts on the social and economic consequences of automation. The employers' organisation of Uganda states that research into automation must not be at the expense of technical assistance.

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139. The Japanese employers' organisation agrees that a full understanding of the problems and consequences of full employment for developed and developing countries should be secured through the I.L.O.

140. The Government of Poland considers that the main task of the I.L.O. is to guarantee fully the right to work, and consequently the Government agrees that the I.L.O. should concentrate on the eradication of mass unemployment. The Government of Sweden expresses the hope that the I.L.O. should deal with the expansion of international trade and stable prices for raw materials. The workers' organisation of Burma states that the I.L.O. should seek the most effective means of helping governments to deal with mass unemployment. The employers' organisations of Italy and Japan oppose the suggestion that the I.L.O. should deal with the expansion of international trade and the stabilisation of prices for raw materials.

141. The employers' organisations of Italy and Japan do not favour the establishment of a world agency for economic planning.

142. The Japanese employers' organisation does not consider that the creation and maintenance of full employment in relation to automation should be achieved by: (1) a reduction in hours of work with no reduction in earnings; (2) an extension of the period of school attendance. The employers' organisation of Japanfavours a lowering of the age of retirement.

143. The employers' organisations of Japan and Norway dissent from the view that, in order to absorb unemployment and raise living standards, developing countries should be assisted to industrialise and to become active exporters of usually advantageous trade transactions with other States.

144. The Government of Poland considers that labour-intensive projects should be emphasised in developing countries faced with unemployment. (See also point 119 above.)

145. The Japanese employers' organisation rejects the suggestion that developed countries in which automation is increasing should be urged to confine themselves to the production of sophisticated manufactures.

146. The Japanese employers' organisation rejects the suggestion that the I.L.O. should concentrate on the armed forces should not be used for civilian work except in emergencies.

147. The Governments of Bulgaria and Burma consider that national training courses should meet the needs of national development plans and should be organised preferably in the countries concerned. The Japanese employers' organisation dissents from this suggestion. The Government of Bulgaria adds that this was the view expressed by the majority of the developing countries at the Conference.

148. The Governments of Cyprus and Israel believe that the time is probably not ripe for an international instrument on automation. The Government of Italy believes that standard-setting on particular aspects may be desirable but that an over-all instrument would be premature. The Government of Poland considers that an instrument on automation and technological change and measures to deal with them. However, the United Kingdom workers' organisation adds that this is a part of its activities in this field. The Government of Japan suggests that consideration might be given to meetings of experts on the social and economic consequences of automation. The employers' organisation of Uganda states that research into automation must not be at the expense of technical assistance.

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152. The Government of Burma favours the suggestion that the I.L.O. should take the initiative of convening, in co-operation with the United Nations and other organisations concerned, a world conference on training for development.

153. The employers' organisation of Japan does not think that the question of overpopulation should be studied by the I.L.O. or placed on the agenda of the Conference. On the other hand, the employers' organisation in Uganda considers the problem of population growth important in connection with the raising of living standards.

154. See point 124.

155. See point 129. The employers' organisation of Japan does not agree that the I.L.O. should concentrate especially on the training of young persons.

(2) Statement on Behalf of the Appeals Board concerning the Procedure to Be Followed by the Board.

The Appeals Board has requested that the following statement be issued on its behalf. By a letter dated 4 June 1963 the President of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference forwarded to the Board the requests
concerning the composition of committees submitted to him by the Employers' delegates of Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, which were transmitted to the Board by the International Labour Conference on 4 June 1965.\(^1\)

The Board has decided to follow the same procedure as did the Boards in the years 1959 to 1964 in discharging the responsibility entrusted to it by the Conference. There are two considerations to which it must attach decisive importance.

The first consideration is that the delegate lodging an appeal and the group against which an appeal is made should be treated on a footing of complete equality in the procedure of the Board and should have an opportunity of making the grounds for the appeal or the decision appealed against, as the case may be, known to the Board.

The second consideration is that the proceedings should be sufficiently expeditious to permit of the decision of the Board becoming effective at as early a stage of the Conference as possible.

In the light of these considerations the Board has decided that it will, in reaching its decision, take into account any statement which may be submitted to it in writing by 10.30 a.m. on Saturday, 5 June 1965, by any of the appellants or by the group of the Conference concerned.

The Board has before it the text of the decision taken by the Conference on 8 June 1959, together with the report of the Committee to Consider the Improvement of the Practical Methods of Working of the International Labour Conference, the relevant majority and minority reports of the Credentials Committees of the 37th to 48th Sessions of the International Labour Conference, the report of the Committee on Freedom and Independence of Employers' and Workers' Organisations, and the debates in the plenary sittings of the 37th to 48th Sessions of the International Labour Conference concerning these reports and concerning the composition of committees and the report of the Secretary-General's representative on the official meetings of employer's group held on 2 and 3 June 1965. It does not propose to consider any other documentation or evidence except any statements in writing which may be submitted by the appellants or the group against whose decision the appeal is made.

The Board will announce its decision at an earlier date after the opening of the Conference than in previous years.

3. The Board elected as Chairman Mr. M. K. Vellodi.

4. The Board, like the Board of the past two years, has had the statement as to the procedure to be followed by the Board issued on its behalf prior to its meeting, thus avoiding the necessity of holding a preliminary meeting of the Board for this purpose and enabling the Board to draw up its report at a meeting held at an earlier date after the opening of the Conference than in previous years.

5. In all other respects the Board decided to follow the same procedure as did the Boards in the years 1959 to 1964 in discharging the responsibility entrusted to it by the Conference. There are two considerations to which it must attach decisive importance.

6. The first consideration is that the delegate lodging an appeal and the group against which an appeal is made should be treated on a footing of complete equality in the procedure of the Board and should have an opportunity of making known to the Board the grounds for the appeal or the decision appealed against, as the case may be.

7. The second consideration is that the proceedings should be sufficiently expeditious to permit of the decision of the Board becoming effective at as early a stage of the Conference as possible.

8. In the light of these considerations the Board decided that, in reaching its decision, it would take into account any statement which might be submitted to it in writing by 10.30 a.m. on Saturday 5 June 1965, by any of the appellants or by the group of the Conference concerned.

9. Such a statement was received from Mr. Domínguez Oceja, Employers' delegate, Cuba. The Chairman of the Board has also received a statement on the matter addressed by the Chairman of the Employers' group to the President of the Conference.

10. In addition to these statements the Board has studied the text of the decision taken by the Conference on 8 June 1959, together with the report of the Committee to Consider the Improvement of the Practical Methods of Working of the International Labour Conference, the relevant majority and minority reports of the Credentials Committee of the 37th to 48th Sessions of the International Labour Conference.

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\(^2\) See Second Part, p. 76.
Labour Conference, the report of the Committee on the Freedom and Independence of Employers’ and Workers’ Organisations, the debates in the plenary sittings of the 37th to 48th Sessions of the International Labour Conference concerning these reports and concerning the composition of the committees, and the report of the Secretary-General’s representative on the official meetings of the Employers’ group held on 2 and 3 June 1965. It has not considered any other documentation or evidence.

11. With respect to the appeals submitted to it, the Board has before it the statement addressed to the President of the Conference on 5 June 1965 by the Chairman of the Employers’ group.

12. The Chairman of the Employers’ group begins by recalling that the large majority of the Employers’ group do not recognise the Employers’ group held on 2 and 3 June 1965. The Appeals Board having decided, in previous years, that it was not called upon to inquire into the validity of the decision on the part of the Conference by which it was established, he confines himself to emphasising that the large majority of the Employers’ delegates consider that the system adopted, which empowers a Board constituted of persons external to the Conference to give decisions, which are not subject to appeal, concerning the functioning of the Conference, is in contradiction with the right of every delegate to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the Conference (article 4 of the Constitution). This procedure, which was adopted in 1959 by a small majority, has, in their view, dealt a serious blow to the principle of tripartism, which is the basis of the International Labour Conference.

13. Nor does he ask the Appeals Board to pronounce either on the definition of the term "employer", as understood in the Constitution of the I.L.O., or on the powers of certain delegates, as there exists a special procedure for this purpose. The attitude of the majority of the Employers’ group towards the representatives of regimes whose economies are entirely state-controlled, he says, is well known and it is not necessary to refer to it further.

14. The Chairman of the Employers’ group states that, leaving aside these problems, as well as the question of the constitutionality of the decision taken by the Conference on 8 June 1959, he wishes to base his position precisely on this decision, which laid down the following principle on the basis of which the Board shall examine appeals which are presented to it: "The Conference has the duty to ensure equality of treatment for all members attending the Conference. Specifically this principle applies to the question of full participation in the work of the committees of the Conference."

15. With regard to participation in the work of committees, such equality of treatment is ensured by the provisions of paragraph 2 of Part II of the decision referred to above, which provides that: "Every delegate making application to his group for membership of a committee shall be placed on the list of members of that committee."

16. It cannot be denied, says the Chairman of the Employers’ group, that all the delegates who have asked to participate in a committee have been placed on the list of members of that committee by the secretariat of the group, and this on a footing of complete equality, as is clear from the Annex to the second report of the Selection Committee. Now, by virtue of article 96, paragraph 5, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, all the members of the committee have the same rights and the same possibility of participating in the work of the committee, with the exception of the right to vote. Year after year, he says, this does not seem to be understood by certain complainants.

17. It is necessary, continues the Chairman of the Employers’ group to draw a definition between participation in the work of a committee and the exercise of the right to vote, that is to say, having the status of a titular member. The right to vote, he declares, unlike the simple act of belonging to a committee, does not belong automatically to every delegate who may have expressed a desire to have this right accorded to him as such, as the authors of the complaints appear to think. It is simply the exercise of a mandate conferred by the group to which the delegate belongs. Paragraph 3 of Part II of the decision of the Conference provides, indeed, that the Conference, on the recommendations of the Conference groups, will decide in respect of each committee how many and which members of each group in the committee shall have the right to vote, which implies, a contrario, that certain members may not have this right.

18. In reality, declared the Chairman of the Employers’ group, the attribution of the right to vote to certain members of committees by the Conference, on the recommendation of their group, must be regarded as a delegation of powers on the part of the group in question to a limited number of persons authorised to represent the group on a particular question in the event of a vote.

19. How, in these circumstances, does the principle of equality of treatment apply? It certainly does not, in his view, give any particular delegate a right to be appointed ipso facto a voting member the moment that he shows a desire to have this right accorded to him. Such a procedure would in no sense be in the nature of an election and would deprive of all meaning the previous decision of the Conference or of the groups as regards the number of voting members in each committee. On the other hand, he considers, the principle of equality of treatment makes it obligatory to place all candidates on the same footing before the group and to make the final choice by means of the democratic procedure which makes it possible to ensure that the Employers’ members in a committee may vote validly on behalf of their group.

20. The Chairman of the Employers’ group considers that the democratic character of the procedure followed is confirmed by the report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on the meetings of the Employers’ group held on 2 and 3 June 1965. This year, in order to
manifest more clearly this democratic character, the Employers' group decided unanimously at its meeting on 3 June to adopt a procedure of voting by secret ballot. The appellants, he says, have made no objection to the adoption of this procedure which guarantees to all the members of the group complete freedom and absolute independence in choosing candidates. The minutes of the elections annexed to the report in question show that, as in previous years, it was by a very large majority that the Employers' group decided to refuse to accord to the appellants the right to vote in the name of the group.

21. It is true, concludes the Chairman of the Employers' group, that in previous years the Appeals Board has taken the view that regularity of procedure alone does not guarantee in fact substantive equality of treatment. He says that it may be asked, in these circumstances, what procedure should be adopted and what significance should be attached to the term "elections".

22. The only new considerations raised on this occasion by the Chairman of the Employers' group is the fact that voting in the Employers' group for the election of voting members of committees was, this year, by secret ballot. The reason for adopting this course, he states, was to manifest more clearly the democratic character of the procedure followed by the Employers' group.

23. The Board fully recognises that voting by secret ballot represents an improvement in that it is a further measure for ensuring regularity of procedure. The Board does not consider, however, that this in any way invalidates the principle by which it has always been guided that regularity of procedure alone does not guarantee and has not in fact secured substantive equality of treatment. This principle does not imply, however, that any candidate who has not been elected may claim that he has been a victim of inequality of treatment. The question is one of fact and, on the facts, the Board is satisfied that the applicants have not, in fact, been accorded such equality of treatment. Regularity of procedure alone does not guarantee, and has not in fact secured, substantive equality of treatment.

24. The Board has noted the contention made this year, as in previous years, that the attribution of the right to vote to certain members of committees must be regarded as a delegation of powers on the part of the group concerned. This is not a matter which the Board considers it proper to examine. This issue was considered and decided by the Conference when it took its decision to establish the Board by the terms of which decision the Board is bound.

25. Previous Boards have taken the view that they were not called on to undertake the task of defining the term "employer" in the Constitution of the I.L.O. The present Board finds itself in agreement with its predecessors that this question does not fall within its competence. By direction of the Conference the function of the Board is to consider appeals relating to participation in committees and to deal with the individual cases referred to it without prejudice to any other issue.

26. The Conference has defined the principle on the basis of which the Board is to consider appeals in the following terms:

The Conference has the duty to ensure equality of treatment for all members attending the Conference. Specifically this principle applies to the question of full participation in the work of the committees of the Conference.

27. The appellants contend that the failure of the Employers' group to give them places on committees is a violation of this principle.

28. The principle which the Board is called upon to apply by the decision taken by the Conference is that of equality of treatment for all members of the Conference in respect of full participation in the work of the committees of the Conference. In the view of the Board the decisive factor is that the appellants have not, in fact, been accorded such equality of treatment. Regularity of procedure alone does not guarantee, and has not in fact secured, substantive equality of treatment.

29. The Board has accordingly, in pursuance of the responsibility placed upon it by the Conference, determined as follows:

(1) Mr. Plechač, Employers' delegate, Czechoslovakia, and Mr. Polyakov, Employers' delegate, U.S.S.R., shall be added to the voting section of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

(2) Mr. Kazantsiev, Employers' delegate, Byelorussian S.S.R., and Mr. Olteanu, Employers' delegate, Rumania, shall be added to the voting section of the Committee on Employment of Young Miners.

(3) Mr. Bogacki, Employers' delegate, Poland, and Mrs. Peeva, Employers' delegate, Bulgaria, shall be added to the voting section of the Committee on Women Workers.

(4) Mr. Polyakov, Employers' delegate, U.S.S.R., shall be added to the voting section of the Committee on Agrarian Reform.

(5) Mr. Domínguez Oceja, Employers' delegate, Cuba, and Mr. Tucaković, Employers' delegate, Yugoslavia, shall be added to the voting section of the Committee on Cooperatives.

30. The decision taken by the Conference provides that the decisions of the Board shall be final and shall be put into effect by the Conference without debate.

31. In accordance with section III, paragraph 3, of the proposals relating to the procedure for the appointment of committees by the Conference, adopted by the Conference on 8 June 1959, if the Board decides that one or two delegates shall be added to the voting section of his or their group or groups in a committee, the Conference shall make the necessary arrangements to preserve the equality of voting strength among the three groups in the committee.

32. Under the system of voting in force in committees of the Conference the number of votes of each member of the committee depends on the number of members of his group in the voting section of the committee.

33. While it is for the Conference to make the necessary arrangements to preserve equality
of voting strength among the three groups in each committee, the Board has noted that such equality can be maintained by the application of the normal practice of the Conference of adjusting the voting power of the members of each group on the basis of the number of members of the group.

34. For the convenience of the Conference the Board has requested and included in its report the figures for each committee of the Conference as resulting from its decisions. These figures are as follows:

35. The Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations now consists of 56 Government voting members, 14 Employers' voting members and 28 Workers' voting members. In order to preserve equality of voting strength, it will be necessary to multiply each Employers' member’s vote by four and each Workers' member’s vote by two, the entire voting strength of each group thus amounting to 56.

36. The Committee on Employment of Young Miners now consists of 35 Government voting members, 20 Employers' voting members and 25 Workers' voting members. In order to preserve equality of voting strength, it will be necessary to multiply each Government voting member’s vote by 20, each Employers' voting member’s vote by 35 and each Workers' voting member’s vote by 28, the entire voting strength of each group thus amounting to 700.

37. The Committee on Women Workers now consists of 60 Government voting members, 27 Employers' voting members and 40 Workers' voting members. In order to preserve equality of voting strength, it will be necessary to multiply each Government voting member’s vote by 18, each Employers' voting member’s vote by 40 and each Workers’ member’s vote by 27, the entire voting strength of each group thus amounting to 1,080.

38. The Committee on Agrarian Reform now consists of 66 Government voting members, 26 Employers' voting members and 36 Workers' voting members. In order to preserve equality of voting strength, it will be necessary to multiply each Government voting member’s vote by 78, each Employers' voting member’s vote by 198 and each Workers' member’s vote by 143, the entire voting strength of each group thus amounting to 5,148.

39. The Committee on Co-operatives now consists of 72 Government voting members, 35 Employers' voting members and 48 Workers' voting members. In order to preserve equality of voting strength, it will be necessary to multiply each Government voting member’s vote by 70, each Employers' voting member’s vote by 144 and each Workers' voting member’s vote by 105, the entire voting strength of each group thus amounting to 5,040.

Geneva, 7 June 1965.

(Signed) M. K. VELLODI,
Chairman.

RENÉ CASSIN.
HANS HENRIK KOCH.

(4) Election of a Member of the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

(The results of the meeting of the Workers' electoral college at the 49th Session of the Conference to fill a vacancy as Worker member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office were communicated orally to the Conference at its twenty-first sitting, on 16 June 1965. See Second Part, page 279.)
APPENDIX XI

Miscellaneous Decisions of the Conference


The Conference adopted at its thirty-second sitting, on 23 June 1965, the eighth report of its Selection Committee, recommending that the Conference take note of the Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of "Apartheid" of the Republic of South Africa.

1 See Second Part, p. 466.

1 See Appendix I p. 487.
APPENDIX XII

Resolutions Adopted by the Conference

(1) Resolution concerning Paid Educational Leave, Submitted by the Resolutions Committee.¹

(Adopted on 23 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Noting that the development of modern society, which is largely conditioned by scientific and technological progress both in industrialised and in developing countries, calls for new and ever-widening knowledge which cannot be provided solely through initial general schooling and vocational training, and that it is therefore desirable to promote for the workers appropriate continuing education to facilitate their adjustment to contemporary occupational, educational and civic requirements,

Noting that such education enables workers in the developing countries to participate more effectively in the task of economic and social development of their countries and constitutes a positive contribution to the implementation of economic and social development plans,

Noting that some countries have already made progress towards providing a measure of paid educational leave for workers,

Noting that workers who are dependent on their wage or salary, to the extent that they do not yet benefit from paid educational leave, must either sacrifice free time intended for recreation or forgo the possibility of continuing their education, and that it is therefore in their interest that new forms of further education be developed and encouraged;

1. Calls on the governments of all States Members of the International Labour Organisation as well as on the employers' organisations and trade unions to take effective action by statutory means, through collective agreements or any other means, according to national practice, towards ensuring the access of workers to various types of paid educational leave, as distinct from holidays with pay for recreational purposes, in order to give them the opportunity and incentive to acquire the further education and training which they need to carry out their duties at the workplace and assume their responsibilities as members of the community.

2. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General to compile information concerning legislative and collective agreement provisions and other arrangements relating to paid educational leave, existing in the States Members of the International Labour Organisation, as well as the methods employed in such States to ensure to workers who benefit from educational leave compensation for wages or salary lost.

3. Invites the Governing Body to request the Director-General to undertake surveys in the light of the above-mentioned studies with a view to the adoption by the International Labour Conference of an international instrument concerning paid educational leave.

(2) Resolution concerning the Conditions of Employment of Domestic Workers, Submitted by the Resolutions Committee.²

(Adopted on 23 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that in a number of member countries, both developed and developing, domestic workers in many cases are either not protected at all or only insufficiently by legislation or other provisions concerning their working and living conditions,

Considering the urgent need to provide for domestic workers in all member countries the basic elements of protection which would assure to them a minimum

standard of living, compatible with the self-respect and human dignity which are essential to social justice,

Considering that in many member countries a considerable lack of experience exists in establishing minimum standards of working conditions in domestic employment,

Considering that as early as 1936 an International Labour Organisation committee dealing with holidays with pay adopted a resolution calling upon the Governing Body to place on the agenda of an early session of the Conference the question of the conditions of employment of domestic workers,

Considering the resolution concerning the conditions of employment of domestic workers adopted by the 31st (1948) Session of the International Labour Conference requesting the Governing Body to consider the advisability of placing on the agenda of an early session of the Conference the question of the status and employment of domestic workers,

Considering the conclusions of the Meeting of Experts on the Status and Conditions of Employment of Domestic Workers which was held from 2 to 6 July 1951, in accordance with the decisions of the Governing Body adopted at its 112th (Geneva, June 1950) and 113th (Brussels, November 1950) Sessions,

Considering the resolution concerning the conditions of employment of domestic workers adopted by the Second African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation (Addis Ababa, 30 November to 11 December 1964) inviting the Governing Body to request the Director-General to undertake studies and research on the problems of domestic workers with a view to improvement of their living and working conditions;

1. Urges member States to make all practicable efforts to promote the introduction of protective measures for domestic workers, such as hours of work and other conditions of employment, as well as the training of such workers in accordance with International Labour Organisation standards.

2. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—
   (a) to request the Director-General to intensify studies and research on the problems of domestic workers in both rural and urban areas, directing particular consideration to the problems of women workers;
   (b) to request the member States to make available to the Office a comprehensive report on the legal provisions pertaining to domestic workers in their respective countries;
   (c) to consider convening a second meeting of experts including, among others, participants from employers' and workers' organisations, to examine, inter alia, the possibility of drafting a model contract or a code of guiding principles for the protection of the working and living conditions of domestic workers;
   (d) to consider, on the basis of the above studies and research, placing on the agenda of an early session of the Conference the question of conditions of employment of domestic workers with a view to the adoption of an international instrument.

(3) Resolution concerning Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons, Submitted by the Resolutions Committee.¹

(Adopted on 23 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Recalling the provisions of the Vocational Rehabilitation (Disabled) Recommendation, 1955,
Reaffirming the importance of the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons,
Considering the progress in mechanisation and automation since the adoption of the above Recommendation,
Considering that this progress should affect the methods and techniques of training disabled persons;
Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to—
   (a) request member States to furnish reports to the Director-General on their law and practice in regard to the matter dealt with in the Recommendation with a view to consideration of the matter by the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations;
   (b) request the Director-General of the International Labour Office to collect and disseminate information on the measures and techniques employed by member States in the rehabilitation and training of disabled persons for new forms of employment;

(c) request the Director-General, in the light of the above, to consider at an appropriate moment the convening of a meeting of experts, including, among others, persons from workers’ and employers’ organisations, in order to study the problem in the light of new developments.

(4) Resolution concerning the Industrial Activities of the International Labour Organisation, Submitted by the Resolutions Committee.¹

(Adopted on 23 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice,

Considering that social justice both at national and international levels cannot be achieved without closely associating workers’ and employers’ organisations with policy and decision-making dealing with social and economic development,

Considering that at the international level the International Labour Organisation provides the only forum within the framework of the United Nations family in which the representatives of workers and employers enjoy equal status with those of governments,

Considering that on the basis of its structure and in accordance with the aims and purposes as formulated in its Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia the International Labour Organisation is the United Nations agency best equipped for promoting social progress throughout the world,

Considering that the activities of the International Labour Organisation in the industrial field, their results and the experience gained have proved to be of basic value for the over-all activities of the Organisation and very often indispensable for its activities in the field of technical co-operation and standard-setting,

Considering the great contribution which the Industrial Committees and analogous bodies have made to the activities of the Organisation in the industrial field,

Considering that the particular social problems of a number of industries and sectors of employment as well as of the public services have not yet been adequately covered by International Labour Organisation action,

Considering that particular industrial problems may arise and require International Labour Organisation action in certain regions of the world, both developing and industrialised,

Considering that it is necessary for the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation that the International Labour Office should at all times strive to be abreast of developments in the industrial field, including the public service, and of research into industrial matters, and disseminate the information so obtained, and also initiate such additional studies as may be necessary,

Considering the need of making the activities of the International Labour Organisation in the industrial field more effective;

Invites the Governing Body, when reviewing the programme and structure of the International Labour Organisation, to request, as appropriate, the Director-General and/or the Working Party of the Governing Body on the Programme and Structure of the Organisation, to—

(1) devote particular attention to practical measures which would lead to the strengthening of International Labour Organisation activities in the industrial field;

(2) review the activities of Industrial and analogous Committees with a view to making them more effective, inter alia, by improving the methods of preparation and presentation of reports, the functioning of the meetings and the follow-up of their conclusions;

(3) study the most appropriate ways and means through which the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation could best contribute to the successful implementation of the over-all programme of the International Labour Organisation, for example in the field of standard-setting and technical co-operation, as well as in specific regions of the world;

(4) consider the convening of tripartite and/or bipartite meetings, as appropriate, both for the private and public sectors, to review the situation in the light of the needs and social and economic problems of industries and branches of occupation which have not yet been dealt with by the International Labour Organisation, and to consider the desirability of establishing a joint committee to deal with the problems of the public service;

(5) consider the possibility of setting up a tripartite advisory committee and/or utilising other appropriate means to examine the problems of small-scale industry and handicrafts, particularly in developing countries;

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(6) ensure that sufficient staff is allocated to keep under continuing study and disseminate information concerning social problems arising out of economic and other developments in the major industries and sectors of employment, in order that the industrial activities of the International Labour Organisation may be carried out effectively.

(5) Resolution concerning the Carrying Out by the International Labour Organisation of Studies of the Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament, Submitted by the Resolutions Committee.¹

(Adopted on 23 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Convinced that economic and social progress is closely bound up with the preservation and consolidation of peace,

Recognising the immense importance of an agreement on disarmament for the preservation of peace and the achievement of more rapid progress in the economic and social fields for the benefit of mankind,

Fully sharing the hope expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution 1908 (XVIII) and by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development that the governments of all States will intensify their efforts to achieve an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, in accordance with the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for disarmament negotiations, and to achieve agreement on measures which could serve to reduce international tension, lessen the possibility of war and facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament,

Considering that studies of the economic and social aspects of disarmament, which might serve as a basis for the formulation of principles and methods for determining a policy of economic and social reconversion, could be of primary importance for the improvement of the welfare of workers and that this places a particular responsibility on the International Labour Organisation in this field,

Taking account of the information provided by the Director-General concerning the progress of international studies, including studies undertaken by the International Labour Office for and in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Europe, as well as activities aimed at securing a fuller knowledge of the social and economic consequences of disarmament, and the decisions which have already been taken by the International Labour Organisation concerning this problem,

Having regard to the agreement reached in the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination concerning the preparation of concerted programmes of work and the co-ordination of all studies of the economic and social consequences of disarmament carried out by the United Nations, the specialised agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the establishment for that purpose of the Inter-Agency Committee,

Welcoming the statement made by the Director-General concerning the intention of the International Labour Organisation to provide the fullest possible co-operation in the implementation of that agreement,

Taking account of the fact that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in its resolution 1026 (XXXVII) of 11 August 1964, recommended that the activities of the United Nations family of organisations relating to the economic and social consequences of disarmament should be continued and accelerated as far as possible,

Taking account of the report on the economic and social consequences of disarmament (document E/3898 of 3 July 1964 and its addenda) submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the 37th Session of the Economic and Social Council;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General—

(1) to continue to work closely with the Inter-Agency Committee with a view to the inclusion in the concerted programme of studies on the economic and social consequences of disarmament of such proposals as may in his judgment be appropriate for studies on that subject and which are directly within the field of competence of the International Labour Organisation;

(2) to prepare for the information of the Governing Body a report on the work already done by the International Labour Organisation in the field of the economic and social consequences of disarmament;

(3) to keep the General Conference and the Governing Body informed of the work of the International Labour Office in this field and of the activities of the Inter-Agency Committee.

(6) Resolution Condemning the Government of Portugal on the Grounds of the Forced Labour Policy Practised by the Said Government in Territories under Its Administration, Submitted by the Resolutions Committee.¹

(Adopted on 23 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Whereas the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation provides that universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice and 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,

Whereas the International Labour Conference has adopted the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957,

Whereas the Government of Portugal has ratified these Conventions,

Whereas the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour in 1953 and the Commission appointed by the Governing Body in 1961 in accordance with article 26 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation have, after finding that these Conventions are not fully applied, made recommendations concerning the measures which should be taken by the Government of Portugal to give full effect to the provisions of these Conventions,

Noting the United Nations General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII) of 1962, which has affirmed, inter alia, that the economic life of Angola is to a large extent based on forced labour;

1. Reaffirms its condemnation of forced labour and all practices involving the use of forced labour.

2. Urges that the necessary action be taken to put an end to these practices, which are contrary to the principles of the International Labour Organisation.

3. Requests the Government of Portugal to give effect without delay to the recommendations of the 1962 Commission of Inquiry of the Governing Body, particularly in so far as they relate to forced labour practices and the sequels of forced labour.

4. Requests the Director-General and the Governing Body to keep the matter under review and to take any appropriate measures to ensure that these recommendations are or shall be implemented and to report to it at an early session.

(7) Resolution concerning the Employment of Young Persons on Surface Work in Mines and Quarries, Submitted by the Committee on Employment of Young Miners.²

(Adopted on 21 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Noting that the Conventions and Recommendations concerning the employment of young persons in underground work in mines of all kinds specifically exclude coverage of young people employed in open-cast mines, open quarries and similar operations,

Considering that such operations may involve risks to the safety and health of young persons which are similar to those encountered in work underground in mines;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—

(1) to have a study made of the employment conditions of young persons employed in open-cast mines, open quarries and similar operations; and

(2) to consider the inclusion of this question in the agenda of a future session of the International Labour Conference.

(8) Resolution concerning Periodic Review of the Effects of the Recommendation concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities, Submitted by the Committee on Women Workers.³

(Adopted on 21 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General to review at regular intervals to be determined by the Governing Body, the first review to be made not later than 1975, the effects of the Recommen-

¹ See Second Part, p. 441 and Appendix III, p. 519.
dation concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities, in accordance with article 19, paragraph 6 (d), of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, with a view to deciding on further action within the International Labour Organisation to redefine the role and status of women in the world of work in realistic relation to the changing pattern of employment opportunities for all workers.

(9) Resolution on Agrarian Reform, with Particular Reference to Employment and Social Aspects, Submitted by the Committee on Agrarian Reform.¹

(Adopted on 22 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Recalling the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation under its Constitution to concern itself with the problems of all workers in countries at all stages of development,

Recognising that, as regards the rural sector, the International Labour Organisation is called upon to deal with all categories of workers, whether wage-paid, semi-independent or self-employed,

Bearing in mind the resolution concerning the contribution of the International Labour Organisation to the raising of incomes and living conditions in rural communities, with particular reference to countries in the process of development, adopted at the 44th (1960) Session of the Conference, which led to the establishment of the International Labour Organisation Rural Development Programme,

Recalling the various resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, and in particular resolution No. 370 (XIII) of the Economic and Social Council of 7 September 1951 which, among other things, recommended "that governments institute appropriate land reforms in the interests of landless, small and medium farmers" and that governments take measures to "provide opportunity for the cultivator to acquire ownership of land" and "take legislative or administrative measures to assist in the reduction of agricultural indebtedness",

Bearing in mind that agrarian reform is an essential factor in rural development and that many aspects of the latter affect agrarian reform, such as the stabilisation of the prices of primary agricultural products and an improvement in the terms of trade of agriculture and the provision of adequate resources for the development of the rural sector,

Bearing in mind, on the one hand, that the complexity of the problems is far beyond the field of action of any one single international agency and on the other hand the nature and scope of the concerted international action programme in the field of agrarian reform and the need for International Labour Organisation activities to be undertaken in full co-ordination and collaboration with the other international agencies concerned, particularly the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations,

Having examined the report on Agrarian Reform, with Particular Reference to Employment and Social Aspects;

Adopts the following resolution setting forth, with particular reference to employment and social aspects, the nature, scope and objectives of agrarian reform, and the measures to achieve these objectives, as well as suggestions for intensifying and strengthening International Labour Organisation action.

A. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

General Considerations

1. Agrarian reform should be considered as denoting comprehensive measures for the improvement of the agrarian structure, including changes in land tenure, that is, reforms that, within the framework of broad programmes, tend to give land to those who work it, improve the position of tenants, hired workers and other categories of agricultural workers, or enlarge the units of cultivation or operation and consolidate fragmented holdings. It also includes the establishment or strengthening of essential governmental or other agencies or services relating to agricultural credit, supply, marketing, training and extension and research. So conceived, the ideal agrarian reform is an integrated programme of measures designed to eliminate obstacles to economic and social development arising out of defects in the agrarian structure, and in particular may be considered as a positive means of providing for a dignified existence, ensuring security of employment, increasing productivity and real incomes, reducing cost of production and raising levels of living in the countryside.

2. Agrarian reforms are thus designed to improve agricultural production and

levels of living of the rural population by correcting major defects in the agrarian structure which have been described as being "the uneconomic size of farms; the maldistribution of land ownership with concentration of large estates insufficiently utilised and the landlessness of a large part of the rural population; fragmentation of holdings; the high rents and insecurity of tenure characteristic of many tenancy systems; indebtedness and lack of adequate credit facilities for the small farmer; absence of settled title to land and water; plantation economies which offer low wages and no share in management to the cultivators; ... and in general an unsatisfactory set of incentives for a rising and sustained agricultural production" (see United Nations: Land Reform: Defects in Agrarian Structure as Obstacles to Economic Development (New York, 1951)).

3. Agrarian reforms are therefore essential for the evolution of an agrarian structure favouring the production of more food and fibre to feed and clothe the rapidly growing population, to provide other raw materials for industry and to permit agriculture to make its proper contribution to economic and social development while raising levels of living in the countryside. To achieve these goals agrarian reforms must lead to the removal of social injustice and economic inefficiency, the abolition of the remnants of feudalism and the exploitation of man by man and the misuse of land.

4. No one approach to agrarian reform is of universal application. The objectives of agrarian reform and the measures to be taken to achieve these objectives and the priorities to be established in this respect must take full account of the physical, economic, social, cultural and political conditions prevailing in each country and of the extent to which existing systems of tenure provide adequate social protection to the workers concerned and permit efficient farming.

Objectives of Agrarian Reform (with Particular Reference to Social and Employment Objectives)

5. It should be the object of policy in each country to effect basic adjustments in land tenure and related institutions and structures having, in so far as their social and employment aspects in particular are concerned, the objectives listed below, the priority to be attached to the various objectives depending on conditions in each country:

(a) promoting the widest possible access to land through appropriate and progressive systems of land tenure which provide security of employment and of livelihood as well as opportunities and incentives for economic and social progress to the agricultural population;

(b) correcting large inequalities in the distribution of income, in land ownership and in socio-political status;

(c) ensuring that agricultural holdings are of sufficient size to permit efficient farming, the earning of adequate incomes and the full use of labour and of managerial ability;

(d) encouraging increased agricultural production and improvement in agricultural methods and ensuring that a fair share of the benefits resulting therefrom accrues to the agricultural population;

(e) encouraging the full development of the capacities of the agricultural population and leading to the recognition that farming is a skilled profession and that there is dignity in agricultural work;

(f) ensuring adequate employment, levels of income and living conditions for all elements of the agricultural population;

(g) promoting the fuller and more effective utilisation of rural human resources, whether in agricultural or non-agricultural employment;

(h) providing an adequate institutional structure to favour agricultural and rural development in general;

(i) enabling the rural sector to make a maximum contribution to general economic and social development, while at the same time participating fully in this development, and promoting the bringing of the subsistence sector into the exchange economy.

Measures to Achieve These Objectives.

6. In adopting measures to achieve these objectives particular consideration should be given, in accordance with priorities to be established in each country in the light of its particular conditions, to those referred to in the following paragraphs and which concern primarily social and employment aspects of agrarian reform.

7. An equitable distribution of land ownership—and, where necessary, of rights to water—should be promoted. With respect to land, this might be achieved by such means as the setting of ceilings of individual ownership of land, the acquisition
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—under such financial arrangements as may be provided by the national legislation—of land in excess of such ceilings and of holdings not fulfilling a social purpose, and the introduction of fiscal policies discouraging private ownership of excessively large holdings.

8. Where water resources are very limited, their control and conservation should be recognised as a primary duty of the government. The basic principle for an integrated national water policy should be that governments should determine the development and use of water as fully as may be required. Water resources should not be the private property of any individual interest for free and unrestricted exploitation, but should be regarded as a national resource to be used in the national interest.

9. The fuller and more intensive use of land should be encouraged through such means as the development and settlement of unused public land and of new lands and the introduction of measures favouring efficient land use. The settlement of new lands should not be considered a substitute for basic agrarian reforms in areas already settled.

10. Land made available through such means as those listed in paragraphs 7 and 9 should be distributed to agricultural workers free of charge or at a reasonable price with due consideration given to their ability to pay. Criteria for the determination of beneficiaries should be established. The holdings to be allocated should be of sufficient size to ensure adequate levels of income and the full utilisation of the labour of the beneficiary and of his family.

11. To facilitate measures relating to the distribution and settlement of land, provision should be made for adequately planned land surveys and the registration of titles.

12. The settlement of agricultural populations on new land should be carried out in an orderly and legal manner and the necessary communications facilities and social, educational and technical services should be provided. Measures should be taken to avoid unplanned and unorganised land settlement and to improve such forms of settlement where they prevail.

13. In areas where shifting cultivation is common, or other resource-depleting practices prevail, agrarian reforms should include the progressive introduction of productive and soil-conserving systems of farming.

14. Appropriate safeguards should be introduced to ensure against undue sale or subdivision of holdings made available to individuals under agrarian reform and land settlement programmes. In any case, measures should be envisaged to safeguard against the division of holdings into uneconomic-sized units. Arrangements might be made for granting firm titles in land only after a specific period and on condition that the beneficiary fulfils certain specified obligations, including particularly the practice of good husbandry.

15. Where appropriate, the consolidation of fragmented holdings as well as the enlargement or grouping of very small holdings should be encouraged through the promotion of co-operatives or in accordance with national policy. The public authority should make available grants or other financial assistance to meet major capital costs involved in the process. Especially in areas where rural underemployment and unemployment prevail, local labour resources should be used to the greatest extent possible for carrying out works programmes related to consolidation, using community development and similar approaches wherever appropriate.

16. Provision should be made for improvements in the conditions of tenants and share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers. General principles with respect thereto should be established by the competent authority in consultation with occupational organisations where they exist, and provision should be made for written contracts to the extent practicable, for adequate duration of leases, for permissible causes for tenant eviction, for the determination of equitable rents and for compensation for improvements. Machinery should be provided for the settlement of disputes and for the enforcement of the regulations. Special provision should be made for categories of agricultural workers not covered by either tenancy or labour legislation.

17. Personal services and other practices restricting the liberty of the individual should be abolished.

18. Regulations should be introduced and effectively enforced for improving conditions of employment of wage earners in agriculture. Particular attention should be given to the establishment of systems for collective bargaining and of appropriate machinery for the fixing of minimum wages in agriculture.

19. Particular attention should be paid to the education and training of beneficiaries of agrarian reforms. Training should include the use of agricultural extension and, where appropriate, community development methods and be provided both before and during the implementation of reform measures in appropriate pro-
grammes. Training should cover general orientation for living in a new environment as well as improved agricultural methods and management related to production, marketing, the use of credit, etc., to prepare the beneficiaries for their role as independent farmers. Special credits should be set aside for training activities and the assignment of personnel for this purpose in the budgets of agrarian reform programmes.

20. Priority should also be given to the training of personnel responsible for the implementation of agrarian reform measures, especially at the local level. Particular attention should be given to the training of lower level personnel, such as local extension agents and practical instructors for the training of beneficiaries. Conditions of employment of agricultural instructors and other personnel in rural areas should be improved so that more and better-qualified staff may be available for assignment to agrarian reform and land settlement programmes. Handbooks and other teaching materials should be adapted to the needs of the countries concerned, and arrangements made for the exchange of such materials among countries having a common language and similar social and economic conditions.

21. High priority should be given to the establishment of efficient marketing systems and other means to ensure that the farmer may find a ready outlet for his produce and to guarantee him stable and remunerative prices on the domestic and international markets. Similarly, efficient distribution systems should be established to bring agricultural products to the consumer at reasonable prices.

22. The organisation and improvement of systems of short- and long-term credit at reasonable rates for productive purposes should be encouraged. Particular attention should be given to systems of supervised credit which combine the extension of credit with technical guidance on its sound use and training and improved agricultural methods, but which should not hamper the farmer in exercising his initiative and taking his responsibilities. Appropriate measures should be taken to relieve agricultural indebtedness and to prevent abuse connected therewith.

23. The special contribution which various forms of co-operatives can make to the successful implementation of agrarian reforms and to the improvement in the levels of living of the beneficiaries should be recognised. These include, among others, suitable voluntary systems of joint land use, savings and credit co-operatives, co-operatives for production, supply, distribution, marketing, for the utilisation and maintenance of machinery, and other services. For the sound growth of co-operative activities institutional arrangements should be made for supervision, for extension services to co-operatives, for systematic training programmes for co-operative office bearers and personnel, as well as for education of members of co-operatives and diffusion of co-operative principles and working methods among the rural population.

24. Special measures should be adopted to protect the interests in land of indigenous and tribal populations in accordance with the provisions of the Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957 (No. 107), and Recommendation, 1957 (No. 106), adopted by the International Labour Conference. These populations should benefit on an equal footing with other sectors of the agricultural population from agrarian reform measures, including land settlement projects. Special measures should be adopted where appropriate, after full consultation with their democratically elected representatives, to assure to indigenous and tribal groups adequate land, taking account of the future growth in their numbers as well as the requirements of soil conservation. Particular attention should be devoted to problems arising out of adjustments in communal tenures as well as to those arising out of transition from tribal to other forms of tenure in line with requirements of economic and social development. Appropriate safeguards to protect the interests of the groups concerned should be taken. Arrangements in areas inhabited by indigenous and tribal groups involving unpaid personal services should be established. In countries with significant nomadic groups consideration should be given to measures aimed at facilitating the establishment of nomads as settled cultivators or stock-keepers or in non-agricultural employment, under conditions which will provide them with opportunities for security and adequate levels of income.

25. Social security measures should make no distinction between wage earners in agriculture and in industry, and it should be the aim of policy to extend adequate and appropriate social security benefits to cover all categories of agricultural workers, including independent and semi-independent workers, as a part of and co-ordinated with general programmes for increasing economic security and improving conditions of life in rural areas. Provisions with respect to benefits should take full account of the particular needs of the agricultural population. In planning the financing of such measures due account should be taken of the special difficulties arising out of low levels of income in agriculture, and appropriate measures should be taken to prevent the indebtedness of agricultural workers from being inferior to that provided for the rest of the population. While the ultimate objective should be the introduction of a comprehensive programme of social security covering a wide variety of risks,
this should not prevent the initiation of more limited measures designed to meet the most pressing needs.

26. As an additional measure of providing income security to the agricultural population, systems of crop and livestock insurance should be promoted to protect against natural and marketing hazards which may result in substantial or total loss to the cultivator of his income and his investment in capital and labour. The introduction of co-operative crop and livestock insurance should be encouraged to the fullest extent.

27. Appropriate administrative machinery should be established for the implementation and enforcement of agrarian reforms. Representatives of the various groups of the population concerned with such machinery, especially at the local level, including bona fide representatives of employers' and workers' organisations where these exist, should be actively associated therewith. Adequate publicity should be given to agrarian reform measures, and care should be taken to ensure that all pertinent legislative enactments, regulations and information material are issued in languages fully understood by the populations concerned.

28. Agrarian reform measures should make provision for the setting up of procedures for objective and, if appropriate, independent evaluation of progress achieved. To the extent that this is possible, the evaluation should be current and continuous so that weaknesses or defects may be identified immediately and arrangements made for the earliest possible adjustment of the measures relating to the reform.

29. As a means of providing additional opportunities for employment, particularly in developing countries where unemployment and underemployment in the rural sector are serious problems, agrarian reform should be carried out with due regard to the employment objectives of national economic policy. The diversification of agriculture should be encouraged where conditions permit, so as to make fuller use of the farmer's labour and to increase his income. Similarly, strenuous efforts should be made to expand all feasible non-farm employment opportunities in rural areas, including primary processing, viable handicrafts and small-scale industries. To the greatest extent possible, local workers should be employed, making the most effective use of scarce capital, in construction and other activities associated with agrarian reform and land settlement programmes, and designed to benefit the rural population as a whole. Similarly, local labour should also be employed on public works programmes in rural areas to build up the infrastructure. In devising such measures for expanding employment opportunities in rural areas, use should be made of community development techniques whenever appropriate. Workers should be assisted in taking advantage of any employment opportunities that might develop in other economic activities. Appropriate training programmes should be organised to give the workers concerned the necessary skills required for the different occupations mentioned above.

30. For the effective formulation and implementation of agrarian reform measures, special importance should be attached to promoting the development of agricultural associations, especially peasants' and tenants' organisations and trade unions, so as to enable them to participate in the elaboration of agrarian reform programmes as well as to give expression to and defend the interests of these various categories of agricultural workers, and to contribute to the general objectives of development.

31. The competent authority should undertake programmes for general improvement in living conditions in rural areas and the provision of various facilities and amenities, making full use of the community development approach.

32. It should be the objective of national policy to promote a proper balance between agriculture and industry in such a way that each may contribute to and benefit from development in the other. Employment policy in particular should be formulated with these considerations in mind.

33. Appropriate safeguards should be applied to ensure that the relevant international labour Conventions and Recommendations are observed in the process of agrarian reform programmes, in particular those concerned with conditions of employment, minimum wage-fixing machinery and vocational training in agriculture, the rights of association of agricultural workers, and freedom from forced labour.

B. ADDITIONAL CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE TRAINING OF BENEFICIARIES OF AGRARIAN REFORM AND OF PERSONNEL REQUIRED FOR THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH REFORMS

General Principles

34. The implementation of any programme of agrarian reform, including land settlement projects, depends on the availability of qualified personnel during the planning, initiation and implementation stages, and adequate provision for training of such personnel should be made.
35. The competent authority should include in the budgets for agrarian reform programmes adequate provision for the payment of the staff, including extension agents, necessary for the implementation of the programme as well as for the training of future personnel, the number of whom will necessarily increase as the projects develop.

36. Budgetary provision should also be made for the training of beneficiaries of agrarian reform measures in order to enable them better to face the various problems which will confront them.

37. The training programme for beneficiaries and for technical personnel alike should take account of—

(a) the physical environment in which the agrarian reform is to be undertaken;
(b) the general policy of the government with respect to food and agriculture as it affects the type of agrarian structure and method of cultivation to be introduced, the crops and livestock to be produced and the relations between cultivators and between the latter and the State.

Persons to Be Trained

Beneficiaries of Agrarian Reform.

38. The beneficiaries of agrarian reform measures, including land settlement projects, should receive adequate training, taking due account of the background of the beneficiaries on the one hand, and of the environment to which they may need to adapt themselves on the other. The important role of an agricultural extension service should be recognised.

39. The training to be given should concentrate in the first place on improving agricultural methods so as to permit those who receive land under agrarian reform to obtain as rapidly as possible adequate returns from their holding. It should also include training in farm management such as to assist those beneficiaries in adapting themselves to passing from the status of share-cropper or hired worker to that of independent farmer. Where necessary, the training should also provide general orientation with respect to the new areas in which the beneficiaries may have to live.

40. Careful consideration should be given to the place in which the training should take place. Depending on individual circumstances, training might be given either in the area in which the beneficiaries are to be established or at appropriate centres.

41. Consideration should be given to the advantages of establishing beneficiaries in homogeneous groups so as, on the one hand, to make it easier for the group to adapt itself, and, on the other hand, to facilitate the training process.

Personnel Required for the Implementation of Agrarian Reforms.

42. The personnel to be trained include both those concerned with the planning of agrarian reform measures and those responsible for their implementation. The former, having generally already received higher education, should primarily receive —through short courses, seminars and the diffusion of reports on agrarian reform measures in other countries—general orientation on the problems arising in the implementation of agrarian reforms and the different approaches used in different countries.

43. The staff called upon to implement agrarian reform measures should be available on a permanent basis to ensure that the programmes are effectively carried out. These technicians, who will for the most part be specialists in certain fields, should be given special training so that they may adapt their knowledge to the specific requirements of the reform measure being introduced. Special attention needs to be devoted to the selection of such personnel, particularly as concerns their ability to adapt themselves rapidly to new conditions and to living under difficult conditions.

Methods of Training

44. The training of beneficiaries should be essentially practical and have reference not only to basic training in agricultural methods, but also to training them to bring their holdings rapidly under cultivation. For practical training particular consideration should be given to agricultural extension methods and to the setting-up of demonstration plots, preferably on the holding of one of the beneficiaries. The training should also cover those elements necessary for the preparation of the beneficiaries for living in newly established communities. It would be particularly desirable to give the beneficiaries general education in co-operative organisation in order to enable them to understand the use of co-operative methods and properly to run the associations they may set up.
45. In the training of technical personnel consideration should be given to the following:

(a) all available institutions for education and training in agriculture should be orientated towards training a sufficient number of personnel with the necessary qualifications at all levels. Particular attention should be given to the practical training of personnel in direct contact with the cultivators, such as extension agents. Such personnel should be available at the very early stages of implementation to assist cultivators in establishing themselves and thus help to avoid early mistakes which may jeopardise the future of the projects;

(b) as one means of obtaining rapidly the necessary training personnel, consideration should be given to providing complementary training to technicians, including extension agents, already having basic training, so that they may be assigned to agrarian reform projects;

(c) particular consideration should be given to the organisation of refresher courses for all personnel concerned with the implementation of agrarian reform measures such as to enable them to keep abreast of recent developments and new techniques or approaches.

C. ADDITIONAL CONCLUSIONS ON THE ROLE OF CO-OPERATIVES IN AGRARIAN REFORM

46. In view of their importance as a means of promoting general economic and social progress, of directly associating the rural population with the development process and because of their educational and cultural value, co-operatives should be considered as having a vital role to play in programmes of agrarian reform.

47. Co-operatives should be used as a means of assessing the problems and interests of the rural population for the planning and preparation of agrarian reform measures. They should also serve for channelling information among agriculturists and making the purposes, principles and methods of such reforms understood.

48. Co-operatives should be promoted to facilitate the implementation of agrarian reform measures, to contribute to the achievement of the aims and objectives of such reforms and to ensure that in the long run there is substantial improvement in the living and working conditions of the beneficiaries.

49. Particular attention should be paid to the development of appropriate forms of co-operatives adapted to given local conditions and to the various patterns and phases of agrarian reform. They should, by all means available, enable cultivators to operate holdings efficiently and productively and allow for the greatest possible initiative and participation of the membership.

50. Where appropriate, suitable voluntary forms of co-operative land use should be encouraged. Their activities may range from the organisation of certain services and farming operations in common to the complete pooling of land, labour and equipment.

51. Where appropriate, the voluntary consolidation of fragmentary holdings through co-operatives should be encouraged.

52. In cases where measures are being envisaged for the transfer of ownership or division of large estates, due consideration should be given to the organisation of co-operative systems of holding and/or cultivation. At the same time, adequate provision should be made for the supply of services and technical guidance to those who work the land.

53. The establishment of co-operatives should also be considered in connection with land settlement schemes, especially as regards land reclamation and improvement measures and the organisation of joint services and farming operations for settlers.

54. Development of thrift and credit co-operatives and co-operative banks should be encouraged among the beneficiaries of agrarian reforms as well as among other small farmers for the purpose of—

(a) providing loans to cultivators for the purchase of equipment and other farm requisites;

(b) encouraging and assisting cultivators to save and accumulate capital;

(c) advancing loans to, and promoting thrift among, especially, those agricultural families, including hired workers, who normally would not have access to established sources of credit;

(d) facilitating the implementation of special governmental credit schemes through an efficient channelling of loans to beneficiaries and appropriate supervision of the use made of such loans and timely reimbursement.
55. The development of supply, marketing or multi-purpose co-operatives should be encouraged for the purpose of—
(a) the joint purchase and supply of farm requisites of good quality on favourable terms;
(b) the supply of basic domestic requirements for all categories of agricultural workers;
(c) the joint conditioning, processing and marketing of agricultural products.

56. Wherever possible, supply, credit and marketing functions should be linked so that the members may benefit to the maximum extent both in economies in the purchase of requisites and from higher proceeds from the sale of produce. This may be achieved either through setting up multi-purpose co-operatives or through membership in several specialised co-operative societies.

57. Encouragement should be given to the development of co-operatives providing farmers with other services contributing to an improvement in methods of farming and in the economic and social status of the agricultural population. Such institutions might include those relating to the joint use of farm machinery, electrification, livestock breeding, the provision of veterinary and pest-control services, facilities for irrigation, crop and livestock insurance, etc.

58. With a view to improving employment opportunities, working conditions and income, landless agricultural workers should be assisted, where appropriate, to organise themselves voluntarily into labour-contracting co-operatives.

59. Where appropriate, agricultural co-operatives in the reform zones should be encouraged to form federations to engage in such activities which their local associations could only perform at higher cost or not at all.

60. Due consideration should also be given to the encouragement and development of other types of co-operative activities providing for full- or part-time non-agricultural employment for members of beneficiaries' families (e.g. crafts, home or cottage industries), adequate distribution of consumer goods and social services which the State may not always be in a position to provide (viz. health, education culture, recreation, transport).

61. To permit co-operatives of the various types to play their full role in agrarian reform, the competent authority should pay special attention to—
(a) the framing and application of appropriate co-operative legislation, rules and by-laws;
(b) the establishment of competent promotional agencies;
(c) the provision of adequate technical guidance;
(d) the training of promoters, co-operative office bearers and staff, as well as the systematic education of members in co-operative principles and working methods;
(e) the provision of adequate sources of credit for co-operatives.

62. The interchange and dissemination of information on co-operative structures, their setbacks and achievements related to agrarian reform should be encouraged by all possible means so that the experience acquired may be made available to the largest possible number of countries.

D. ACTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

63. In the spirit of the concerted international action programme and in keeping with prevailing practice and existing co-ordinating machinery, the suggested International Labour Organisation activities indicated below—in the fields of study and research, technical co-operation and standard-setting and related activities—should be undertaken in full co-ordination of work and appropriate collaboration with the other agencies concerned, especially the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.

Studies and Research

64. In the various studies and research activities of the International Labour Organisation in such fields as those relating to rural employment, rural training, co-operatives, handicrafts and small-scale industries and indigenous and tribal populations, due attention should be given to problems concerning changes in agrarian structure.

65. To the greatest extent possible, research should include field investigations, including the use of case studies, where appropriate.
66. The widest use should be made of the work of research bodies in member countries. Where appropriate, arrangements for active collaboration with national, regional and international research bodies should be envisaged.

67. Priority should be given to practical research activities which can help governments in dealing with the many complicated problems related to agrarian reforms, particularly with respect to implementation. Studies should contain quantitative data wherever possible and appropriate. The International Labour Organisation, along with the other agencies concerned, should act as a clearing-house for information on relevant aspects of agrarian reform and related matters.

68. Particular attention should be given to the following subjects:

(a) the impact of agrarian reforms on employment, incomes, production, productivity and living conditions in rural areas; the social effects of structural and technological changes in rural areas and the implications of such changes in the rural sector on employment in the urban sector and vice versa;

(b) the nature, causes and effects of rural-urban and other migratory movements of rural workers;

(c) practical measures for promoting the fuller utilisation of human resources in rural areas;

(d) the influence of changes in agrarian structure on part-time farming, particularly with respect to implications in relation to employment and levels of living;

(e) living and working conditions of tenants and share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers and measures to improve them; establishment of standard terminology in the official languages of the International Labour Organisation in respect to these;

(f) factors encouraging or restricting vertical social mobility among the agricultural population;

(g) social, cultural and economic factors in changes in land tenure and land settlement, with particular reference to those leading to success and failure;

(h) problems arising out of adjustment in communal or tribal tenures, including the sedentarisation of nomadic and semi-nomadic groups;

(i) selected patterns of organising production in rural areas, especially in relation to the problem of uneconomic-sized holdings;

(j) various types of co-operatives and analogous organisations for production, supply, marketing and services in agriculture and in small-scale industries, including new avenues and forms of co-operative action of a promising nature; institutional changes in the organisation of marketing, processing and credit needed to ensure maximum benefits to agricultural workers from the point of view of employment, income and incentives;

(k) the role of local councils and occupational and other voluntary organisations in rural areas, and ways and means of encouraging their development and their active participation in promoting rural progress;

(l) employment impact of community development programmes;

(m) methods and organisation of training programmes designed for—
   (i) beneficiaries of land redistribution and land settlement programmes and of other programmes to improve conditions of agricultural workers,
   (ii) personnel responsible for implementing such programmes at the local level;

(n) factors related to the acceptance of improved techniques among farmers, obstacles to the diffusion of such knowledge and how these may be overcome;

(o) methods of evaluation of the social and employment effects of agrarian reforms and related rural development measures.

Technical Co-operation

69. In collaboration where appropriate with other international organisations concerned, and especially the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations and the World Food Programme, the International Labour Organisation should assist governments requesting such aid in the formulation and execution of comprehensive and integrated programmes of agrarian reform, particularly with respect to—

(a) the introduction of appropriate measures to correct defects in the agrarian structure, in order to ensure an increase and a more equitable distribution of income in agriculture, and to promote the security of employment and of livelihood and to enhance the dignity of agricultural workers of all categories;

(b) the preparation and drafting of appropriate legislation for the protection of agricultural workers of all categories and for its effective application and enforcement;
(c) the establishment of appropriate government services responsible for the improvement of conditions of life and work of agricultural workers of all categories and generally for social and economic progress in rural areas;

(d) the planning and implementation of land settlement projects which increase agricultural production and provide additional employment opportunities and means of livelihood, ensuring that spontaneous land settlement is carried out in an orderly and legal manner;

(e) the implementation of programmes for promoting the fuller and more diversified utilisation of human resources in rural areas (in agriculture, in related occupations, in handicrafts and small-scale industries, in construction work, etc.);

(f) the organisation of appropriate systems of vocational training in connection with agrarian reforms, including land settlement projects, so as to develop and improve skills in agriculture and in rural crafts and to enable improvements to be made in agricultural equipment, in housing and in rural community construction;

(g) implementing comprehensive and multi-purpose rural development and community development projects in conjunction with agrarian reforms, including those aimed at integrating indigenous and tribal groups into the economic and social life of the nation;

(h) promoting the development of various forms of co-operative organisation in rural areas and the training of the necessary co-operative personnel at all levels;

(i) assisting in the practical introduction of price arrangements with a view to ensuring remunerative prices to the primary producer.

**Standard-Setting and Related Activities**

70. The Conference recommends to the Governing Body to place on the agenda of the 51st and following sessions of the International Labour Conference, as a follow-up to the item already included in the agenda of the 49th Session in 1965, the question of agrarian reform as regards those aspects within the competence of the International Labour Organisation, after consultation with the United Nations and the specialised agencies concerned, especially the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, with a view to the preparation of appropriate instruments, including an item on the subject of the improvement of the living and working conditions of tenants and share-croppers and similar categories of agricultural workers,

71. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to give consideration to action by the International Labour Conference on appropriate aspects of the role of co-operatives in agrarian reform and the training of beneficiaries of agrarian reforms and of the personnel required for the effective implementation of such reforms.

72. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to continue to take every opportunity of bringing before the International Labour Conference, regional conferences, and technical and other meetings organised by the International Labour Organisation, the importance of measures being taken to improve agrarian structures and other structures which affect rural development and to introduce related institutional adjustments such as to promote social justice.

73. Consideration should also be given, whenever appropriate, to the review and possible revision of international standards concerning all categories of rural workers with a view to improving the effectiveness of such standards in promoting the economic and social well-being of these workers.

**(10) Resolution concerning the Placing on the Agenda of the Next Ordinary Session of the Conference of the Question of the Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries, Submitted by the Committee on Co-operatives.**

*(Adopted on 22 June 1965)*

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having adopted the report of the Committee appointed to consider the seventh item on the agenda, and

Having in particular approved as general conclusions, with a view to the consultation of governments, proposals for a Recommendation relating to the role of co-operatives in the economic and social development of developing countries;

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1 See Second Part, p. 420 and Appendix IX, p. 676.
Decides that an item entitled “The Role of Co-operatives in the Economic and Social Development of Developing Countries” shall be included in the agenda of its next ordinary session for a second discussion, with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation.

(11) Resolution concerning the Adoption of the Budget for the 48th Financial Period (1966) and the Allocation of Expenses among Member States for 1966, Submitted by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.1

(Adopted on 17 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

In virtue of the Financial Regulations, passes for the 48th financial period, ending 31 December 1966, the net budget of expenditure of the International Labour Organisation amounting to $20,337,871 and the net budget of income amounting to $20,337,871 and resolves that the budget of income from member States shall be allocated among them in accordance with the scale of contributions recommended by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

(12) Resolution concerning the Contributions Payable to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund in 1966, Submitted by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.2

(Adopted on 16 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

Decides that the contribution of the International Labour Organisation to the Pensions Fund for 1966 under article 7, paragraph (a), of the Staff Pensions Regulations shall be 14 per cent. of the pensionable emoluments of the members of the Fund;

Decides that, for the year 1966, the officials mentioned in article 4, paragraph (a) (i), of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Regulations shall continue to pay an additional 1 per cent. of their pensionable emoluments (making a total of 7½ per cent.) and those mentioned in article 4, paragraph (a) (ii), an additional ½ per cent. (making a total of 5½ per cent.) if their pensionable emoluments exceed the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 per annum, and an additional ¼ per cent. (making a total of 5¾ per cent.) if their emoluments are the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 or less;

Resolves that, in continuation of the arrangement approved in previous years, the whole budgetary vote for 1966 in respect of the contribution of the Organisation to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund should be paid to the Fund.

(13) Resolution concerning Appointments to the Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund and to the I.L.O. Staff Pension Committee (United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund), Submitted by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.3

(Adopted on 16 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

Appoints to the Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund for a period of three years until 8 October 1968, and to the I.L.O. Staff Pension Committee (United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund) for a period of three years until 10 July 1968 the following members and substitute members of these bodies, namely—

Members.

Mr. H. S. Kirkaldy (United Kingdom), former Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Cambridge; former substitute member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. P. Juhl-Christensen (Denmark), Director, International Relations Department of the Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs.

Mr. André Heilbronner (France), Counsellor of State.

Substitute Members.

Mr. Charles R. McCord (Canada), Director of Annuities, Department of Labour.

Mr. Ernst Kaiser (Switzerland), Actuarial Adviser, Swiss Federal Office of Social Insurance.

1 See Second Part, p. 310 and Appendix IV, p. 559.
Appendix XII : Resolutions Adopted by the Conference

Mr. Bengt Hämdahl (Sweden), Director of Legal Affairs, Ministry of Social Affairs.

(14) Resolution concerning Amendments to the Regulations of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund, Submitted by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.¹

(Adopted on 16 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

Decides to amend the Regulations of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund in accordance with the texts which appear on pages II and III of the Provisional Record, No. 5.

(These texts are reproduced below. The new text is in italic type; brackets denote passages to be deleted.)

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE REGULATIONS OF THE I.L.O. STAFF PENSIONS FUND

Article 7

The International Labour Organisation shall contribute to the Pensions Fund—

(a) unchanged;

(b) on 1 July 1961 and thereafter annually on 1 January, through 1 January 1974, the sum necessary to provide for the amortisation over a period of 14 years of the amount by which the actuarial reserve of the Pensions Fund requires to be increased to meet the obligations under these Regulations as amended with effect from 1 April 1961; and, annually from 1 January 1967 through 1 January 1974, the additional sum necessary to provide for the amortisation over a period of eight years of the amount by which the actuarial reserve requires to be increased to meet the obligations under these Regulations as amended with effect from 1 March 1965.

Article 9

(f) With effect from 1 April 1961 (1 March 1965) the retiring pension of an official whose contract of employment expired prior to 1 April 1961 shall not in any case exceed 40,250 (45,080) Swiss francs or the equivalent of that amount in the currency of the pension at the effective date of its award.

Article 12bis

3. [In the case of an official who is subject to the I.L.O. Staff Regulations and whose contract of employment expires after 31 March 1961 and prior to 31 March 1964, the emoluments by reference to which a retiring pension, an invalidity pension or a pension in case of death are calculated, shall be determined as though the definition of “Pensionable Remuneration” in the Staff Regulations had applied throughout the last three years of service, except that the adjustment of 5 per cent. provided for in that definition in respect of officials in the Professional category and above shall be deemed to have become effective not earlier than 1 January 1959.] In the case of an official whose contract of employment expires after 28 February 1965 and in respect of whom a retiring pension, an invalidity pension or a pension upon death becomes payable, that pension shall be calculated as if any elements of the official’s pensionable remuneration which prior to 1 March 1965 had been determined on the basis of the half-gross level of remuneration in accordance with article 3.1.1 of the Staff Regulations or in accordance with conditions of service fixed by the Director-General under article 0.2 (c) of the Staff Regulations, had been determined by reference to the gross level of remuneration.

Article 32

7. Subject to paragraph (f) of article 9, the amounts of retiring, invalidity and widows’ pensions in payment on 1 March 1965 in respect of former officials whose contracts of employment expired prior to 1 April 1961, other than former officials of Branch Offices of the International Labour Office, shall be increased uniformly by 12 per cent. with effect from 1 March 1965.

8. Pensions in payment on 1 March 1965 in respect of former officials whose contracts of employment expired after 31 March 1961 shall be recalculated as if any elements of the official’s pensionable remuneration which had been determined on the basis of the half-gross level of remuneration in accordance with article 3.1.1 of the Staff Regulations or in accordance with conditions of service fixed by the Director-General under article 0.2 (c) of the Staff Regulations, had been determined by reference to the gross level of remuneration; and the recalculated amounts of these pensions shall be payable with effect from 1 March 1965.

(15) Resolution concerning the Pensions Fund of the Judges of the Former Permanent Court of International Justice, Submitted by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.²

(Adopted on 16 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—

Decides that, with effect from 1 March 1965, the pensions payable by the Pensions Fund of the Judges of the former Permanent Court of International Justice shall be increased by 12 per cent.;

Decides that the increase in annuities of Dutch florins 5,960 per annum shall be financed from the accumulated assets of the Fund; it being understood that in the event of the accumulated assets later proving insufficient to cover the payment of all outstanding pensions the Director-General would submit proposals for consideration.

(16) Resolution concerning Appointments to the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labour Organisation, Submitted by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.¹

(Adopted on 16 June 1965)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation—
In accordance with article III of the Statute of the Administrative Tribunal;
Appoints Mr. Thurgood Marshall (United States) and Mr. A. T. Markose (India) as deputy judges of the Administrative Tribunal for a period of three years; and
Extends the term of office of Mr. Maxime Letourneur (France) as judge of the Tribunal for a further period of three years.

This resolution shall take effect immediately.

AUTHENTIC TEXTS
Recommendation 123

(1) Recommendation concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth Session on 2 June 1965, and
Noting the fact that in many countries women are working outside their homes in increasing numbers as an integral and essential part of the labour force, and
Noting further that many such women have special problems arising out of the need to reconcile their dual family and work responsibilities, and
Noting that many of these problems, though they have particular relevance to the opportunities for employment of women workers with family responsibilities, also confront other workers and can be substantially alleviated by measures affecting all workers, such as the progressive reduction of daily and weekly hours of work, and
Noting further that many of the special problems faced by women with family responsibilities are not problems peculiar to women workers but are problems of the family and of society as a whole, and
Recognising that continuous social adaptation is required to meet these problems in a manner consistent with the best interests of all concerned, and
Aware of the need for governments and for all public and private organisations concerned to give consideration to these problems in a broad social, economic and legal context, and
Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the employment of women with family responsibilities, 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 twenty-second day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965:

The Conference recommends that each Member should apply the following provisions as fully and as rapidly as national conditions allow:

I. General Principle

1. The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, and in accordance with national and local needs and possibilities—
   (a) pursue an appropriate policy with a view to enabling women with family responsibilities who work outside their homes to exercise their
Recommandation 123

1) Recommandation concernant l'emploi des femmes ayant des responsabilités familiales.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,
Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 2 juin 1965, en sa quarante-neuvième session ;
Constatant que, dans de nombreux pays, les femmes travaillent en nombre toujours croissant en dehors de chez elles et font partie intégrante de la population active dont elles constituent un élément essentiel ;
Constatant que beaucoup de ces femmes ont à faire face à des problèmes particuliers par suite de la nécessité de concilier leur double responsabilité, familiale et professionnelle ;
Constatant que nombre de ces problèmes, tout en affectant particulièrement les possibilités d'emploi des travailleuses ayant des responsabilités familiales, concernent aussi les autres travailleurs et que des mesures touchant l'ensemble des travailleurs — telles que la réduction progressive de la journée ou de la semaine de travail — peuvent y remédier dans une large mesure ;
Constatant, en outre, que beaucoup des problèmes particuliers rencontrés par les femmes ayant des responsabilités familiales ne concernent pas seulement les femmes qui travaillent, mais également leur famille et la société dans son ensemble ;
Reconnaissant qu'une adaptation sociale continue est nécessaire afin de résoudre ces problèmes au mieux des intérêts de chacun ;
Consiente de la nécessité où se trouvent les gouvernements et toutes les organisations publiques et privées intéressées de vouer leur attention à ces problèmes dans un large contexte social, économique et juridique ;
Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à l'emploi des femmes ayant des responsabilités familiales, question qui constitue le cinquième point à l'ordre du jour de la session ;
Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une recommandation,
adopté, ce vingt-deuxième jour de juin mil neuf cent soixante-cinq, la recommandation ci-après, qui sera dénommée Recommandation sur l'emploi des femmes ayant des responsabilités familiales, 1965 :

La Conférence recommande aux Membres d'appliquer les dispositions suivantes, aussi pleinement et aussi rapidement que les conditions nationales le permettront.

I. PRINCIPE GÉNÉRAL

1. Les autorités compétentes, en collaboration avec les organisations publiques et privées intéressées — notamment les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs — et selon les possibilités et les besoins sur les plans nationaux et locaux, devraient :
a) poursuivre une politique appropriée visant à permettre aux femmes ayant des responsabilités familiales, qui travaillent en dehors de chez
right to do so without being subject to discrimination and in accordance with the principles laid down in the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958, as well as in other standards relating to women adopted by the International Labour Conference; and

(b) encourage, facilitate or themselves undertake the development of services to enable women to fulfil their various responsibilities at home and at work harmoniously.

II. PUBLIC INFORMATION AND EDUCATION

2. The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, take appropriate steps—

(a) to encourage such consideration of the problems of women workers with family responsibilities as may be necessary to help these workers to become effectively integrated in the labour force on the basis of equal rights;

(b) to undertake or promote such research as may be necessary and feasible into the various aspects of the employment of women workers with family responsibilities with a view to presenting objective information on which sound policies and measures may be based; and

(c) to engender broader public understanding of the problems of these workers with a view to developing community policies and a climate of opinion conducive to helping them to meet their family and employment responsibilities.

III. CHILD-CARE SERVICES AND FACILITIES

3. With a view to determining the scope and character of the child-care services and facilities needed to assist women workers to meet their employment and family responsibilities, the competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, and within the scope of their resources for collecting information, take such measures as may be necessary and appropriate—

(a) to collect and publish adequate statistics on the number of mothers engaged in or seeking employment and on the number and age of their children; and

(b) to ascertain, through systematic surveys conducted more particularly in local communities, the needs and preferences for child-care arrangements organised outside the family.

4. The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, take appropriate steps to ensure that child-care services and facilities meet the needs and preferences so revealed; to this end they should, taking account of national and local circumstances and possibilities, in particular—

(a) encourage and facilitate the establishment, particularly in local communities, of plans for the systematic development of child-care services and facilities; and

(b) themselves organise as well as encourage and facilitate the provision of adequate and appropriate child-care services and facilities, at reasonable charge or free in case of need, developed along flexible lines and meeting the needs of children of different ages and of their working parents.

5. With a view to safeguarding the health and welfare of the child—

(a) child-care services and facilities of all types should comply with standards laid down and supervised by the competent authorities;
elles, d'exercer leur droit à le faire sans être exposées à aucune discrimination et conformément aux principes établis tant dans la convention concernant la discrimination (emploi et profession), 1958, que dans les autres normes adoptées par la Conférence internationale du Travail et intéressant les femmes ;

b) encourager, faciliter ou assurer elles-mêmes l'établissement de services qui permettent aux femmes de remplir harmonieusement leurs diverses responsabilités familiales et professionnelles.

II. INFORMATION ET ÉDUCATION DU PUBLIC

2. Les autorités compétentes, en collaboration avec les organisations publiques et privées intéressées — notamment les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs — devraient prendre des mesures appropriées :

a) pour que l'on voue l'attention nécessaire aux problèmes des travailleuses ayant des responsabilités familiales, afin de les aider à s'intégrer effectivement et à égalité de droits dans la population active ;

b) pour entreprendre ou encourager toutes recherches qui seraient nécessaires et qui pourraient être menées à bien sur les divers aspects de l'emploi des travailleuses ayant des responsabilités familiales, en vue d'obtenir des informations objectives sur lesquelles puissent se fonder des politiques et des mesures efficaces ;

c) pour amener le public à mieux comprendre les problèmes de ces travailleuses afin de susciter, au sein de la collectivité, une ligne de conduite et un courant d'opinion qui contribuent à les aider à s'acquitter de leurs responsabilités familiales et professionnelles.

III. SERVICES ET INSTALLATIONS DE SOINS AUX ENFANTS

3. En vue de déterminer l'ampleur et la nature des services et installations de soins aux enfants nécessaires pour aider les travailleuses à s'acquitter de leurs responsabilités familiales et professionnelles, les autorités compétentes, en collaboration avec les organisations publiques et privées intéressées — notamment les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs —, et compte tenu des ressources dont elles disposent pour réunir des informations, devraient prendre toutes mesures nécessaires et appropriées :

a) pour réunir et publier des statistiques suffisamment complètes sur le nombre des mères de famille ayant un emploi ou en quête de travail, ainsi que sur le nombre et l'âge de leurs enfants ;

b) pour déterminer, par des enquêtes systématiques effectuées plus particulièrement au sein des collectivités locales, quels arrangements sont nécessaires, et préférés, lorsqu'il s'agit d'assurer les soins aux enfants en dehors de la famille.

4. Les autorités compétentes, en collaboration avec les organisations publiques et privées intéressées, devraient prendre toutes mesures appropriées pour que les services et installations de soins aux enfants correspondent aux besoins et aux préférences ainsi révélés ; à cette fin, elles devraient notamment, selon les conditions et les possibilités nationales et locales :

a) encourager et faciliter l'établissement, notamment dans les collectivités locales, de plans visant au développement méthodique de services et installations de soins aux enfants ;

b) assurer elles-mêmes, ainsi qu'encourager et faciliter l'organisation, en nombre suffisant et sur une base appropriée, de services et installations fournissant des soins aux enfants, à un prix raisonnable, ou gratuitement en cas de besoin, selon des modalités souples et de manière à répondre aux besoins des enfants d'âges divers et des parents qui travaillent.

5. En vue de protéger la santé et le bien-être des enfants :

a) les services et installations de soins aux enfants, de quelque type qu'ils soient, devraient être conformes à des normes établies par les autorités compétentes et être contrôlés par celles-ci ;
Appendix XIII : Authentic Texts

(b) such standards should prescribe in particular the equipment and hygienic requirements of the services and facilities provided and the number and qualifications of the staff; and

(c) the competent authorities should provide or help to ensure the provision of adequate training at various levels for the personnel needed to staff child-care services and facilities.

6. The competent authorities should, with the co-operation and participation of the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, help to ensure public understanding and support for efforts made to meet the special needs of working parents in respect of child-care services and facilities.

IV. ENTRY AND RE-ENTRY INTO EMPLOYMENT

7. The competent authorities should take all measures in accordance with the Employment Policy Convention, 1964, and the Employment Policy Recommendation, 1964, to enable women with family responsibilities to become or to remain integrated in the labour force as well as to re-enter the labour force.

8. With a view to enabling women with family responsibilities to become integrated in the labour force on a footing of equality, and with a view to facilitating their entry into employment or their re-entry after a comparatively long period of absence, the competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, take all measures that may be necessary in the national circumstances—

(a) to ensure the provision for girls of general education, vocational guidance and vocational training free from any form of discrimination on the ground of sex;

(b) to encourage girls to obtain a sound vocational preparation as a basis for their future work lives; and

(c) to convince parents and educators of the need to give girls a sound vocational preparation.

9. (1) The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned and taking account of national needs and possibilities, provide or help to ensure the provision of the services that may be necessary to facilitate the entry into employment of women who have not yet worked, or the re-entry into employment of women who have been out of the employment market for a comparatively long time, owing, in particular, to family responsibilities.

(2) Such services should be organised within the framework of existing services for all workers or, in default thereof, along lines appropriate to national conditions; they should include adequate counselling, information and placement services and provide adequate vocational training and retraining facilities appropriate to the needs of the women concerned and available without distinction as regards age.

(3) The services and facilities should be kept under review in order to ensure that they are properly adapted to the special needs of these women workers and to the changing needs and tendencies of economic and technological development.

10. (1) In the case of women who, on account of their family responsibilities arising out of maternity, do not find themselves in a position to return to their employment immediately following exhaustion of the normal period of maternity leave established by law or practice, appropriate measures should be taken to the extent possible to allow them a reasonable further period of leave of absence without relinquishing their employment, all rights resulting from their employment being fully safeguarded.

(2) In case of termination of employment following maternity, the women concerned should be considered for re-employment in accordance with the provisions applicable under the Termination of Employment Recommendation, 1963, to workers whose employment has been terminated owing to a reduction of the work force.
b) ces normes devraient avoir trait notamment à l'équipement de ces services et installations, aux conditions d'hygiène auxquelles ils doivent répondre et au nombre et aux qualifications des membres de leur personnel ;

c) les autorités compétentes devraient fournir ou aider à fournir une formation suffisante, aux divers échelons, au personnel nécessaire au fonctionnement des services et installations de soins aux enfants.

6. Les autorités compétentes devraient, avec la collaboration et la participation des organisations publiques et privées intéressées — notamment les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs —, s'efforcer de faire connaître et de faire appuyer les efforts déployés pour répondre aux besoins particuliers des parents qui travaillent en ce qui concerne les services et installations de soins aux enfants.

IV. EXERCICE ET REPRISE D'UN EMPLOI

7. Les autorités compétentes devraient prendre toutes mesures conformes à la convention sur la politique de l'emploi, 1964, et à la recommandation sur la politique de l'emploi, 1964, en vue de permettre aux femmes ayant des responsabilités familiales de s'intégrer dans la population active, de continuer à en faire partie ou de reprendre un emploi.

8. Afin de permettre aux femmes ayant des responsabilités familiales de s'intégrer dans le monde du travail sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres travailleurs et de leur faciliter l'entrée en emploi ou la reprise d'un emploi après une absence relativement longue, les autorités compétentes, en collaboration avec les organisations publiques et privées intéressées — notamment les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs —, devraient prendre toutes mesures qui seraient nécessaires dans les conditions nationales :

   a) pour assurer aux jeunes filles une instruction générale ainsi qu'une orientation et une formation professionnelles exemptes de toute forme de discrimination fondée sur le sexe ;
   b) pour encourager les jeunes filles à obtenir une solide préparation professionnelle comme fondement de leur future vie professionnelle ;
   c) pour convaincre les parents et les éducateurs de la nécessité de donner aux jeunes filles une solide préparation professionnelle.

9. (1) Les autorités compétentes, en collaboration avec les organisations publiques et privées intéressées et compte tenu des possibilités et des besoins nationaux, devraient assurer ou aider à assurer le fonctionnement des services qui peuvent être nécessaires pour faciliter l'entrée en emploi aux femmes qui n'ont pas encore travaillé en raison notamment de leurs responsabilités familiales, ou la reprise d'un emploi à celles qui n'ont pas travaillé pendant une période relativement longue pour les mêmes raisons.

   (2) Ces services et ces moyens devraient faire l'objet d'un examen régulier, aux fins d'assurer leur adaptation aux besoins particuliers de ces travailleuses et à l'évolution des besoins et des tendances du développement économique et technique.

10. (1) Des dispositions appropriées devraient être prises, dans la mesure du possible, pour permettre aux femmes qui, du fait de leurs responsabilités familiales découlant de leur maternité, ne se trouvent pas en mesure de reprendre leur emploi immédiatement après l'écoulement de la période normale du congé de maternité déterminée par la législation ou par la pratique, de prolonger quelque temps leur congé sans perdre leur emploi, tous les droits résultant de celui-ci étant pleinement sauvegardés.

   (2) En cas de cessation de l'emploi consécutive à une maternité, les femmes intéressées devraient être considérées pour le réembauchage conformément aux dispositions qui, dans la recommandation sur la cessation de la relation de travail, 1963, s'appliquent aux travailleurs dont l'emploi a cessé à la suite d'une réduction de personnel.
V. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

11. (1) To the extent necessary the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers' organisations, should co-operate with the competent authorities and collaborate with each other to take other measures and promote other action to assist women workers to meet their employment and family responsibilities without detriment to their opportunities for employment and promotion.

(2) In this connection attention should be given, as local needs require and possibilities permit, to matters which have particular relevance for women workers with family responsibilities, such as the organisation of public transport, the harmonisation of working hours and hours of schools and child-care services or facilities, and the provision at low cost of the facilities required to simplify and lighten household tasks.

12. Particular efforts should be made to develop home-aid services operating under public authority or supervision and providing women workers with family responsibilities, in the event of family need, with qualified assistance at reasonable charge.
11. (1) Dans la mesure où cela est nécessaire, les organisations publiques et privées intéressées — notamment les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs — devraient coopérer avec les autorités compétentes et collaborer les unes avec les autres pour prendre d'autres mesures et encourager d'autres actions afin d'aider les travailleuses à s'acquitter de leurs obligations professionnelles et familiales, sans nuire aux possibilités d'emploi et de promotion des intéressées.

(2) A cet égard, toute l'attention voulue devrait être accordée, dans la mesure du possible et pour autant que les besoins locaux l'exigent, aux questions qui intéressent particulièrement les travailleuses ayant des responsabilités familiales, telles que l'organisation des moyens de transport publics, l'harmonisation des horaires de travail et des horaires des écoles, services ou installations recevant les enfants et les moyens requis pour simplifier et alléger, à un prix accessible, les tâches ménagères.

12. Des efforts particuliers devraient être faits pour développer des services d'aide familiale assurés ou contrôlés par une autorité publique et fournissant, en cas de besoin, une assistance qualifiée pour un prix raisonnable aux travailleuses ayant des responsabilités familiales.
(2) **Convention concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines.**

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth Session on 2 June 1965, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines, which is included in the fourth item on the agenda of the session, and

Noting that the Underground Work (Women) Convention, 1935, prohibits in principle the employment of any female, whatever her age, on underground work in any mine, and

Noting that the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937, which is applicable to mines, provides that children under the age of 15 years shall not be employed or work in any public or private undertaking, or in any branch thereof, and

Noting that the Convention further specifies that, in respect of employments which by their nature or the circumstances in which they are carried on are dangerous to the life, health or morals of persons employed therein, national laws shall either prescribe or empower an appropriate authority to prescribe a higher age or ages than 15 years for the admission thereto of young persons or adolescents, and

Considering that, in view of the nature of employment underground in mines, international standards establishing a higher age than 15 years for admission to such employment are desirable, and

Having determined that these standards shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts this twenty-second day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Convention, which may be cited as the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965:

**Article 1**

1. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "mine" means any undertaking, whether public or private, for the extraction of any substance from under the surface of the earth by means involving the employment of persons underground.

2. The provisions of this Convention concerning employment or work underground in mines include employment or work underground in quarries.

**Article 2**

1. Persons under a specified minimum age shall not be employed or work underground in mines.

2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall specify the minimum age in a declaration appended to its ratification.

3. The minimum age shall in no case be less than 16 years.

**Article 3**

Each Member which has ratified this Convention may subsequently notify the Director-General of the International Labour Office, by a further declaration, that it specifies a minimum age higher than that specified at the time of ratification.

**Article 4**

1. All necessary measures, including the provision of appropriate penalties, shall be taken by the competent authority to ensure the effective enforcement of the provisions of this Convention.
2) Convention concernant l'âge minimum d'admission aux travaux souterrains dans les mines.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,
Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 2 juin 1965, en sa quarante-neuvième session ;

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à l'âge minimum d'admission aux travaux souterrains dans les mines, question qui est comprise dans le quatrième point à l'ordre du jour de la session ;

Notant que la convention des travaux souterrains (femmes), 1935, interdit en principe l'emploi d'aucune personne du sexe féminin, quel que soit son âge, aux travaux souterrains dans les mines ;

Notant que la convention (revisée) de l'âge minimum (industrie), 1937, qui s'applique aux mines, prévoit que les enfants de moins de quinze ans ne peuvent être employés ou travailler dans les établissements industriels, publics ou privés, ou dans leurs dépendances ;

Notant que cette convention énonce en outre qu'en ce qui concerne les emplois qui, par leur nature ou les conditions dans lesquelles ils sont remplis, sont dangereux pour la vie, la santé ou la moralité des personnes qui y sont affectées, les lois nationales doivent, soit fixer elles-mêmes un âge ou des âges supérieurs à quinze ans pour l'admission des jeunes gens et adolescents à ces emplois, soit conférer à une autorité appropriée le pouvoir de le faire ;

Considérant qu'étant donné la nature des travaux souterrains dans les mines, il y a lieu d'adopter des normes internationales fixant un âge supérieur à quinze ans pour l'admission à de tels travaux ;

Après avoir décidé que ces normes prendraient la forme d'une convention internationale,
adopte, ce vingt-deuxième jour de juin mil neuf cent soixante-cinq, la convention ci-après, qui sera dénommée Convention sur l'âge minimum (travaux souterrains), 1965 :

**Article 1**

1. Aux fins de l'application de la présente convention, le terme « mine » s'entend de toute entreprise, soit publique, soit privée, dont le but est l'extraction de substances situées en dessous du sol, et qui comporte l'emploi souterrain de personnes.

2. Les dispositions de la présente convention relatives à l'emploi ou au travail souterrains dans les mines couvrent l'emploi ou le travail souterrains dans les carrières.

**Article 2**

1. Les personnes n'ayant pas atteint un âge minimum déterminé ne doivent pas être employées ou travailler sous terre dans les mines.

2. Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention doit spécifier cet âge minimum dans une déclaration annexée à sa ratification.

3. L'âge minimum ne peut, en aucun cas, être inférieur à seize ans.

**Article 3**

Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention pourra informer le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail, par une déclaration ultérieure, qu'il relève l'âge minimum spécifié au moment de sa ratification.

**Article 4**

1. Toutes les mesures nécessaires, y compris l'adoption de sanctions appropriées, doivent être prises par l'autorité compétente pour assurer l'application effective des dispositions de la présente convention.
2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention undertakes either to maintain an appropriate inspection service for the purpose of supervising the application of the provisions of the Convention or to satisfy itself that appropriate inspection is carried out.

3. National laws or regulations shall define the persons responsible for compliance with the provisions of this Convention.

4. The employer shall keep, and make available to inspectors, records indicating, in respect of persons who are employed or work underground and who are less than two years older than the specified minimum age—

(a) the date of birth, duly certified wherever possible; and
(b) the date at which the person was employed or worked underground in the undertaking for the first time.

5. The employer shall make available to the workers' representatives, at their request, lists of the persons who are employed or work underground and who are less than two years older than the specified minimum age; such lists shall contain the dates of birth of such persons and the dates at which they were employed or worked underground in the undertaking for the first time.

Article 5

The determination of the minimum age to be specified in pursuance of Articles 2 and 3 of this Convention shall be made after consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned.

Article 6

The formal ratifications of this Convention shall be communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration.

Article 7

1. This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members of the International Labour Organisation whose ratifications have been registered with the Director-General.

2. It shall come into force twelve months after the date on which the ratifications of two Members have been registered with the Director-General.

3. Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for any Member twelve months after the date on which its ratification has been registered.

Article 8

1. A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered.

2. Each Member which has ratified this Convention and 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 in this Article, will be bound for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce this Convention at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided for in this Article.

Article 9

1. The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall notify all Members of the International Labour Organisation of the registration of all ratifications and denunciations communicated to him by the Members of the Organisation.

2. When notifying the Members of the Organisation of the registration of the second ratification communicated to him, the Director-General shall draw the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the date upon which the Convention will come into force.
2. Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention s'engage à disposer d'un système d'inspection approprié pour surveiller l'application des dispositions de la convention, ou à vérifier qu'une inspection appropriée est effectuée.

3. La législation nationale doit déterminer les personnes chargées d'assurer l'exécution des dispositions de la présente convention.

4. L'employeur doit tenir des registres qui seront à la disposition des inspecteurs qui indiqueront, pour chaque personne employée ou travaillant sous terre et dépassant de moins de deux ans l'âge minimum d'admission spécifié :
   a) la date de naissance, dûment attestée dans la mesure du possible;
   b) la date à laquelle la personne a été employée ou a travaillé sous terre, dans l'entreprise, pour la première fois.

5. L'employeur doit, à la demande des représentants des travailleurs, mettre à leur disposition des listes des personnes employées ou travaillant sous terre et dépassant de moins de deux ans l'âge minimum d'admission spécifié ; ces listes doivent indiquer la date de naissance de ces personnes et la date à laquelle elles ont été employées ou ont travaillé sous terre, dans l'entreprise, pour la première fois.

Article 5

L'âge minimum d'admission qui doit être spécifié en vertu des articles 2 et 3 de la présente convention doit être fixé après consultation des organisations les plus représentatives des employeurs et des travailleurs intéressées.

Article 6

Les ratifications formelles de la présente convention seront communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail et par lui enregistrées.

Article 7

1. La présente convention ne liera que les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail dont la ratification aura été enregistrée par le Directeur général.

2. Elle entrera en vigueur douze mois après que les ratifications de deux Membres auront été enregistrées par le Directeur général.

3. Par la suite, cette convention entrera en vigueur pour chaque Membre douze mois après la date où sa ratification aura été enregistrée.

Article 8

1. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention peut la dénoncer à l'expiration d'une période de dix années après la date de la mise en vigueur initiale de la convention, par un acte communiqué au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail et par lui enregistré. La dénonciation ne prendra effet qu'une année après avoir été enregistrée.

2. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention qui, dans le délai d'une année après l'expiration de la période de dix années mentionnée au paragraphe précédent, ne fera pas usage de la faculté de dénonciation prévue par le présent article sera lié pour une nouvelle période de dix années et, par la suite, pourra dénoncer la présente convention à l'expiration de chaque période de dix années dans les conditions prévues au présent article.

Article 9

1. Le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail notifiera à tous les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail l'enregistrement de toutes les ratifications et dénonciations qui lui seront communiquées par les Membres de l'Organisation.

2. En notifiant aux Membres de l'Organisation l'enregistrement de la deuxième ratification qui lui aura été communiquée, le Directeur général appellera l'attention des Membres de l'Organisation sur la date à laquelle la présente convention entrera en vigueur.
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**Article 10**

The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations full particulars of all ratifications and acts of denunciation registered by him in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Articles.

**Article 11**

At such times as it may consider necessary the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention and shall examine the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision in whole or in part.

**Article 12**

1. Should the Conference adopt a new Convention revising this Convention in whole or in part, then, unless the new Convention otherwise provides—

   (a) the ratification by a Member of the new revising Convention shall ipso jure involve the immediate denunciation of this Convention, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 8 above, if and when the new revising Convention shall have come into force;

   (b) as from the date when the new revising Convention comes into force this Convention shall cease to be open to ratification by the Members.

2. This Convention shall in any case remain in force in its actual form and content for those Members which have ratified it but have not ratified the revising Convention.

**Article 13**

The English and French versions of the text of this Convention are equally authoritative.
Appendix XIII : Authentic Texts

Article 10

Article 11
Chaque fois qu’il le jugera nécessaire, le Conseil d’administration du Bureau international du Travail présentera à la Conférence générale un rapport sur l’application de la présente convention et examinera s’il y a lieu d’inscrire à l’ordre du jour de la Conférence la question de sa révision totale ou partielle.

Article 12
1. Au cas où la Conférence adopterait une nouvelle convention portant révision totale ou partielle de la présente convention, et à moins que la nouvelle convention ne dispose autrement :
   a) la ratification par un Membre de la nouvelle convention portant révision entrainerait de plein droit, nonobstant l’article 8 ci-dessus, dénonciation immédiate de la présente convention, sous réserve que la nouvelle convention portant révision soit entrée en vigueur ;
   b) à partir de la date de l’entrée en vigueur de la nouvelle convention portant révision, la présente convention cesserait d’être ouverte à la ratification des Membres.

2. La présente convention demeurerait en tout cas en vigueur dans sa forme et teneur pour les Membres qui l’auraient ratifiée et qui ne ratifieraient pas la convention portant révision.

Article 13
Les versions française et anglaise du texte de la présente convention font également foi.
Recommendation 124

(3) Recommendation concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Underground in Mines.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth Session on 2 June 1965, and
Having adopted the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965, and
Having decided upon the adoption of certain further proposals with regard to the minimum age for admission to employment underground in mines, 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 twenty-second day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Recommendation, 1965:

1. (1) For the purpose of this Recommendation, the term "mine" means any undertaking, whether public or private, for the extraction of any substance from under the surface of the earth by means involving the employment of persons underground.

(2) The provisions of this Recommendation concerning employment or work underground in mines include employment or work underground in quarries.

2. Where the minimum age for admission to employment or work underground in mines is less than 16 years, measures should be taken as speedily as possible to raise it to that level.

3. (1) The minimum age for admission to employment or work underground in mines should be progressively raised, with a view to attaining a minimum age of 18 years.

(2) Each Member should work towards the objective set forth in subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph within the limits of its possibilities, taking into account especially the dangers inherent in employment underground in mines, and also the development of educational facilities, including those for the vocational preparation of future miners, the minimum school-leaving age, the minimum age for admission to other industrial occupations and other relevant factors.

4. Persons between the age specified for the purpose of the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965, and a higher age to be laid down in each country and not to be less than 18 years should be employed or work underground in mines only—

(a) for purposes of apprenticeship or other systematic vocational training provided under adequate supervision by competent persons with technical knowledge and practical experience of the work; and

(b) under conditions determined by the competent authority relating to the places of work and occupations permitted and the measures of systematic medical and safety supervision to be applied:

Provided that if a young person to whom this Paragraph applies has completed apprenticeship or other systematic vocational training, he may, under the conditions provided for in clause (b), be employed underground for purposes other than such training.

5. (1) There should be special provisions concerning the minimum age for employment or work underground in mines—

(a) on certain specified jobs which are harmful to health;

(b) under certain specified conditions which are harmful to health; and

(c) on certain specified jobs which may endanger the safety of the worker and that of other persons.
3) **Recommandation concernant l'âge minimum d'admission aux travaux souterrains dans les mines.**

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 2 juin 1965, en sa quarante-neuvième session ;

Après avoir adopté la convention sur l'âge minimum (travaux souterrains), 1965 ;

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses autres propositions relatives à l'âge minimum d'admission aux travaux souterrains dans les mines, 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 vingt-deuxième jour de juin mil neuf cent soixante-cinq, la recommandation ci-après, qui sera dénommée Recommandation sur l'âge minimum (travaux souterrains), 1965 :

1. (1) Aux fins de l'application de la présente recommandation, le terme « mine » s'entend de toute entreprise, soit publique, soit privée, dont le but est l'extraction de substances situées en dessous du sol, et qui comporte l'emploi souterrain de personnes.

(2) Les dispositions de la présente recommandation relatives à l'emploi ou au travail souterrain dans les mines couvrent l'emploi ou le travail souterrains dans les carrières.

2. Lorsque l'âge minimum d'admission à l'emploi ou au travail souterrains dans les mines est fixé à un âge inférieur à seize ans, des mesures devraient être prises aussi rapidement que possible pour le porter à ce niveau.

3. (1) L'âge minimum d'admission à l'emploi ou au travail souterrains dans les mines devrait être élevé progressivement, l'objectif devant être un âge minimum de dix-huit ans.

(2) Tout Membre devrait s'efforcer d'atteindre cet objectif, dans la mesure de ses possibilités, en tenant compte surtout des dangers inhérents aux travaux souterrains dans les mines et aussi du développement des moyens d'enseignement — notamment des moyens de formation professionnelle des futurs mineurs —, de l'âge minimum de fin de scolarité, de l'âge minimum d'admission à d'autres travaux industriels et de tous autres facteurs pertinents.

4. Les personnes dont l'âge se situe entre l'âge minimum spécifié aux fins de la convention sur l'âge minimum (travaux souterrains), 1965, et un âge supérieur que chaque pays aura à préciser et qui ne devrait pas être inférieur à dix-huit ans, ne devraient être employées ou travailler sous terre que :

   a) aux fins d'apprentissage ou de toute autre formation professionnelle systématique ayant lieu sous la surveillance appropriée de personnes compétentes possédant les connaissances techniques et l'expérience pratique du métier ;

   b) dans des conditions fixées par l'autorité compétente quant aux lieux de travail et aux métiers autorisés, et quant aux mesures systématiques de contrôle médical et de surveillance de la sécurité à appliquer.

Toutefois, lorsqu'un adolescent visé au présent paragraphe a terminé son apprentissage ou une autre formation professionnelle systématique, il pourrait, dans les conditions prévues à l'alinéa b), être employé sous terre à d'autres fins.

5. (1) Des dispositions particulières devraient être prises concernant l'âge minimum d'admission à l'emploi ou au travail souterrains pour les personnes appelées à :

   a) exécuter certaines tâches déterminées qui sont préjudiciables pour la santé ;

   b) travailler dans certaines conditions déterminées qui sont préjudiciables pour la santé ;

   c) exécuter certaines tâches déterminées, susceptibles de les exposer ou d'exposer d'autres personnes à un danger.
(2) The competent authority in each country should determine the jobs and conditions in question and should specify a sufficiently high minimum age appropriate to each which in no case should be less than 18 years.

6. (1) Measures should be taken to meet the problems of persons who wish to work in mines but are too young for employment or work underground because the minimum age for admission to such employment or work is higher than the minimum school-leaving age. These measures should be related to or integrated with measures to educate, train and utilise all youth in the country.

(2) The measures to be taken in accordance with subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph might include one or more of the following:

(a) employment in surface work with appropriate training;
(b) vocational training on the surface designed to prepare the persons concerned for their future occupations;
(c) further education and vocational guidance;
(d) raising the minimum school-leaving age.

7. The competent authority in each country should consult the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned before determining general policies of implementation and before adopting regulations in pursuance of the terms of this Recommendation.
(2) L'autorité compétente dans chaque pays devrait déterminer les tâches et conditions de travail dont il s'agit et fixer un âge minimum approprié à chaque cas, suffisamment élevé et qui ne devrait en aucun cas être inférieur à dix-huit ans.

6. (1) Des mesures devraient être prises en faveur des personnes qui se destinent à la mine, mais qui sont trop jeunes pour être employées ou travailler sous terre du fait que l'âge minimum d'admission est plus élevé que l'âge minimum de fin de scolarité. Ces mesures devraient être liées ou intégrées aux mesures prises pour instruire, former et utiliser l'ensemble de la jeunesse du pays.

(2) Les mesures visées au sous-paragraphe (1) ci-dessus, appliquées séparément ou conjointement, pourraient être les suivantes :

a) emploi à des travaux de surface, comportant une formation appropriée ;

b) formation professionnelle à la surface, conçue pour préparer les personnes intéressées à leur futur métier ;

c) enseignement post-scolaire avec orientation professionnelle ;

d) élévation de l'âge minimum de fin de scolarité.

7. L'autorité compétente dans chaque pays devrait consulter les organisations les plus représentatives des employeurs et des travailleurs intéressés avant de déterminer la politique générale d'application de la présente recommandation et d'adopter une réglementation destinée à donner suite à celle-ci.
(4) Convention concerning Medical Examination of Young Persons for Fitness for Employment Underground in Mines.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth Session on 2 June 1965, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to medical examination of young persons for fitness for employment underground in mines, which is included in the fourth item on the agenda of the session, and

Noting that the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1946, which is applicable to mines, provides that children and young persons under 18 years of age shall not be admitted to employment by an industrial undertaking unless they have been found fit for the work on which they are to be employed by a thorough medical examination, that the continued employment of a child or young person under 18 years of age shall be subject to the repetition of a medical examination at intervals of not more than one year, and that national laws or regulations shall make provision concerning additional re-examinations, and

Noting that the Convention further provides that in occupations which involve high health risks medical examination and re-examinations for fitness for employment shall be required until at least the age of 21 years, and that national laws or regulations shall either specify or empower an appropriate authority to specify the occupations or categories of occupations to which this requirement applies, and

Considering that, in view of the health risks inherent in employment underground in mines, international standards requiring medical examination and periodic re-examination for fitness for employment underground in mines until the age of 21 years, and specifying the nature of these examinations, are desirable, and

Having determined that these standards shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts this twenty-third day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Convention, which may be cited as the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Underground Work) Convention, 1965:

Article 1

1. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "mine" means any undertaking, whether public or private, for the extraction of any substance from under the surface of the earth by means involving the employment of persons underground.

2. The provisions of this Convention concerning employment or work underground in mines include employment or work underground in quarries.

Article 2

1. A thorough medical examination, and periodic re-examinations at intervals of not more than one year, for fitness for employment shall be required for the employment or work underground in mines of persons under 21 years of age.

2. Alternative arrangements for medical supervision of young persons aged between 18 and 21 years shall be permitted where the competent authority is satisfied on medical advice that such arrangements are equivalent to or more effective than those required under paragraph 1 of this Article and has consulted and reached agreement with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned.
4) **Convention concernant l'examen médical d'aptitude des adolescents à l'emploi aux travaux souterrains dans les mines.**

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,

Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 2 juin 1965, en sa quarante-neuvième session ;

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à l'examen médical d'aptitude des adolescents à l'emploi aux travaux souterrains dans les mines, question qui est comprise dans le quatrième point à l'ordre du jour de la session ;

Notant que la convention sur l'examen médical des adolescents (industrie), 1946, qui s'applique aux mines, prévoit que les enfants et adolescents de moins de dix-huit ans ne pourront être admis à l'emploi par une entreprise industrielle que s'ils ont été reconnus aptes à l'emploi auquel ils seront occupés à la suite d'un examen médical approfondi, que l'emploi d'un enfant ou d'un adolescent de moins de dix-huit ans ne pourra être continué que moyennant renouvellement de l'examen médical à des intervalles ne dépassant pas une année et que la législation nationale devra comporter des dispositions visant des examens médicaux supplémentaires ;

Notant que la convention dispose en outre que, pour les travaux qui présentent des risques élevés pour la santé, l'examen médical d'aptitude à l'emploi et ses renouvellements périodiques doivent être exigés jusqu'à l'âge de vingt et un ans au moins et que la législation nationale devra, soit déterminer les emplois ou catégories d'emplois pour lesquels cette obligation s'impose, soit conférer à une autorité appropriée le pouvoir de les déterminer ;

Considérant qu'étant donné les risques que présentent, pour la santé, les travaux souterrains dans les mines, il y a lieu d'adopter des normes internationales exigeant un examen médical d'aptitude à l'emploi souterrain dans les mines ainsi que des examens médicaux périodiques jusqu'à l'âge de vingt et un ans, et spécifiant la nature de ces examens ;

Après avoir décidé que ces normes prendraient la forme d'une convention internationale,

adopte, ce vingt-troisième jour de juin mil neuf cent soixante-cinq, la convention ci-après, qui sera dénommée Convention sur l'examen médical des adolescents (travaux souterrains), 1965 :

**Article 1**

1. Aux fins de l'application de la présente convention, le terme « mine » s'entend de toute entreprise, soit publique, soit privée, dont le but est l'extraction de substances situées en dessous du sol, et qui comporte l'emploi souterrain de personnes.

2. Les dispositions de la présente convention relatives à l'emploi ou au travail souterrain dans les mines couvrent l'emploi ou le travail souterrain dans les carrières.

**Article 2**

1. Un examen médical approfondi d'aptitude à l'emploi et des examens périodiques ultérieurs à des intervalles ne dépassant pas douze mois seront exigés pour les personnes âgées de moins que vingt et un ans, en vue de l'emploi et du travail souterrains dans les mines.

2. L'adoption d'autres mesures concernant la surveillance médicale des adolescents entre dix-huit et vingt et un ans sera néanmoins permise lorsque l'autorité compétente estime, après avis médical, que de telles mesures sont équivalentes à celles exigées au paragraphe 1, ou plus efficaces, et qu'elle a consulté les organisations les plus représentatives des employeurs et des travailleurs intéressées et a obtenu leur accord.
Article 3

1. The medical examinations provided for in Article 2—
   (a) shall be carried out under the responsibility and supervision of a qualified physician approved by the competent authority; and
   (b) shall be certified in an appropriate manner.

2. An X-ray film of the lungs shall be required on the occasion of the initial medical examination and, when regarded as medically necessary, on the occasion of subsequent re-examinations.

3. The medical examinations required by this Convention shall not involve the young person, or his parents or guardians, in any expense.

Article 4

1. All necessary measures, including the provision of appropriate penalties, shall be taken by the competent authority to ensure the effective enforcement of the provisions of this Convention.

2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention undertakes either to maintain an appropriate inspection service for the purpose of supervising the application of the provisions of the Convention or to satisfy itself that appropriate inspection is carried out.

3. National laws or regulations shall define the persons responsible for compliance with the provisions of this Convention.

4. The employer shall keep, and make available to inspectors, records containing, in respect of persons under 21 years of age who are employed or work underground—
   (a) the date of birth, duly certified wherever possible;
   (b) an indication of the nature of their occupation; and
   (c) a certificate which attests fitness for employment but does not contain medical data.

5. The employer shall make available to the workers' representatives, at their request, the information mentioned in paragraph 4 of this Article.

Article 5

The competent authority in each country shall consult the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned before determining general policies of implementation and before adopting regulations in pursuance of the terms of this Convention.

Article 6

The formal ratifications of this Convention shall be communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration.

Article 7

1. This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members of the International Labour Organisation whose ratifications have been registered with the Director-General.

2. It shall come into force twelve months after the date on which the ratifications of two Members have been registered with the Director-General.

3. Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for any Member twelve months after the date on which its ratification has been registered.

Article 8

1. A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Director-General of
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Article 3

1. Les examens médicaux prévus à l'article 2 doivent :
   a) être effectués sous la responsabilité et la surveillance d'un médecin qualifié agréé par l'autorité compétente ;
   b) être attestés de façon appropriée.

2. Une radiographie des poumons sera exigée lors de l'examen d'embauchage et également, si cela est considéré nécessaire du point de vue médical, lors des réexams ultérieurs.

3. Les examens médicaux exigés par la présente convention ne doivent entraîner de frais ni pour les adolescents ni pour leurs parents ou tuteurs.

Article 4

1. Toutes les mesures nécessaires, y compris l'adoption de sanctions appropriées, doivent être prises par l'autorité compétente pour assurer l'application effective des dispositions de la présente convention.

2. Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention s'engage à disposer d'un système d'inspection approprié pour surveiller l'application des dispositions de la convention ou à vérifier qu'une inspection appropriée est effectuée.

3. La législation nationale doit déterminer les personnes chargées d'assurer l'exécution des dispositions de la présente convention.

4. L'employeur doit tenir des registres qui seront à la disposition des inspecteurs et qui indiqueront, pour chaque personne âgée de moins de vingt et un ans employée ou travaillant sous terre :
   a) la date de naissance, dûment attestée dans la mesure du possible ;
   b) des indications sur la nature de la tâche ;
   c) un certificat attestant l'aptitude à l'emploi, mais ne fournissant aucune indication d'ordre médical.

5. L'employeur doit mettre à la disposition des représentants des travailleurs, sur leur demande, les renseignements mentionnés au paragraphe 4.

Article 5

L'autorité compétente dans chaque pays doit consulter les organisations les plus représentatives des employeurs et des travailleurs intéressés avant de déterminer la politique générale d'application de la présente convention et d'adopter une réglementation destinée à donner suite à celle-ci.

Article 6

Les ratifications formelles de la présente convention seront communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail et par lui enregistrées.

Article 7

1. La présente convention ne liera que les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail dont la ratification aura été enregistrée par le Directeur général.

2. Elle entrera en vigueur douze mois après que les ratifications de deux Membres auront été enregistrées par le Directeur général.

3. Par la suite, cette convention entrera en vigueur pour chaque Membre douze mois après la date où sa ratification aura été enregistrée.

Article 8

1. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention peut la dénoncer à l'expiration d'une période de dix années après la date de la mise en vigueur initiale de la convention, par un acte communiqué au Directeur
the International Labour Office for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered.

2. Each Member which has ratified this Convention and 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 in this Article, will be bound for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce this Convention at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided for in this Article.

Article 9

1. The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall notify all Members of the International Labour Organisation of the registration of all ratifications and denunciations communicated to him by the Members of the Organisation.

2. When notifying the Members of the Organisation of the registration of the second ratification communicated to him, the Director-General shall draw the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the date upon which the Convention will come into force.

Article 10

The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations full particulars of all ratifications and acts of denunciation registered by him in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Articles.

Article 11

At such times as it may consider necessary the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention and shall examine the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision in whole or in part.

Article 12

1. Should the Conference adopt a new Convention revising this Convention in whole or in part, then, unless the new Convention otherwise provides—

(a) the ratification by a Member of the new revising Convention shall ipso jure involve the immediate denunciation of this Convention, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 8 above, if and when the new revising Convention shall have come into force;

(b) as from the date when the new revising Convention comes into force this Convention shall cease to be open to ratification by the Members.

2. This Convention shall in any case remain in force in its actual form and content for those Members which have ratified it but have not ratified the revising Convention.

Article 13

The English and French versions of the text of this Convention are equally authoritative.
2. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention qui, dans le délai d'une année après l'expiration de la période de dix années mentionnée au paragraphe précédent, ne fera pas usage de la faculté de dénonciation prévue par le présent article sera lié pour une nouvelle période de dix années et, par la suite, pourra dénoncer la présente convention à l'expiration de chaque période de dix années dans les conditions prévues au présent article.

**Article 9**

1. Le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail notifiera à tous les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail l'enregistrement de toutes les ratifications et dénonciations qui lui seront communiquées par les Membres de l'Organisation.

2. En notifiant aux Membres de l'Organisation l'enregistrement de la deuxième ratification qui lui aura été communiquée, le Directeur général appellera l'attention des Membres de l'Organisation sur la date à laquelle la présente convention entrera en vigueur.

**Article 10**

Le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail communiquera au Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, aux fins d'enregistrement, conformément à l'article 102 de la Charte des Nations Unies, des renseignements complets au sujet de toutes ratifications et de tous actes de dénonciation qu'il aura enregistrés conformément aux articles précédents.

**Article 11**

Chaque fois qu'il le jugera nécessaire, le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail présentera à la Conférence générale un rapport sur l'application de la présente convention et examinera s'il y a lieu d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour de la Conférence la question de sa revision totale ou partielle.

**Article 12**

1. Au cas où la Conférence adopterait une nouvelle convention portant revision totale ou partielle de la présente convention, et à moins que la nouvelle convention ne dispose autrement :

   a) la ratification par un Membre de la nouvelle convention portant revision entraînerait de plein droit, nonobstant l'article 8 ci-dessus, dénonciation immédiate de la présente convention, sous réserve que la nouvelle convention portant revision soit entrée en vigueur ;

   b) à partir de la date de l'entrée en vigueur de la nouvelle convention portant revision, la présente convention cesserait d'être ouverte à la ratification des Membres.

2. La présente convention demeurerait en tout cas en vigueur dans sa forme et teneur pour les Membres qui l'auraient ratifiée et qui ne rati ficeraient pas la convention portant revision.

**Article 13**

Les versions française et anglaise du texte de la présente convention font également foi.
Recommendation 125

(5) **Recommendation concerning Conditions of Employment of Young Persons Underground in Mines.**

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Forty-ninth Session on 2 June 1965, and

Noting the terms of existing international labour Conventions and Recommendations, applicable to mines, which contain provisions on conditions of employment of young persons, and

Considering that additional standards are called for in certain respects, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals regarding the conditions of employment of young persons underground in mines, 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 twenty-third day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Conditions of Employment of Young Persons (Underground Work) Recommendation, 1965:

I. DEFINITION

1. (1) For the purpose of this Recommendation, the term "mine" means any undertaking, whether public or private, for the extraction of any substance from under the surface of the earth by means involving the employment of persons underground.

   (2) The provisions of this Recommendation concerning employment or work underground in mines include employment or work underground in quarries.

II. METHODS OF IMPLEMENTATION

2. Effect may be given to this Recommendation through national laws or regulations, collective agreements, arbitration awards, or court decisions or in such other manner consistent with national practice as may be appropriate under national conditions.

III. HEALTH, SAFETY AND WELFARE

3. Training programmes for young persons employed or to be employed underground in mines should include practical and theoretical instruction in the health and safety hazards to which workers in mines are exposed, in hygiene and first aid, and in the precautions to be taken to safeguard health and safety. Such instruction should be provided by persons who are qualified in these fields.

   4. The employer should be required to inform a young person, both when engaging him and when giving him a specific job underground, of the risks of accident and hazards to health involved in the work, of protective measures and equipment, of regulations regarding safety, and of first-aid methods. The directions should be repeated at appropriate intervals.
Recommandation 125

5) Recommandation concernant les conditions d'emploi des adolescents occupés aux travaux souterrains dans les mines.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,
Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 2 juin 1965, en sa quarante-neuvième session;

Notant les termes des conventions et recommandations internationales du travail existantes qui sont applicables aux mines et qui contiennent des dispositions relatives aux conditions d'emploi des adolescents;

Considérant qu'il est souhaitable de formuler des normes supplémentaires sur certains points;

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives aux conditions d'emploi des adolescents occupés aux travaux souterrains dans les mines, 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 vingt-troisième jour de juin mil neuf cent soixante-cinq, la recommandation ci-après, qui sera dénommée Recommandation sur les conditions d'emploi des adolescents (travaux souterrains), 1965:

I. DÉFINITION

1. (1) Aux fins de l'application de la présente recommandation, le terme « mine » s'entend de toute entreprise, soit publique, soit privée, dont le but est l'extraction de substances situées en dessous du sol, et qui comporte l'emploi souterrain de personnes.

(2) Les dispositions de la présente recommandation relatives à l'emploi ou au travail souterrains dans les mines couvrent l'emploi ou le travail souterrains dans les carrières.

II. MÉTHODES D'APPLICATION

2. La présente recommandation pourra être appliquée par voie de législation nationale, de conventions collectives, de sentences arbitrales ou de décisions judiciaires, ou de toute autre manière qui serait conforme à la pratique nationale et semblerait appropriée, compte tenu des conditions propres à chaque pays.

III. SANTÉ, SÉCURITÉ ET BIEN-ÊTRE

3. Les programmes de formation des adolescents employés ou appelés à être employés sous terre devraient comprendre un enseignement pratique et théorique portant sur les risques auxquels la santé et la sécurité des travailleurs sont exposées dans les mines, sur l'hygiène et les premiers secours et sur les précautions à prendre pour protéger la santé et assurer la sécurité. Cet enseignement devrait être donné par des personnes qualifiées dans les domaines en question.

4. L'employeur devrait être tenu, lorsqu'il embauche un adolescent et lorsqu'il l'affecte à une tâche déterminée sous terre, de l'informer des risques d'accident et de maladie que comporte ce travail, ainsi que des mesures et de l'équipement de protection, des règlements de sécurité et des moyens de premiers secours. Ces instructions devraient être rappelées à des intervalles appropriés.
5. (1) Officials in charge of safety, safety delegates, safety and health committees and all other internal bodies concerned with safety and health, as well as the national inspection service, should give particular attention to measures designed to safeguard the life and health of young persons employed or working underground in mines.

(2) Such measures should include provision for the development of a practical safety programme for each mine including—

(a) action to ensure prevention and correction of hazardous environmental and physical conditions;

(b) appropriate means and facilities for training, inspection and accident investigation and prevention;

(c) the initial supply and replacement after normal wear and tear, at the employers' expense, of such protective clothing and equipment as are necessary in view of the nature of the work and the conditions in which it is performed, the young persons being required to use the clothing and equipment supplied; and

(d) any other measures for the safety and health of young persons.

6. With a view to keeping young persons employed or working underground in mines in good health and to promoting their normal physical development, measures should be taken which aim, in particular, at—

(a) encouraging recreational activities, including sports;

(b) ensuring that changing-rooms and showers meeting approved hygiene standards are made available, changing-rooms and showers separate from those for adults being, where possible, reserved for persons under 18 years of age; and

(c) ensuring that, if circumstances so require, young persons have at their disposal such additional food and such feeding facilities as would enable them to secure a diet suitable to their stage of development.

IV. WEEKLY REST AND ANNUAL HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

7. Persons under 18 years of age employed or working underground in mines should be entitled to an uninterrupted weekly rest which should not be less than 36 hours in the course of each period of seven days.

8. The weekly rest period should be progressively extended, with a view to attaining at least 48 hours.

9. The weekly rest period should include the day of the week established as a day of rest by the traditions or customs of the country or district.

10. Persons under 18 years of age employed or working underground in mines should not be employed on any work during the weekly rest period.

11. (1) Persons under 18 years of age employed or working underground in mines should receive an annual holiday with pay of not less than 24 working days (corresponding to four working weeks) for 12 months of service.

(2) Public and customary holidays and interruptions of attendance at work due to sickness should not be included in the annual holiday with pay.

12. (1) The employer should be required to keep, and make available to inspectors, records indicating in respect of persons under 18 years of age employed or working underground—

(a) the date of birth, duly certified wherever possible;
5. (1) Les agents préposés à la sécurité, les délégués à la sécurité, les comités de sécurité et d’hygiène et tout autre organe de l’entreprise s’occupant de la sécurité et de l’hygiène, ainsi que le service national d’inspection, devraient vouer une attention particulière aux mesures qui permettent de sauvegarder la vie et la santé des adolescents employés ou travaillant sous terre dans les mines.

(2) Au nombre de ces mesures, il conviendrait de prévoir l’élaboration d’un programme pratique de sécurité pour chaque mine, comprenant :

a) des dispositions visant à prévenir les risques que peuvent présenter les conditions ambiantes du milieu de travail et à améliorer ces conditions ;

b) des moyens appropriés de formation, d’inspection et d’enquêtes sur les accidents ainsi que de prévention des accidents ;

c) la fourniture initiale et le remplacement, après usure normale, des vêtements et équipements de protection que la nature du travail et les conditions dans lesquelles il est exécuté exigent, aux frais de l’employeur, ainsi que l’obligation pour les adolescents d’en faire usage ;

d) toutes autres mesures utiles à la sécurité et à la santé des adolescents.

6. Afin de maintenir en bonne santé les adolescents employés ou travaillant sous terre dans les mines et de favoriser leur développement physique normal, des mesures devraient être prises ayant notamment pour but :

a) d’encourager les activités récréatives, y compris les sports ;

b) de mettre à leur disposition des vestiaires et des douches conformes aux règlements d’hygiène, des vestiaires et des douches séparés devant, si possible, être réservés aux personnes âgées de moins de dix-huit ans ;

c) d’assurer, si les circonstances le nécessitent, que les adolescents aient à leur disposition un complément d’alimentation et des services d’alimentation qui leur permettent de bénéficier d’un régime alimentaire convenant à leur état de développement.

IV. REPOS HEBDOMADAIRE ET CONGÉS ANNUELS PAYÉS

7. Les personnes âgées de moins de dix-huit ans employées ou travaillant sous terre dans les mines devraient avoir droit à une période de repos hebdomadaire ininterrompue d’au moins trente-six heures au cours de toute période de sept jours.

8. La période de repos hebdomadaire devrait être prolongée progressivement, l’objectif devant être une période de repos hebdomadaire de quarante-huit heures au moins.

9. La période de repos hebdomadaire devrait comprendre le jour de repos consacré par la tradition ou les usages du pays ou de la région.

10. Les personnes âgées de moins de dix-huit ans employées ou travaillant sous terre dans les mines ne devraient être occupées à aucun travail pendant la période de repos hebdomadaire.

11. (1) Les personnes âgées de moins de dix-huit ans employées ou travaillant sous terre dans les mines devraient bénéficier d’un congé annuel payé d’au moins vingt-quatre jours ouvrables (correspondant à quatre semaines de travail) par période de douze mois de service.

(2) Les jours fériés officiels ou coutumiers et les interruptions du travail dues à la maladie ne devraient pas être comptés dans le congé annuel payé.

12. (1) L’employeur devrait tenir des registres qui seront mis à la disposition des inspecteurs et qui indiqueront pour chaque personne âgée de moins de dix-huit ans employée ou travaillant sous terre :

a) la date de naissance, dûment attestée dans la mesure du possible ;
(b) the periods of weekly rest; and
(c) the periods of holidays with pay.

(2) The employer should make available to the workers' representatives, at their request, the information mentioned in subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph.

V. Training

13. In line with the principles set forth in the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1962, the competent authorities should take the necessary measures to ensure that young persons employed or to be employed underground in mines—

(a) receive systematic vocational training, through apprenticeship or other forms of training appropriate in the national circumstances, in order to ensure adequate preparation for the particular type of work in which they are to be engaged;

(b) enjoy suitable opportunities for further technical training enabling them to develop their occupational capacities without detriment to their health and welfare, account being taken of national circumstances; and

(c) are provided with suitable opportunities for further education and training above ground with a view to ensuring their future adaptation to technological change in the mining industry and to developing their human capacities.

VI. Consultation

14. The competent authority in each country should consult the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned before determining general policies of implementation and before adopting regulations in pursuance of the terms of this Recommendation.
b) les périodes de repos hebdomadaire ;
c) les périodes de congé payé.

(2) L'employeur devrait mettre à la disposition des représentants des travailleurs, sur leur demande, les renseignements mentionnés au sous-paragraphe 1.

V. FORMATION

13. Conformément aux principes énoncés dans la recommandation sur la formation professionnelle, 1962, l'autorité compétente devrait prendre les mesures nécessaires pour veiller à ce que les adolescents qui sont employés sous terre dans les mines ou qui se destinent à un tel emploi :
a) reçoivent une formation professionnelle systématique, dans le cadre de l'apprentissage ou de toute autre méthode de formation appropriée aux conditions nationales, de façon qu'ils soient bien préparés au type particulier de travail auquel ils seront affectés ;
b) disposent, compte tenu des conditions nationales, des possibilités appropriées de formation technique complémentaire qui leur permettent de développer leurs qualifications professionnelles sans compromettre leur santé ni leur bien-être ;
c) disposent de possibilités appropriées de poursuivre à la surface leur éducation et leur formation, de manière qu'ils soient capables de s'adapter plus tard au progrès technique dans l'industrie minière et de cultiver leurs qualités humaines.

VI. CONSULTATION

14. L'autorité compétente dans chaque pays devrait consulter les organisations les plus représentatives des employeurs et des travailleurs intéressées avant de déterminer la politique générale d'application de la présente recommandation et d'adopter une réglementation destinée à donner suite à celle-ci.
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